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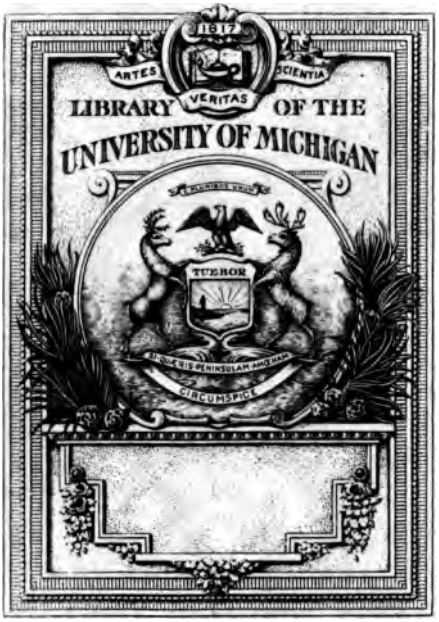
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HANDBOOK

TO

THE BRITISH MUSEUM



A POPULAR HANDBOOK

TO THE

GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

COMPILED BY

EDWARD T. COOK

London

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1903

In our Museum galleries
To-day I lingered o'er the prize
Dead Greece vouchsafes to living eyes,—
Her Art for ever in fresh wise
From hour to hour rejoicing me.

D. G. ROSSETTI.

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The British Museum is, on the whole, the best-ordered and pleasantest institution in all England, and the grandest concentration of the means of human knowledge in the world.—RUSKIN.

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PREFACE

THERE are so many points of view from which a collection of Antiquities can be approached, there are so many and such excellent aids to the study of the British Museum already in existence, that it may be well to explain the limits and scope of this "Popular Handbook." Some years ago I published a "Popular Handbook to the National Gallery." It dealt mainly with the sentiment of the pictures. It brought together some of the best that had been known and felt about the painters and their works. Its endeavour was to interest the general. It found, and continues to find readers. In the British Museum there are exhibited treasures of a different kind, but it had long been my belief that they admitted of similar treatment. The present volume is an attempt to apply to one branch of the Museum the method of popular compilation which has been found acceptable by visitors in the case of the National Gallery.

The present Handbook is limited, with some few exceptions, to the Greek and Roman Galleries. It includes however, somewhat more of the Collections than is comprised in the Department of those Antiquities. The sculptures from Cyprus are described as being largely Greek, and closely connected with other antiquities from that island. I have also included the Anglo-Roman collections. In making the tour of the Room of Gold Ornaments and Gems I have not limited myself to the Greek and Roman objects, but have dealt also with those of later times which are exhibited in the same room. I have also devoted a chapter to the Greek coins, which

are shown in electrotype in one of the public Exhibi Galleries.

The order of arrangement in the chapters follows t of the Galleries. For the convenience of readers who r desire to find notes on particular groups of antiquitie have supplemented the list of contents with a terminal in

The Handbook is intended primarily for use in Museum, though I am not altogether without hope t in parts, it may be found readable at home. It is n complete catalogue of the collections. I make no atte to notice all the objects exhibited in the Galleries. I h taken occasion to refer the reader (generally in a foot at the beginning of a chapter) to the official publicati wherein all the objects are enumerated and describ and to mention also some of the best-known or m accessible general treatises wherein further information r be sought. To those who desire to make special stud the British Museum, the writings of the successive Kee of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities— late Sir Charles Newton and Dr. A. S. Murray[2]— especially valuable, owing to their close familiarity with Museum collections, and to their frequent referenc antiquities therein. In citing the critical or expo remarks of archæological experts and esteemed jud ancient art I have endeavoured in all cases to acknov the source of my quotations; if I have anywhere fa this respect, I beg to apologise for the inadvertenc large measure such quotations are from periodical lit or the publications of learned societies.

This Handbook, as the reader will speedily per

[1] In addition to the special guides and catalogues ther published by the Trustees a general *Guide to the Exhibitio* (price 2d.), and a fuller *Guide to the Department of Greek Antiquities* (price 6d.); this latter is by Mr. Arthur H. Smit in the Department.

[2] I refer more especially to Newton's *Essays on Art an* (Macmillan), and to his *Travels and Discoveries in the Lev* Son). The latter work (abridged from his larger *History* *at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ*) is a most inter travel. To Dr. Murray's works on special subjects I refer Of a more general character is his *Handbook of Greek Ar* Murray).

not an exhaustive treatise on archæology. I make the tour of the Exhibition Galleries, offer some general remarks on the subject-matter of each portion of the collection, and then notice some of the principal objects in detail, giving explanations as suggested by the order of their arrangement, and using them sometimes as pegs for disquisitions a little more at large. The reader will find his attention directed now to one subject and now to another; to such subjects as characteristics of the Greek style, types of different divinities in art, methods of archæological research, literary associations, the story of some particular excavation. The specialist requires to know everything of his subject. The aim of this book is rather to say something about everything; it does not pretend to say everything about anything. It is designed for general visitors and general readers; its object is to suggest and stimulate interest, and from this point of view an episodical method is, I think, the best.

What, it may be asked, are the various interests to which a collection of Greek and Roman antiquities appeals? And why is any *cicerone* necessary at all? The objection has high authority:—

> There needs no words nor terms precise,
> The paltry jargon of the marble mart,
> Where pedantry gulls folly: we have eyes.

We all have eyes, but we have not all the poet's eye. "In every object there is inexhaustible meaning; the eye sees in it what the eye brings means of seeing." The appeal of sculpture, of gems, of painted vases was primarily, it is true, a sensuous appeal; but, as Mr. Pater points out, what we possess of the finest Greek sculpture, for instance, is presented to us in a cold isolation, which tends to deaden its direct and instant appeal to the senses. The isolation is threefold: "Isolation first of all from the concomitant arts —the frieze of the Parthenon, without the metal bridles on the horses, for which the holes in the marble remain; isolation, secondly, from the architectural group of which, with most careful estimate of distance and point of observation, that frieze, for instance, was designed to be a part;

isolation, thirdly, from the clear Greek skies, the poetic Greek life, in our modern galleries. And if one here there, in looking at these things, bethinks himself of tl required substitution; if he endeavours mentally to thro them back into that proper atmosphere through whi alone they can exercise over us all the magic by which th charmed their original spectators, the effort is not always successful one within the grey walls of the Louvre or tl British Museum."[1] The trained eye, assisted by sympatl of imagination, pierces through all obstacles to the tr vision; but there are many of us—perhaps more th would care to confess it—whom a first and uninstruct survey of Greek marbles in a museum leaves cold, carele bewildered. I do not think, therefore, that it is e tirely superfluous, even in the case of the finest works art, to give simple explanations of the nature of their e cellence; to suggest to the eye what it should see; to ci appreciations by competent authorities of past and prese times. "Countless generations have paused in front these monuments with admiration, joy, and love. The fore we also now admire, enjoy, and love; and by t continuity of worship we seem to be linked with the g soul of the world."[2]

The sensuous appeal in Greek art is reinforced b intellectual appeal. Ancient sculpture puts forth not forms of beauty pleasant to the eye, but a series of tho in stone. The best Greek sculptors were "most s sensuous of the sons of art." The human figures they present to us seem actually, as has been well "to conceive thoughts." A second element of i in such works is therefore intellectual. To see there is to be seen in them we require to know sor of the reasonable spirit which informed the design order of ideas which suggested and governed the matter. Probably every visitor to the British Mus instinctively the beauty of many of the figures ar

[1] From *Greek Studies*, p. 195—a volume which contains s ters of special interest in connection with the British Museum

[2] Robert de la Sizeranne, *Ruskin and the Religion of Bea*

in the frieze of the Parthenon; but those of us who are not already versed in the subject may not at once perceive the rational principles which differentiate the treatment of low relief and high relief. So, again, no one is likely to be unmoved by some haunting sense of beauty as he stands before the seated goddess from Cnidus; but that sense will be deepened and extended by a knowledge of the mythological ideas which informed the artist's mind, and of the local shrine which our Demeter once adorned. Notes on such points as these are, I believe, among the most useful aids to stimulating interest in "chill and ancient stones." As a French critic says: "You admire the modelling, the relief, and the play of shadow, perhaps the graceful movement of a simple gesture or the noble lines of multiplex folds; but unless you be truly a craftsman your attention will wander if your intellectual appetite be not excited. Those relics resting on the black marble pavements of chill halls in the British Museum[1] are so far from life, so scarcely do they touch the economy of the great world as we know it, its passions or its sorrows as we feel it, its pleasures as we love them." But indeed they do touch it; only it needs some rousing of intellectual interest to call forth from the inert fragment of marble the idea which stirred it at birth. If such aids to the understanding be desirable even in the case of the best Greek sculpture, they are indispensable in some of the other groups of artistic antiquities. Especially is this so with Greek vase-painting. There is indeed much in Greek vases which appeals directly to the senses—their graceful shapes, the

[1] "It is difficult," says a vigorous pamphleteer, "to repress a shudder as we enter the long dim galleries—I had almost said wards—in which our noblest sculpture finds a home. And why not wards? Hospital wards, wards of a *maison-dieu* on a large scale; frigid, cheerless chambers in which the poor exiled gods and heroes shiver and are a-cold; inhospitable places, without even the austere majesty of a mausoleum; an asylum for decayed divinities" (Henry Naegely, *Concerning the Royal Academy and other Reveries*, p. 61). But there are objections to palaces as well as prisons. "No one," says a high authority, "who in the Louvre has strained his eyes in studying the ill-lit collection of vases, or tried to appreciate correctly, in spite of the cross-lights, the modelling of a statue, will wish for museums built as palaces" (Eugénie Sellers in the *Classical Review*, 1899, p. 280).

dappled brightness of their decoration, their sprigh vigour of design. But the vase-painter's art was in la measure conventional to the end, and some knowledge his conventions—as also of his themes—is essential to a adequate appreciation. What Professor Gardner says schoolboys in this connection is equally true, I imagi of many older people: "The very first thing that sho be done is to explain to the boys the accepted conventic of ancient art. This is the alphabet and grammar of t subject. It is useless to show to a class any ancient rep sentation until they know what to look for, and how interpret what they see. The customs of Greek drawing a composition are so different from those of our time, tl boys will often find the illustration unintelligible or absurd.

On technical matters, and on the historical developme of the various arts, I have also supplied some notes, thou on the former subject more sparingly. A few simple planations are given about many of the technical proces which the antiquities suggest, and attention is call to the characteristics of successive schools and differ artists. Following the admirable arrangement of Exhibition Galleries, I have discussed the histo development of ancient art in various kinds. The e tion of artistic motives is also occasionally illustr These are all subjects in which even the general may, I think, find real interest.

All the works of ancient art collected in the M have, further, an archæological interest, and many of t quities have no other. "The record of the Huma said Sir Charles Newton in his *Discourse on the Archæology*, "is not all contained in printed book may also "dig it out from the barrow and the Nekro out of the fragments thus found reconstruct in m antiquities something like an image of the Past template this image in fairer proportions, in r lineaments, as it has been transmitted by endless in the broken mirror of art." In some cases ar evidence is the only basis of history; more

[1] *Classical Archæology in Schools* (1902).

is an illustration of history. The interest of the collections in the Museum as illustrating the manners, customs, ideas, beliefs of the Greeks and Romans is endless; the antiquities touch classical literature at a hundred points, explaining sometimes what is obscure, illustrating at other times what is familiar, and always making the written word more vivid and actual. Within the limits of a Handbook such as this, so vast a field of interest can only, as it were, be scratched and sampled. These things I have tried to do by including occasional notes upon the literary and historical significance of the antiquities.

A collection of antiquities makes yet some further claims upon the interest of the public. They appeal, for one thing, to the imagination. Mankind, in all ages and under all creeds, has had a certain veneration more or less superstitious, but never entirely unreasonable, for relics. Antiquities are themselves relics, and as such appeal (as has been truly said) to some of the most deeply seated principles of human nature—to that power of connection with the past which has been called one of the divinest elements of our being, to the law of association, and to that love of something like ocular testimony which notoriously affects the mind more forcibly than "the hearing of the ear." The man who has stood upon the Acropolis, or walked the Roman Forum, may add nothing thereby to his historical knowledge; but he has enjoyed an imaginative pleasure which no amount of historical reading can in quite the same way afford. That pleasure may be derived, though in a less vivid degree, from lingering among the great historical monuments and even the minor works of art and curiosity which are collected in our Museum galleries. (And here it may incidentally be remarked that some familiarity with the British Museum will greatly add to the intelligent pleasure of travel in classical lands or sight-seeing in foreign galleries. Abroad it is a matter of conscience with the Englishman to perambulate every gallery and museum. He does not always remember that at home, in the British Museum, he has at hand what is, on the whole, the finest collection of

antiquities in the world. Some little study of this might turn into a pleasure the duty which he undertakes abroad.) The contemplation of antiquities at once adds vividness to knowledge, and affords food to the imagination. "Their proper function," it has been well said, "is to convince the beholder of the reality of ancient life, quite as much as to increase his knowledge of it."[1] Many of us who were at school in days before archæology had been admitted to the curriculum can endorse what Professor Gardner says, that "the teaching of the classics in schools suffers from a certain unreality, because the learners do not realise that the ancients were men like ourselves and walked on earth." There is no excuse for such impediments to learning in the case of London schools, where visits to the Museum might be included in every time-table. Familiarity with a collection of antiquities serves better than anything else to supply the want of actuality in classical studies. Here, in the galleries of the British Museum,

> Peopled with forms that mock the eternal dead
> In marble immortality,

we are brought face to face with actual works of ancient civilisations, with remains of famous edifices, with monuments of the life and faith of nations that have passed away. Such a collection helps us to repeople the ancient world, and suggests at every turn the commonplaces, ever old and ever new, of the mutability of human fortune:-

> I do love these ancient ruins;
> We cannot tread upon them, but we set
> Our foot upon some reverend history. . . .
> But all things have their end,
> Castles and cities (which have diseases like to men)
> Must have like death which we have.

The British Museum is peculiarly the home of such thoughts, for its galleries of Greek and Roman marbles contain stones from many a sacred shrine and famous building famous alike in history and in art. Some survives of the Seven Wonders of the World may

[1] "The Roman World," an essay by F. Haverfield, in the volume entitled *Authority and Archæology* (John Murray).

be seen in London." In the ancient world men travelled, before they died, to see the shrine of Mausolus or the temple of Ephesian Artemis. It is to the British Museum that men must now pay pilgrimage to gain some idea of what those famous buildings were, when their stones still stood the one upon the other. In future ages when our Museum is in turn a ruin, and our civilisation has passed away, who knows what questions may not be suggested by the unburying of these treasures—relics then of London, not of Greece or Nineveh?[1] Nor is it only among the greater marbles of the Museum that such thoughts arise. In the other galleries, where urns and vases, gold and gems, and a thousand articles of use or adornment are collected, we are reminded of a curious distinction between pagan and Christian times. It is to the kindly charities of the grave that we owe the preservation of so many relics of antiquities. Uncertain or but dimly conscious of the immortality of the soul, the ancients set themselves by every means which pious imagination could conceive to assist the survival of the body. The Egyptians, believing that the life of the spiritual "double" was in some mysterious manner dependent on the survival of the fleshly body that they knew, embalmed the dead, and encased them, and raised over them, in proportion to their worldly state, masses and even pyramids of protection. By such customs and beliefs, the ancient world has obtained an immortality — if not the immortality it sought. The banquets which the Etruscans imagined for the happy dead are set before us to-day, in carved stone, and are almost all that survives of that once wise and powerful people. The Egyptian mummies, which no human eyes were ever to see, live in our modern museums to excite the curiosity of every passing tourist; and the art and literature of the Greek world have in large measure been preserved because they were buried. A MS. of Plato's discourse on the Immortality of the Soul was found not long ago, encasing an Egyptian mummified body. What a text for the moralist! But to the anti-

[1] See D. G. Rossetti's "Burden of Nineveh," a poem into which is distilled much of the romance of the British Museum.

quarian, the strange coincidence might suggest somewhat mixed reflections. The tombs of the pagan world are rich because their faith in another life was faint or gross. There will be no treasure trove, for the antiquarians of 4000 A.D., in the tombs of to-day. The Greeks placed vases and statuettes—the exquisitely graceful Tanagra figurines among them—to keep company with the dead. We fling only flowers, for remembrance, not for survival. When the Layards and Schliemanns and Petries and Newtons and Murrays of future ages search our graveyards, they will be empty.

Closely connected with what may be called the moralities of the British Museum is the interest which gathers round the methods by which the collections have been formed. To appeal to this collector's interest is another object which I have kept in mind in the selection of my notes. The collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, like other departments of the British Museum, owes more to private enterprise than to the initiative of the State, though the authority and resources of the State have also, as we shall see, been often employed on its behalf "The real founders of the British Museum have bee neither our British monarchs nor our British legislators, as such. They have been, commonly, individual and priva British subjects; men loyal both to the crown and to t people. Often, they have been men standing in dir lineal descent from the great barons. Sometimes t' have been men of very lowly birth. One boast is comr to both of these groups of our public benefactors. T were men who had alike a strong sense of gratitu those who had gone before them, and a strong se duty to those who were to come after them." [1] The founder of the department of antiquities in the Museum was Sir Hans Sloane. It was in consequ his will (1753) that the incorporation of the Muse place, and his collections included a large number gems, and other antiquities. A great addition w

[1] *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, by Edwa (Trübner).

to the Museum in 1772, by the purchase of a collection formed by Sir William Hamilton while British Ambassador at the Court of Naples. This acquisition was the first instance of a parliamentary vote (£8400) on any considerable scale for the purchase of antiquities. The Hamilton collection was especially rich in Greek vases, for which Sir William had a collector's passion. He was once seen coming from the Palace in full court dress, with stars and orders, carrying a basket full of vases; a ragged lazzarone held one handle of the basket, the British Ambassador the other. Upon the Townley Marbles which were acquired in 1805, and upon Mr. Townley himself, some notes will be found in Chapter III. The history of the Elgin Marbles is detailed in Chapter X.; it is a curious episode, and this acquisition set a distinctive glory upon the antiquities of the Museum.[1] The Elgin Marbles were

[1] In connection with what is said at p. 149 with regard to the discovery in private collections of fragments from the Parthenon, a curious case in point has been recorded while this book was passing through the press. In a paper read before the Institute of British Architects on November 17, 1902, Dr. A. S. Murray "mentioned that a year or more ago he received from a clergyman a copy of a Greek inscription on a piece of marble in a rockery in Essex. It turned out to be an inscription which had been missing since about 1771, in which year it was published in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries. The story was that Stuart, when in Athens preparing the drawings for his famous book, had picked up this inscribed piece of marble, and, after changing hands several times, it was eventually found on an estate in Essex, once belonging to a well-known antiquary, Thomas Astle. The inscription is of no little historical interest, being part of a monument erected in Athens in honour of volunteers from Cleonæ, who had fought on the side of the Athenians (457 B.C.) in the battle of Tanagra against the Lacedæmonians and Euboeans. When the copy was sent to Dr. Murray he noted that an important part of the inscription was still missing. Since then, however, a son of the present owner of the estate had found that part in digging round the rockery. The larger piece has a bleached appearance from long exposure, but the fragment lately dug up looks as if it might have been brought from Athens the other day. Two or three months ago the gardener, in digging beside the old rockery, came upon what has turned out to be a fragment of the Parthenon frieze. Though found under the earth the fragment must have been long exposed to severe English weather. Down the face of the sculptured horseman the rain has driven furrows, which take away some of its charms. This fragment does not appear in any drawings made before Lord Elgin's time. It had fallen before then, most likely during the gunpowder explosion within the Parthenon in the seventeenth century" (*Times*, November 19, 1902).

not only of unique importance in themselves; they were unique also, for those days, in being unrestored. A great German expert of the present time emphasises the scientific spirit, which inspired the formation and guided the accumulation of our antiquities, as the distinguishing glory of the British Museum:—

"The good fortune which accompanied this foundation soon brought to it, in the sculptures from the Parthenon, the greatest marvel of pure beauty which antiquity has left us. But a collection supported by the scientific spirit could also afford to receive what was outwardly insignificant and mutilated, though to the eye of the scholar priceless; nor did it need to rest content with showy and decorative objects worked up or restored in modern times. The British Museum was a free state—for a long time the only one—for original works of art from Greece and the East which were left unrestored and untouched by any modern hand" (Furtwängler, *Ueber Kunstsammlungen in alter und neuer Zeit*).

The next great acquisition was that of the Phigalian Marbles in 1815-16 (Ch. XIII.). In 1824 the collection of Payne Knight, the great connoisseur of his time, passed to the Museum by bequest. In the formation of this collection, which was especially rich where the Townley collection had been poor—namely, in bronzes—Knight had spent infinite pains and enjoyed remarkable luck. Its value was estimated at his death at £60,000. The story of the Lycian marbles, added to the Museum in 1845, is told i
Ch. XI. The expeditions of Sir Charles Newton (1856-5
which enriched the Museum with treasures from Cnid
(Ch. VIII.) and Halicarnassus (Ch. XII.), were equipped
the State. Archæologists of our day must look back,
in wonder, half in longing, at the way in which Fo
Office, Admiralty, and Treasury all contributed t
Charles Newton's undertakings. Among the
attached to Newton's expedition was the late Sir
Murdoch Smith; to his enterprise the Museum
debted for marbles from the Cyrenaica (Ch. III.
excavations at Ephesus (1863-75) were organise
Trustees at the public expense (Ch. IX.). The e

at Prienè, which also resulted in important acquisitions (Ch. XII.), were conducted at the expense and under the direction of the Society of Dilettanti, reinforced by pecuniary assistance from Mr. Ruskin. The next accessions of principal importance were the results of purchases of existing collections out of public funds. Such were the purchases from the Farnese Palace at Rome (1864) and the Pourtalès collection (1865), the acquisition of the Blacas collection (1866), and purchases from Mr. Alessandro Castellani (1872-73). The most important of recent acquisitions are those which have rewarded the excavations in Cyprus by Dr. Murray and his assistants; these have been carried out by funds bequeathed by Miss E. T. Turner in 1892 (Chs. XVII. and XXV.). Notes on many of these matters will be found in the following pages, as well as on minor acquisitions which need not here be enumerated.

Some knowledge of the circumstances under which the various antiquities have found their way into our Museum Galleries adds not a little to their interest. The history of their excavation is often full of romance; that of their acquisition tells not only of moving accidents, but of many a diplomatic struggle. Byron, in a characteristic outburst, cursed the whole antiquarian tribe as "emasculated fogies." The annals of the British Museum tell a different tale. The life even of the collector has its fierce temptations, disappointments, triumphs. The work of the excavator is not of plodding industry alone compact; it often makes a heavy call on the endurance, courage, and resource of a man.

Of the researches and excavations not already noticed, by which the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities has been enriched, many were undertaken by members of the Consular service, or by British residents abroad who enjoyed in other ways favourable opportunities which they turned to the advancement of archæology and adornment of the national collection. Such were the late Mr. George Dennis, who conducted excavations in Sicily, in the Cyrenaica, and around Smyrna; Sir Alfred Biliotti, who worked in Rhodes; and Sir Hamilton Lang, who excavated

the temple of Idalium in Cyprus (Ch. xv.). Sir Charles Newton, too, during his years of work and sojourn in the East, held posts in the Consular service. In many cases archæology and diplomacy have gone hand in hand, and the history of British policy and prestige may be traced in the sculpture galleries of the British Museum. This, too, is a source of interest upon which I have drawn in my notes. The works of art which lay buried or stood uncared for in Hellenic lands had passed under the dominion of the Turk. In "backing the wrong horse," Lord Salisbury's predecessors scored at any rate one advantage for their country; it was by favour of the Turk that the British Museum obtained its greatest treasures. The advantage in these days accrues elsewhere.

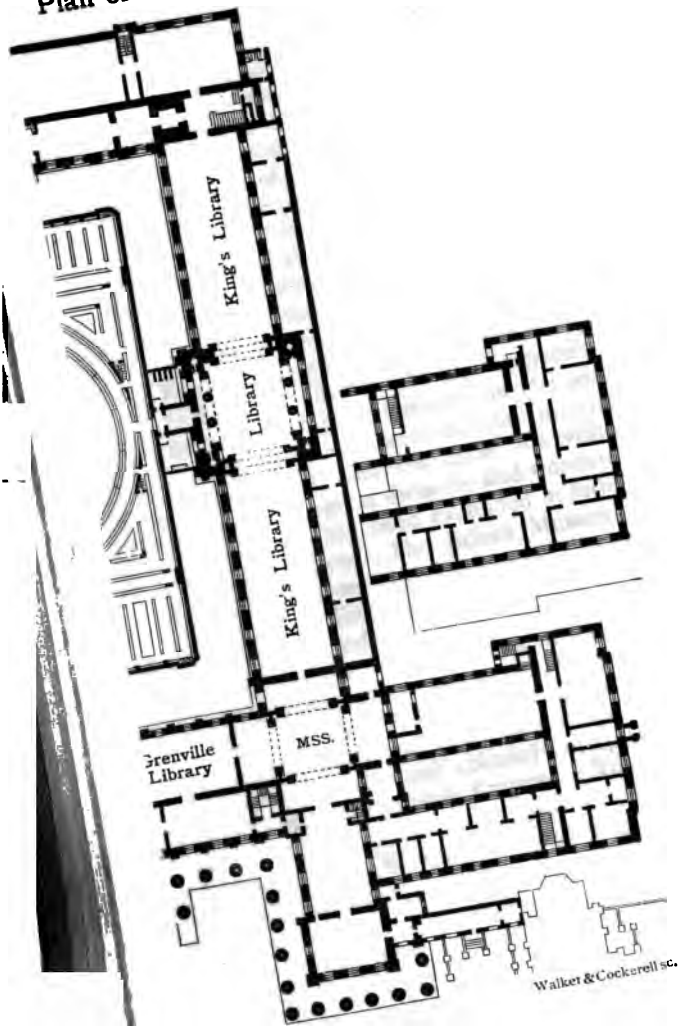
Some familiarity with such persons, incidents, adventures, as have been indicated in the preceding paragraphs, and as are noticed more in detail in subsequent pages, can hardly fail to impress upon the visitor to the British Museum the great diversity and wonderful combination of effort which has been expended in forming the collections he looks upon. The British Museum is in this respect essentially a national institution. As one of its annalists truly says, "Every part and almost every age of the world has contributed something. Almost every man of British birth who has won fame as a traveller, as an archæologist, or as a discoverer, has helped, in one way or another, to enrich those collections. They bear their own peculiar testimony to nearly every step which has been taken either in the maritime and colonial enterprise, or in the political growth, of the British Empire." To make some little contribution to the better enjoyment of the treasures thus collected is the hope that has encouraged the compiler of the following pages.

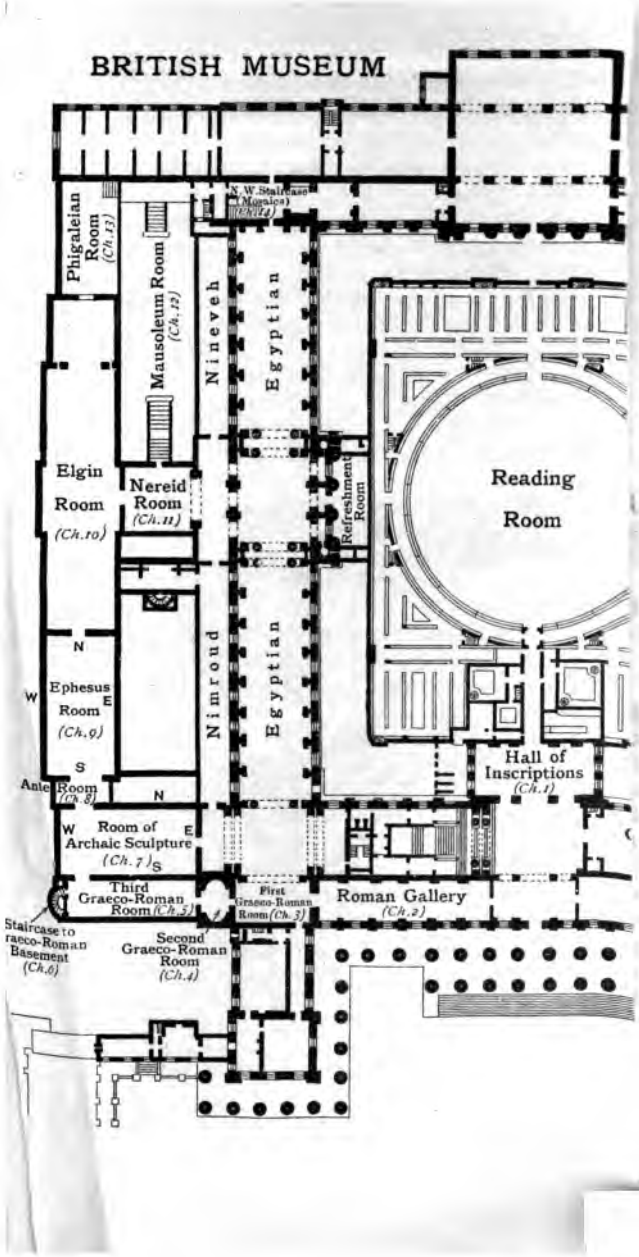
E. T.

November 1902.

☞ *Between the Entrance Hall (in which are some pieces of sculpture) and the Reading Room is the "Hall of Inscriptions." This Hall is the subject of our First Chapter.*

Plan of the Ground Floor,




BRITISH MUSEUM
N.W. Staircase (Mosaics) (Ch.14)
Phigaleian Room (Ch.13)
Mausoleum Room (Ch.12)
Nineveh
Egyptian
Elgin Room (Ch.10)
Nereid Room (Ch.11)
Refreshment Room
Reading Room
Nimroud
Egyptian
N
W
Ephesus Room
E
(Ch.9)
S
Ante Room (Ch.8)
N
Hall of Inscriptions (Ch.1)
W
Room of Archaic Sculpture (Ch.7)
E
S
Third Graeco-Roman Room (Ch.5)
First Graeco-Roman Room (Ch.3)
Roman Gallery (Ch.2)
Staircase to Graeco-Roman Basement (Ch.6)
Second Graeco-Roman Room (Ch.4)

Plan o

Grenvil
Librar

PLAN OF THE GALLERIES

(GROUND FLOOR)

CHAPTER I

THE HALL OF INSCRIPTIONS

I. Inscriptions. II. Miscellaneous Statues.

Litera scripta manet.

INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIBED stones such as we see here around us may be called the museums or record offices of the ancient world. In modern times official documents are either written on parchment or committed to the printing press, the parchment being stored in the Record Office, the printed copies in the British Museum and elsewhere. The ancients had no such instruments of publication and record. "When any treaty, law, or other public document had to be promulgated, this was done by exhibiting in certain places of public resort authenticated copies, inscribed first on perishable and ultimately on durable materials; and with a view to the perpetual preservation of these inscriptions they were very generally set up in temples or in public buildings, which afforded every possible guarantee for their safe custody" (C. T. Newton's *Essays on Art and Archæology*, a book which contains an interesting introduction to the study of Greek inscriptions). A large part of our knowledge of the ancient world is due to the preservation of inscribed records, and every day excavations are yielding fresh material in this field. Of the inscriptions exhibited in this Hall (which are only a very small selection from those possessed by the Museum), the most interesting will be noticed in the following pages. These notes will indicate to those unfamiliar with the subject the kind of information derivable from inscribed stones.

Turning to the left as we enter, we come first to a **Law of the City of Iasos** (No. 440). This stone was taken from the

uins of Iasos (on the coast of Caria) during a visit made by he Duke of St. Albans to that site in 1872, and was shipped on board his Grace's yacht under Sir Charles Newton's superintendence. The inscription is a law regulating the perquisites of the priest of Zeus the Almighty. Priesthoods were valuable offices, and were often put up to sale, just as livings are among us—though, to be sure, the Greek law imposed in most cases conditions as to the requirements of incumbents more stringent than any which the English law imposes on the purchaser of the next presentation to a living. The principle of the Mosaic law, that "those who minister to the altar are to be fed from the altar," prevailed also among the Greeks; and one of the provisions of the law before us is a specification of the joints from sacrificial victims which are to be the priest's perquisites.

Next we may notice a very famous inscription—the **Sigean Marble.** This is a tall slab from Sigeum in the Troad, inscribed with a dedication recording the gift to the Sigeans of a vase, stand, and strainer, by Phanodicus of Proconnessus. This inscription came from Lord Elgin's collection, and was much valued on account of its antiquity. The inscription is in the most archaic Greek character, and in the *boustrophedon* manner (*i.e.* turning like oxen in ploughing, as explained below). Its date is about 520 B.C., contemporary, or nearly so, with the Branchidæ inscriptions (see Ch. VII.):—

"Every ambassador from Christian Powers to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the zenith of his power, had failed to obtain leave for its removal. Lord Elgin found it forming a seat at the door of a Greek chapel, and it had been resorted to by persons afflicted with ague, who, deriving great relief from remaining reclined upon it, attributed their recovery to the marble, and not to the elevated situation and sea air, of which it procured them the advantage. Meanwhile the practice of so using it had nearly obliterated many of the letters. It is, however, the most ancient and curious specimen extant of Greek writing at an epoch when the alphabet was very imperfect, and when the lines went alternately from right to left and from left to right like the furrows made by oxen in ploughing" (*Memorandum on the Objects of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, 1810, pp. 21, 22).

The next stones to be noticed contain **Inscriptions from the piers of the Temple of Athena at Priené** in Asia Minor, the remains of which are in the Museum (see Ch. XII.). These inscriptions are of great and varied interest. One (399) gives the date of the temple, 334 B.C., and

dedication to Athena by Alexander the Great. Several others refer to a dispute between Prienè and Samos with regard to a delimitation of boundaries on the mainland—a dispute of which the history can be traced, partly from literary references to it and partly on these stones, for four centuries. At one stage it was referred to the Republic of Rhodes for settlement —an early instance of international arbitration. The Rhodian award is given on No. 403. But an arbitrator's award does not always give satisfaction, and after the Roman conquest of Asia Minor the dispute was referred for final settlement to the Roman Senate. The Senate in 135 B.C. confirmed the Rhodian award in favour of Prienè. The decree, together with an elaborate schedule specifying the exact boundaries, is inscribed on one of the wall stones here preserved. (A summary of this dispute, more protracted even than a Chancery suit, may be read in Appendix I. of Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought.*)

Another interesting inscription here is a **Law passed by the Assembly of Halicarnassus** (886). This slab of white marble was found by Sir C. Newton built into the wall of a house in the Greek quarter of Budrum (the ancient Halicarnassus):—

"It has a special interest from its connection with the principal incident in the life of Herodotus, his expulsion from his native Halicarnassus, to escape the tyranny of Lygdamis. The inscription contains a law, the enactment of which must have been the result of some kind of political convention between Lygdamis on the one hand, and the people of Halicarnassus on the other. The object of the law is to secure certain persons in the possession of lands and houses, by assigning a term after which their titles could not be disturbed. It is probable that the lands in question had belonged to political exiles, and had on confiscation been purchased by other parties. To guard against the possibility of repeal, it is enacted that, if any one tries to invalidate it, he is to be sold as a slave" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 106).

We may notice also an **archaic inscription** from Ephesus (678), **relating to divination** from the flight of birds, *e.g.* "If the bird is flying from left to right, should it settle out of sight in a straight line, it is unlucky."

In the centre of the west half of the room is an **Inscribed Column from Rhodes** (344). This had been built into a step in the pavement inside the church of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been converted into a mosque after the taking of Rhodes by the Turks. In 1856 a powder magazine in the vaults under the mosque exploded, destroying the edifice. The fragments of

the inscription were rescued from the ruins and were presented by the Pasha of Rhodes to King Edward VII. (then Prince of Wales) on the occasion of his visit to the island. The Prince presented the marble to the Museum in 1873. The subject of the inscription is a decree of the people of Rhodes in reference to subscription to a loan on the occasion of some great emergency, when the equipment of a naval expedition was necessary. The names of those who promised contributions were to be submitted to the assembly, which was to decide whether each offer was worthy of acceptance. The names of subscribers are here published on marble. The contributions were mostly in money, but partly also in kind (provisions for the crews, etc.).

Here also is a cast of a pillar under the piece of black marble pavement in the Roman Forum, the so-called **Niger Lapis**, the discovery of which by Commendatore Boni in 1899 caused so much stir in the archæological world. In the popular journals the discovery of "the tomb of Romulus" was heralded forth. But the legend of Romulus was that he had mysteriously disappeared from the earth. An ancient writer says, however, that in the Comitium there was a black stone which marked the spot as unlucky, because it reminded the Romans of the tomb of the founder of their city, adding that Romulus was not buried there, but only Faustulus and one named Quintilius. In the excavations of 1899 there was discovered a pavement of black marble in the Comitium, and this may be taken to mark the spot where, according to popular fancy, Romulus or Faustulus (his guardian) was buried. The identification was supported both by various evidences that the spot had been regarded as sacred, and by the discovery of two oblong bases, apparently of the lions which, according to Roman tradition, stood by the tomb. Pursuing his excavations, Commendatore Boni next unearthed, beneath the "Black Stone," a four-sided shaft, or *cippus*, of tufa. It is a copy of this shaft (presented to the Museum by Queen Victoria) which we see before us. The meaning of the pillar is still a mystery, but its great antiquity is certain. On each of the four sides of the *cippus*, and along one edge, which had been cut down to make extra space for letters, there is an archaic inscription, in archaic letters, which read alternately from right to left and from left to right (*boustrophedon*, see above, p. 2). The words are the earliest, and as yet little understood, stage of

language, and the upper portion of the *cippus* was at some unknown time destroyed. The general drift of what remains is believed to refer to the making of sacrifices.

Passing now to the north wall, we come to the **Salutarian Inscription** (481) from Ephesus. These stones are of great interest—among other reasons, for the associations with the New Testament which they suggest. It will be remembered that St. Paul's preaching the Gospel at Ephesus was attended with great popular tumult, raised by the silversmiths who made images for the Temple of Artemis (Diana) there, and who saw their trade endangered :—

> And the whole city was filled with confusion; and . . . they rushed with one accord into the theatre. . . . All with one voice, about the space of two hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

It was from this same theatre that the stones now before us were taken; and it is to silver images of the goddess that the inscriptions on the stones refer. They relate to a number of gold and silver images, weighing from three to seven lbs. each, which were dedicated to Artemis by a wealthy Roman named C. Vibius Salutarius. Among other particulars, instructions are given as to the plate-powder to be used in cleaning them. On the birthday of the goddess the images were to be carried in procession from the temple to the theatre. The discovery of these stones in the theatre led incidentally to that of the temple itself (see Ch. IX.), for the inscriptions recorded the route taken by the procession, and this gave a clue to Mr. Wood, the explorer, which ultimately led him to the site of the buried temple. The stones were inscribed about 100 A.D. Seventeen centuries later, these records of a Roman's liberality to the heathen goddess were removed by British bluejackets and embarked on board H.M.S. *Terrible* for conveyance to London.

In the other (east) half of the room, beyond the door into the reading-room, another **inscription relating to the Temple at Ephesus** may be noticed (522). It is in Greek and Latin, and records the rebuilding of the outer boundary walls by order of Augustus, 6 B.C. The name of the proconsul, C. Asinius Gallus, in lines three and six, was erased when he was sentenced to death by the Roman Senate. Other interesting inscriptions on this same (north) wall are :—

Marble slab (35) with **inscription referring to the Erechtheum** (p. 194). This may be called the earliest "blue-book" extant. It is a report drawn up in 409 B.C. by a Special Commission appointed to inquire into the progress of the building. "In this elaborate report the exact state in which the building is found by the surveyors is noted with a minuteness which could have left no room for future subterfuge or procrastination, for every block of marble which carries any ornament is specified as either finished and in position, or as partially finished and not yet in its place on the building."

Epitaph, in elegiac verses, **on Athenians who fell in battle before Potidæa.** Potidæa was a town in the Thracian peninsula, and tributary to Athens. With the help of Corinth it revolted in the summer of 432 B.C. The Athenians sent an expedition to Potidæa, which gained a victory, but only with the loss of the commander Callias and 150 men, who are here commemorated :—

Their souls high heaven received, their bodies gained
In Potidæa's plains the hallowed tomb ;
Their foes unnumbered fell ; a few remained,
Saved by their ramparts from the general doom.
The victor city mourns her heroes slain ;
Foremost in fight, they for her glory died ;
'Tis yours, ye sons of Athens, to sustain,
By martial deeds like theirs, your country's pride.

Other Athenian inscriptions on this wall consist of public documents, which are of great historical interest. Some are *financial*—treasury minutes, as we should call them, or budget statements. Thus, No. 23 records the disbursements for a year, including a heavy item for the support of the Athenian expedition under Nicias in Sicily. Nos. 29 and 32, on the other hand, are inventories of the national assets. Other records are *political*. No. 2 is a decree relating to a truce during the Eleusinian mysteries ; No. 3 is a Reform Bill for the people of Erythræ ; No. 4 regulates the position of the island of Eubœa ; No. 6 treats of lawsuits arising in respect of the tribute of subject allies of Athens. Other inscriptions relate to *Temples*. Thus, No. 33 is an inventory of the Treasure of the Parthenon. (This might also be classed as financial, for the treasures were in part a kind of state gold reserve, p. 189) :—

"A board of ten treasurers, appointed by lot yearly from the wealthiest class, took charge of the sacred deposit; and it was their duty on going out of office every year to take stock of the treasure, and to hand it to their successors as per inventory. Every fifth year, at the great Panathenaic festival, the registers of the four preceding years were inscribed on marble stelæ, the series of which is nearly complete from B.C. 434 to the downfall of Athens, B.C. 404. The inventories specify a great variety of precious objects, adding the weight in every case where it could be ascertained. As we read through this list of statues, crowns, cups, lamps, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and other ornaments, all of gold or silver, and many of them, doubtless, exquisitely fashioned, and remember that these beautiful objects, once so jealously guarded, have all long since vanished in the crucible, we may learn to set greater store on the few specimens of Greek jewellery which have been rescued from destruction by the happy accident that they were deposited, not in temples under the immediate protection of tutelary deities, but in the dark and silent tomb, under no other guardianship than that of the dead" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 113).

Another temple document of interest is No. 34, on which is inscribed a list almost wholly made up of articles of clothing dedicated in various years by the women of Athens to Artemis. The list includes a large number of children's clothes, *e.g.* "a little tunic with a plain purple border that has been washed out." "Were these the clothes of children cut off by Artemis in infancy, such as bereaved mothers nowadays often treasure for years, having no temple wherein to dedicate them?"

On the east wall are **Latin inscriptions**, and a series of Roman **cippi** (square sepulchral urns). Among them may be noticed:—

Record (83*) of the building of a bridge by the Emperor Domitian, whose name is here erased, 90 A.D. The inscription was found at Coptos in Egypt. It is known that the monuments of Domitian were defaced by his successor.

Dedication of a Roman camp (also found in Egypt) to Jupiter, Hercules, and Victory by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus, 288 A.D.

Beginning of a Latin poem in hexameters, on a visit to Egypt, 134 A.D.

Tablet with two lines of verse asking, Who can tell from a bare skeleton whether the person has been a Hylas (the beautiful boy beloved of the nymphs) or Thersites (the ugly clown in Homer)?

Draught-board (*tabula lusoria*).—Such boards are inscribed with six words of six letters, making thirty-six places, on which pieces were moved by throws of dice. Here the mottoes refer to the games, "Circus full," "Great shouting," "Door closed."

Several sepulchral inscriptions and **dedications**. One of the most interesting, found near the Porta Portese at Rome, and presented by Lord Savile (88*), is dedicated by Florianus *to an unnamed deity—si deo si deai*—whether god or goddess, a parallel to the altar inscribed with a dedication "To an unknown god" which St. Paul noticed at Athens :—

"As a rule the priests refrained from mentioning in public the name and sex of new and slightly known divinities, especially of local genii. For two reasons : first, because there was danger of vitiating the ceremony by a false invocation ; secondly, because it was prudent not to reveal the true name of these tutelary gods to the enemy of the commonwealth, lest in case of war or siege he could force them to abandon the defence of that special place by mysterious and violent rites. The formula *si deus si dea* is a consequence of this superstition" (Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 72).

Tombstone of Publius Petronius Secundus, his wife and children. This Greek inscription, seen and copied in Smyrna, about the year 1701, by Dr. Sherard, was found in 1901 in the course of excavations at Vauxhall. Presented to the Museum by the London and South-Western Railway Company.

On the south wall are two **marble slabs** (Nos. 811, 812), brought by Lord Aberdeen in the early part of last century from Sklavo-Khori, near Amyclæ in Laconia. "On both these are sculptured in relief various articles of female toilet, such as a pair of shoes, a hair-net, a mirror, combs, a shell for paint, and various little bottles for unguents. One of these slabs bears the name of a priestess, the other of a subordinate tirewoman attached to a temple. It seems probable that the objects dedicated in these two marbles represent the toilet of the priestess when she had to be attired in her sacred robes on solemn occasions" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 193). The slabs were found not far from the site of the ancient Bryseæ, where Pausanias (iii. 20, 4) mentions a temple of Dionysus which none but women were permitted to enter and where women only performed the sacrifices.

A Greek inscription from Thessalonica (171) is of interest as containing the names of certain magistrates called *politarchs*, an uncommon local title, accurately quoted by St. Luke (Acts xvii. 6, 8). This is one of several instances in which the evidence of archæology has established the accuracy of the writer of that book :—

"From Philippi, St. Paul went to Thessalonica (the modern Salonika), and there found himself, not in a Roman colony, but in a free Greek city which possessed its own constitution, like Athens, or Tarsus, or Antioch. It had received this privilege for the part that it had taken against Brutus and Cassius in the civil wars. It kept its old constitution; it had the right of self-government in its own affairs; and the governor of the province had, under normal circumstances, no right to interfere. Now, in the Acts the magistrates of this city are called *politarchs*, a name which does not appear in any other place in Greek literature; yet the evidence of inscriptions shows that its use here was perfectly accurate; an inscription of Salonika, on an arch which was demolished some years ago, tells us that it was erected when certain persons were 'politarchs of the city'" (*Authority and Archæology*, edited by D. G. Hogarth, p. 352).

MISCELLANEOUS STATUES

In addition to the inscriptions, this room also contains various statues and other works of art and curiosity. We will now make a second tour of the room in the same order as before, in order to examine these pieces:—

Ariadne, the wife of Dionysus, God of Wine.—She holds a thyrsus over the right shoulder and a bunch of grapes in her left hand. Her head is surrounded by a wreath of ivy. At her feet is a panther on its hind legs. Found by Gavin Hamilton near Rome.

Marcus Aurelius.—This statue was obtained at the capitulation of Alexandria in 1801. The Emperor is in civil costume, and wears the mild expression of a philosopher. For other and more powerful representations of him and remarks thereon, see p. 30.

Bacchic Vase.—This beautiful vase (from the Townley collection) was found by Gavin Hamilton in the villa of Antoninus Pius in detached pieces, which were afterwards joined together with one or two modern restorations. The bas-relief represents the orgies of Bacchus, a faun, a satyr, and Bacchantes dancing. Below, close to the pedestal, are eight female figures with wings, terminating in the form of tritons, and holding a patera in each hand. It was a vase of this kind (at Holland House)—"with brede of marble men and maidens overwrought"—that suggested to Keats his "Ode on a Grecian Urn":—

What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?
What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?
What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?

On the west wall are portrait busts of Greek philosophers, poets, and orators. The attributions are, however, in most cases conjectural only :—

Antisthenes (flourished about 400 B.C.).—The matted hair and the rugged character of the countenance correspond with what has been handed down concerning the squalid habits of this philosopher—the founder of the cynical philosophy, who placed man's highest virtue in the absence of wants, and whose disciples were the mendicant friars of their time.

Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.).—The great Athenian orator is represented in the act of speaking. The peculiar twist of the mouth is thought to indicate the infirmity of stammering, to which he was originally subject, and which he is said to have overcome by speaking with pebbles in his mouth, and declaiming on the sea-shore.

Bust from the Townley collection, where it was called **Sophocles**—

Whose even-balanced soul,
From first youth tested up to extreme old age,
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild :
Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole ;
The mellow glory of the Attic stage.

Here the poet is shown in middle life. The bust was found near Rome in 1775.

Anacreon (born about 562 B.C.).—So called from a certain resemblance of the head to that of a statue, formerly in the Villa Borghese (now at Copenhagen), which has been identified from its similarity to the figure of a poet on a coin of Teos, his native place.

Carneades (213-129 B.C.).—This philosopher—the founder of the so-called New Academy, or school of the sceptics, who could not even be sure that we are sure of nothing—visited Rome as a member of an Athenian embassy in 155 B.C., when he produced a great sensation by the keenness of his dialectic. Various portrait busts of him have been found at Rome.

Periander (665-585 B.C.).—Despot of Corinth, which city he raised to great power and influence. As he ruled so long before the age of portraiture, this bust of him is one of those

ideal portraits which artists of a later day carved under the influence of the traditions about the person represented (cf. the bust of Homer, p. 47). The sculptor seems to have been specially influenced by the motto "Study is everything," which was one of the traditional maxims of the Corinthian tyrant. The head is intellectual; the expression, severe and meditative.

On the north wall is a fine **statue dedicated to Demeter,** from Cnidus (1310). This is fully described, with the other figures from the same site, in Ch. VIII.

Here, also, is a statue of **the Emperor Hadrian** (see p. 26), in military costume. His cuirass is richly decorated with relief; in the centre is a gorgon's head; below, a winged female figure, Fortune or Victory, holding in her right hand a palm-branch, in her left a cornucopia. The reclining figure below may represent Abundantia. On the right and left are two captives, each kneeling at the foot of a trophy; the one on the right wears a Phrygian cap; the figure on the left, who may represent a Dacian, has his hands tied behind his back. This statue was found at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli.

In the centre of this part of the room is a large **crater,** twelve feet high. The subject of the relief on the body of the vase, which is rendered with much spirit, is that of satyrs busily engaged in a vintage. This vase, found at Hadrian's Villa, was purchased from Mr. Hugh Johnston in 1869. In the same part of the room are two **alabaster urns of the Roman period.** In one, broad and elegantly shaped, yellow alabaster is mixed with stripes of onyx. Pliny tells us (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. § 12) how particular the ancients were in selecting the condition and colour of their alabaster vases, which were used both for ashes and unguents. The best alabaster was from quarries in Asia; the whitest from Thebes in Egypt and Damascus. There is also a very remarkable **Roman funeral urn,** of circular form, ornamented with figures in very high relief. The execution is coarse, but the general effect is good. The subject is a battle between Romans, some of whom are on horseback, and Gauls. The costume of the Romans exactly agrees with that which we see on the Trajan and Antonine columns. It is possible that the person whose ashes were deposited in the urn may have fallen in the battle represented.

On the other side of the doors into the Reading Room the following statues, etc., may be noticed:—

Portrait statue of a Roman—not identified; presented to the Museum in 1854 by Mr. W. P. W. Freeman. He is clad in a tunic and toga. Probably a Roman Consul of the Augustan age. Notice the roll held in the left hand; this is the model which modern sculptors have adopted as the type for statues of public men.

Cleopatra.—A portrait bust of the famous Egyptian Queen, who fascinated in succession Julius Cæsar and Antony. (For portrait coins of her, see p. 539.)

Portrait head of **Cnæus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus** (1383), with a base (originally connected with the head by a square pedestal) containing an inscription by the people of Cyrenè in honour of "their patron and saviour." He was probably the first governor of the province of Cyrenè, where this head was found. Cornelius Lentulus was a man of some note in the later Republic. He supported the Sicilians against Verres, 70 B.C., and was consul 56 B.C. Cicero, whose cause he favoured, said he was one of the best consuls he had ever known.

Epicurus (342-270 B.C.).—The memory of this philosopher—the founder of the school of Epicureanism, which came to mean much that is the very opposite of the master's teaching—was held in great veneration in the Augustan age at Rome. His portrait abounded, we are told by Cicero and Pliny, in the houses of his admirers, and adorned their rings and drinking-cups. "The heavily drooping eyelids in the beautiful haggard face betoken a lassitude produced by exhausting study, while the pained movement of the lips finds its explanation in the physical suffering that racked the great philosopher. But the most outstanding characteristic is the prevailing expression of resignation. This is admirably in keeping with the philosophy of Epicurus, who taught that the greatest good was freedom from passion and suffering" (Helbig, *Guide to the Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, i. 201). This head was found in 1775 at Rome.

Euripides (480-406 B.C.).—Two portraits of the poet, who is represented to us, in the extant busts and statue, as "the poet of the world's grief—gentle, subdued, and full of sorrowing sympathy"—

> Our Euripides, the human,
> With his droppings of warm tears,
> And his touches of things common
> Till they rose to touch the spheres.

The portraits of Euripides are, says Mr. Mahaffy, peculiarly "interesting and thoroughly cosmopolitan."

Hippocrates (460-375 B.C.).—This bust, supposed to represent the celebrated ancient physician, was found near Albano, in the ruins of the villa of Marcus Varro, who, according to Pliny, had 700 portraits of illustrious men in his library. (For a discussion of the identity of this portrait, see Ellis's *Townley Gallery*, ii. 6.)

Diogenes (412-323 B.C.).—An old man nearly bald; the head bent forward and sunk between the shoulders, so as to appear almost deformed. The surly and satirical expression, the keen and observant glance, the unkempt hair, the poorly nourished flesh—all these traits admirably suit the cynical philosopher who ruthlessly carried out in daily life the theory of Antisthenes (see p. 10) that the absence of desire is the highest good, and who held himself above the ordinary conventions of society.

Demosthenes.—Another portrait of the great orator (see above, p. 10). The peculiar twist of the mouth is here less apparent. It is a favourite amusement to find modern likenesses in these old Greek and Roman portraits. The one before us is strikingly like a Liberal ex-Cabinet Minister.

Metrodorus.—The favourite pupil of Epicurus (p. 12). The head is less intellectual, but exhibits a similar expression of benevolent resignation.

A **vase** formerly in the Townley collection and very much restored. On the front is a Bacchic scene in relief; round the neck are branches of ivy. The handles terminate on the shoulder in swans' heads.

Thalia.—A statue of the pastoral muse, in a contemplative but commanding attitude. She holds the pedum or pastoral staff in her right hand and chaplet of ivy on her head. This statue, which is in fine preservation, was found at Ostia a few yards from the "Townley Venus" (Ch. IV.).

In the centre of this (E.) side of the room are the following pieces of sculpture:—

Pair of Greyhounds.—The hound in front turns round towards his companion, who bites his ear caressingly, and rests her left forefoot upon his shoulder. The action is easy and natural, and the group well composed.

A Sphinx.—Found by Gavin Hamilton in 1780 in the ruins of the villa of Antoninus Pius. The monster has a

female head; the body resembles that of a greyhound, but with longer and sharper claws; the tail is that of a lion. The sphinx was probably one of the supports of a table.

The Emperor Caligula on horseback.—"But more probably the figure belongs to the time of the Antonines, and represents Geta or Severus Alexander. Equestrian figures, except on a small scale, are very rare in ancient sculpture. The rider is well placed on the horse, and his drapery is well composed. The horse is treated in a conventional manner; the hind-quarters seem too small, and are feebly restored; the head has an exaggerated vivacity" (Newton's *Guide to the Græco-Roman Sculptures*).

An Altar.—Presented by Sir William Hamilton, 1775. The four corners are supported by four sphinxes. In the panel in front is a low relief representing Apollo standing by the side of a tripod.

Base of Candelabrum, on each of the three sides of which is a Cupid flying through the air and bearing, severally, the helmet, sword, and shield of Mars. At the corners of the base above the reliefs are rams' head; below, the busts of sphinxes project from the angles. Found on the Appian Way.

Mithras and the Bull.—No group is more familiar in galleries of ancient sculpture than this of a young warrior, in Phrygian cap and short tunic and mantle thrown back by the wind. Every one has seen him kneel in marble on the back of a bull and bury his poniard in its throat; we shall see another example in a later room (p. 65). Probably every one does not remember that in this representation of a mystic sacrifice we have a monument of a religion which once overspread the Roman world,[1] which was the most formidable rival that Christianity encountered, and from which some of the most sacred of Christian rites and festivals were borrowed. The group in itself has little that is spiritual, though much that is symbolic, about it. A dog and a snake are springing up to drink the blood of the victim; a scorpion seizes the animal underneath. Behind the bull are two small figures. These represent priests of the cult; for the young warrior is Mithras,

[1] In this country Mithraism had firmly planted itself, as may be gathered from the number of altars which have been discovered bearing inscriptions "to the most high god, the invincible Mithras." Remains of Mithraic caves have also been found (see T. Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 326-328).

the Persian sun-god, whose worship is said by Plutarch to have been introduced to Rome from Cilicia after the conquest of the pirates there by Pompey, 70 B.C. Originally the cult of Mithras was a form of sun-worship:—

"There seems little doubt that the allegory veiled under this representation is astronomical, illustrative of the sun's annual course. The figure of Mithras is supposed to represent the sun in its full power; the bull as typifying the earth and moon, the former by its use in agriculture, the latter by its horns, which form a crescent; the dagger showing the influence of the sun upon the earth, opening its veins and causing fertility. The dog and the serpent are emblematic of animated nature generally; the scorpion, of the decline of Nature's productive power" (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, i. 283).

But, as the worship spread, it was greatly refined and extended, until it became the purest and most elevated of all non-biblical religions. On the front of the plinth on which the group before us stands is an inscription, in letters probably of the third century A.D., recording that "Alcimus the slave, bailiff of Titus Claudius Livianus, dedicated this monument to the sun-god Mithras in fulfilment of a vow." Monuments of Mithras have been found all over the Roman world,—in all the regions of Italy, in Spain, Africa, and all the provinces bordering on the Danube and Rhine, in Gaul, and in Britain. There was no form of paganism which offered a more stubborn resistance to Christianity, partly because its ideas and ritual were in many respects very similar:—

"In the fourth century the ancient god of light has become the supreme power, who is all-seeing, all-pervading, who is the lord and origin of life, the cleanser from sin, the protector of the miserable, conqueror of evil demons and death, who assures to his faithful worshippers the hope of immortality. . . . The central idea seems to have been that of a power who conquers the spirits of darkness, leads souls from the under world, and gives peace by purification. . . . Its most impressive rite was the baptism of blood.[1] This ceremony was apparently a sacramental repetition of the symbolic slaughter of the

[1] Of the day-excursions from Rome few are so interesting as a visit to the ruins of Ostia. Here may be seen a Mithraic temple, with a well for baptizing the candidates, and seats for the worshippers. The mosaic pavement is divided off into seven portions, the steps taken by the initiated to gain the full secrets of the mysteries. At Rome itself, below the church of S. Clemente, the remains (now flooded and inaccessible) of a Mithraic chapel have been discovered—the newer worship thus literally superseding the older.

bull by the god himself. . . . With a true instinct, the Christian controversialists, from the second century, recognised in this cult the most dangerous spiritual foe of the Church, and ascribed its similarity to Christian ritual to the malign ingenuity of demons. In its expiation for sins by bloody baptism, its ascetic preparation for the holy mysteries, its oblation of the consecrated bread, its symbolic teaching of the resurrection, they might well see a cunning device of the evil one to find a false resting-place for souls who were longing for the light" (S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, pp. 67-70).

"As Mithraicism gradually blended with Christianity, changing its name but not altogether its substance, many of its ancient notions and rites passed over too, and the Birthday of the Sun, the visible manifestation of Mithras himself, was transferred to the commemoration of the Birth of Christ" (Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*). Thus Chrysostom says: "On this day (the birthday of Mithras), the birthday of Christ was lately fixed at Rome in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

☞ *We now enter the Roman Gallery, to the left of the Entrance Hall, afterwards visiting the three Græco-Roman Rooms, which open the one out of the other.*

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN PORTRAIT GALLERY

"On all the beautiful figures of men and women, throughout the ages, are written the solemnities and majesty of the law they knew, with the charity and weakness of their obedience; on all unbeautiful features are written either ignorance of the law, or the malice and insolence of the disobedience" (Ruskin, *The Art of England*, ch. iii.).

"Who does not know the curly-headed Marcus Aurelius, with his lifted brow and projecting eyes—from the full round beauty of his youth to the more haggard look of his latest years? Are there any modern portraits more familiar than the severe, wedge-like head of Augustus, with his sharp-cut lips and nose, or the dull phiz of Hadrian, with his hair combed down over his low forehead, or the vain, perking face of Lucius Verus, with his thin nose, low brow, and profusion of curls, or the brutal bull head of Caracalla?" (Story, *Roba di Roma*, ch. iv.).

THE portraits of Roman emperors and other notabilities of the imperial age are arranged in chronological order, covering a period of 250 years—from Julius Cæsar to the middle of the third century A.D. Here, as still more in the Hall of the Emperors in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, we may become familiar with the faces of successive rulers of the Roman world. Sometimes the evidence of the marble portrait is what we should expect from the written histories. The piercing eye and intellectual brow of the first Cæsar, the imperial calm and mastery of Augustus, the stern simplicity of Trajan, the mild benignity of Antoninus Pius, the clear and steadfast gaze of Marcus Aurelius, the bestial ugliness of Caracalla: these appearances in the portraits before us are all in accordance with the distinctive characters of the men as severally known to us in history. In other cases, too, the contradictions and uncertainties of historical verdicts are reflected in the marble countenances. This is notably the case with Tiberius, whose

"white-washers" might find in his portraits no little support for their presentation of the man. Sometimes the evidence of the marble seems to belie the concert of history, and thus serves to remind us of the grains of gold which may exist even in the coarsest human clay. In this connection something must be allowed to the persistence of family types. Two things, indeed, strike us equally in studying any representative collection of Roman imperial portraits. One is a certain unity of racial character; the other, a marked diversity of family types. On the whole, as an eloquent writer has said, the lords of the Roman world are a high-born company[1]:—

"The prevailing impression is of undeniable strength and developed character—developed in good and in evil. One is tempted to believe that natural selection has in general asserted its right; whether it were the predecessor's will, or votes of the senators, or arms of the legions, or the life-guards' thirst for gold that opened the way to the place of honour of the world's empire. Faces that say nothing are not many" (*Roman Days*, from the Swedish of Viktor Rydberg, p. 28).

But the strength is different in kind, and the portraits show successive types:—

"They begin with a fine, regular type, which more or less sustains itself through all the members of the Julian family, and in which one might be inclined to see the influence of an æsthetic breeding carried through many generations. These are men who have grown up amid Hellenic paintings and sculpture, have brought their mental food from the literature of Greece, and moved in circles where every gesture passing the limit of beauty shocks; where no one can expect success without mastery over his outer man, and intuitive knowledge of the dispositions of those around him; and where perception is sharpened against the polished exterior of his companions. With the Flavians a coarser mould of features comes on; 'the urbane' gives way for something rustic; the æsthetic for something common. The honest, good-humoured, but stingy toll-officer, who was father of this house, plainly has handed down his face to Vespasian and Titus. Some of the Antonines have a spiritual look that more than counterbalances the refinement of the Julians; but the beauty of the former is less a heritage than a personal gain, is more of a spiritual, than of a bodily, kind" (*ibid.* p. 30).

[1] Carlyle was dissatisfied with them, as with all the other portraits, Greek and Roman, of gods and men. "After going with Tennyson to the British Museum, and looking at the Greek and Roman statues, Carlyle said, 'Neither man nor god can get on without a decent jaw-bone, and not one of them has a decent jaw-bone'" (*Tennyson: A Memoir*, ii. 234).

To a certain extent the family types in portraits of the imperial house were no doubt due to the sculptors. They had an Augustan type, just as Greek artists of an earlier time had an Alexandrine type (see below, p. 142). This community of type increases the difficulty of identifying Roman portraits. The identification rests largely on the evidence of coins, and about the most distinctive portraits there is no uncertainty. We shall meet some of the emperors' heads again when we examine the coins and engraved gems (Chs. XXIII. and XXVI.). But a considerable number of the portrait busts in any collection remains unidentified—a fate which Mr. Austin Dobson has lamented in his lines, "To an Unknown Bust in the British Museum":—

Who were you once? Could we but guess,
We might perchance more boldly
Define the patient weariness
That sets your lip so coldly;
You "lived," we know, for blame and fame;
But sure, to friend or foeman,
You bore some more distinctive name
Than mere "B.C.," and "Roman"? . . .

We gaze; we pity you, be sure!
In truth, Death's worst inaction
Must be less tedious to endure
Than nameless petrifaction;
Far better, in some nook unknown,
To sleep for once—and soundly,
Than still survive in wistful stone,
Forgotten more profoundly.

The art of portrait statuary, taking rise in Greece, was extended by a natural instinct over the whole world; from public characters in public places, the *iconic* statue passed into private houses. The different parts of the world in which the imperial portraits have been found show how widely dispersed they were. Busts or statues of the emperors were as much *de rigueur* as engravings of the king or queen among ourselves. The Romans took the same pride, too, in rows of portrait statues of their ancestors that is taken to-day in galleries of family portraits. "Those," says Seneca, "who expose the family images in the hall, with the names in long order, are rather to be termed notables than nobles." On the other hand, Valerius Maximus speaks of the advantage it is to a man to be surrounded by ancestral portraits, when these

speak of services rendered to the State. Roman libraries, too, were often filled with portrait busts of men of letters (see p. 47). In the case of the emperors, their statues were sometimes in civil, sometimes in military, dress. Nude statues were peculiarly Greek; the Romans, by military instinct, added the breastplate. The method of taking a cast of the human face was well understood, and Pliny says that sculptors liked to have these casts to work from. Fidelity, not idealisation, was what the sculptor strove after. Many of the busts we possess were originally intended for statues. New heads were sometimes put upon old statues, as we know from Tacitus: "Marcellus had set the bust of Tiberius on another statue, from which he had struck off the head of Augustus." (The English reader may consult, for some general remarks on Roman portraiture and references to authorities, the introductory chapters in Baring-Gould's *Tragedy of the Cæsars*).

We describe the statues in their order against the walls (beginning at the far end of the room):—

Julius Cæsar (born 100 B.C.; died 44 B.C.).—"In person," says Froude, "Cæsar was tall and slight. His features were more refined than was usual in Roman faces; the forehead was wide and high, the nose large and thin, the lips full, the eyes dark-grey, like an eagle's,[1] the neck extremely thick and sinewy. His hair was short and naturally scanty, falling off towards the end of his life, and leaving him partially bald." This bust of him is an admirable specimen of the portraiture of Rome at the end of the Republic[2]:—

"It shows us the man as he lived, his features and expression, rendered with the most unsparing realism, no detail softened, if it could add to the individuality of the portrait, and it shows in its lean and expressive features the wear and waste due to a restless and fiery genius. If we contrast this face with that of Pericles (p. 190), and with that of Alexander (p. 140), we see the difference not only between the men, but also in the art that portrayed them. Pericles is almost an ideal abstraction, representing the calm and moderation of the statesman and leader. In Alexander there is more individuality, but

[1] Dante speaks of "Cæsar with the falcon eyes" (*Inf.* iv. 120).

[2] The authenticity of this celebrated bust is denied by Furtwängler, who pronounces it a modern work of which the surface has been skilfully corroded in imitation of the antique (*Neuere Fälschungen von Antiken*, 1899, p. 14).

it is tempered with an idealism which raised him above mortality, and gives to his face the character of one whose career was too astonishing to be due to mere human aims or means. But in Cæsar the sculptor has portrayed the conqueror, who owed his success to his own consummate genius, which was too strong for the human frame that it wasted and consumed in its service. It is the man himself that the sculptor brings before us. This criticism implies that, viewed merely as portraiture, the work of the Roman sculptor—or rather of the Greek sculptor working for Romans—fulfils its object the most completely. But, for that very reason, it is of the less importance for the history of sculpture. Though it is a more valuable document for the character of the man it represents, it does not show in the same way the impression he produced upon his contemporaries. The portraits of Pericles and of Alexander embody a conception of wider and more lasting influence than the individual traits of the man they represent" (E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 513-515).

"This splendid bust," says Mr. Baring-Gould, "is full of character, especially observable in the profile. There is a wondrous expression of kindliness, sincerity and patient forbearance with the weakness of mankind in the face, also a little weariness of the strain of life. . . . The sculptor has caught and reproduced, from intimate acquaintance with his model, those peculiarities of his expression which Cæsar's face had when in repose—the sweet, sad, patient smile, the reserve of power in the lips, and that far-off look into the heavens, as of one searching the unseen, and trusting in the Providence that reigned there" (*The Tragedy of the Cæsars*, p. 114).

Marcus Brutus.—In this bust, as in others of the same original, we may see "the traditional characteristics of Cæsar's murderer—a somewhat limited intelligence, a tendency to gloomy dreaming, and a hardness bordering on cruelty" (Helbig). "He combed his hair down over his low forehead, and cut it straight across above the brows. The cheek-bones are high; there is no breadth and no indication of genius in the brow, and the head is round and devoid of the imaginative faculty. The pouting, peevish mouth is above a small protruding chin. Indeed, the lower portion of the face is pinched. All the portraits that exist give to his countenance the expression of a cantankerous, pettifogging character" (Baring-Gould, *The Tragedy of the Cæsars*, i. 90).

Augustus (reigned 12 B.C. - 14 A.D.). — Three portraits of the founder of the Roman Empire—Caius Octavius, the great-nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar. The first shows the emperor in maturity. The second, from the Castellani collection, shows him as a young man. The third, a very fine and characteristic bust, shows him in the prime of

life, and has some additional interest as having formed part of the collection of the great Burke. *The young Augustus* was noted for his singular beauty. "In contemplating the formation of the features," says one critic, "in which forehead and nose lie nearly in the same line, and are more Hellenic than many Greek portrait busts, you are reminded that the Octavian race took its rise in Thurii, an Athenian colony in Lower Italy. Suetonius, the biographer, gives us the colour of these forms. The lightly waving hair was of golden hue, the eyes had a mild and kindly glance, the complexion was between tawny and white" (*Roman Days*, p. 10). But though the face is very beautiful, there is somewhat of gloom in the look. The eyebrows are prominent, giving the countenance an expression of great concentration, and even of hardness when seen in full face, but of melancholy when seen in profile. The expression seems restrained by a calculated prudence, almost bordering on shyness, and by anxious thought of the brilliant but perilous future before him (Helbig).

In the portraits of the *emperor in the prime of life* this expression of care disappears: Augustus has triumphed over his difficulties. "In person," says Suetonius, "he was delicately formed and graceful through every period of his life. But he was negligent in his dress, and so careless about dressing his hair that he usually had it done in a scramble by several barbers at once. His countenance, either when in discourse or silent, was so calm and serene that a Gaul once declared among his friends that on his passage over the Alps he drew near Augustus with the deliberate purpose of throwing him over a precipice, but he was so softened by the serenity of the Prince's face that he desisted from so doing." In all the portraits of him we see the characteristic dignity and control of the ruler whose proudest title it was to be the Father of his country, whose ambition it was to embody Peace and Order, and who asked his friends on his death-bed whether he had played his part well in the drama of life.

The Younger Drusus (died 23 A.D.).—Two portraits of the son of Tiberius, to whom he bore a marked resemblance, except that his nose was more prominent. A feature in the portrait of him is the hair worn down on the nape of the neck. One bust was found at Kyrenia, in Cyprus, 1884; the other in Egypt. Notice the cross incised on the forehead, probably in early Christian times.

Tiberius (reigned 14-37 A.D.). — Two portraits of this emperor, the stepson of Augustus. One was found at Capri, the scene of his seclusion and reputed orgies; the other came from the collection of Burke, and is described as "Tiberius or the Younger Drusus." The portraits reflect the puzzle of his character, with its alternations of control and indulgence, and of his reign, with its personal and private vices, and yet public felicity. If the bust from Burke's collection be, as some suppose, a portrait of the young Tiberius, it is in strong contrast with the evil reputation which he acquired in later life. The face is very refined and sensitive, but there is sadness in it, and not a little weakness. "His head," says Gregorovius, "is full of intellect and is nobly formed; the mouth infinitely refined and beautiful. One expects the face of a devil, and finds the delicacy of feature of a woman."

The other portrait shows the emperor wearing the sash pertaining to his office of *Pontifex Maximus*. The bust is characteristic, though the restoration of the nose has somewhat altered the character of the face. The breadth of brow, the rapid narrowing to the small chin, and the peculiar mouth may be taken to denote intellectual capacity, combined with feebleness of purpose and over-sensitiveness (Baring-Gould).

Caligula (reigned 37-41 A.D.).—Called also "the young Augustus." Caligula—the son of Germanicus and grand-nephew of Tiberius—as a youth somewhat resembled Augustus, and Suetonius tells us that the people were wont to call him "the young Augustus." Mad, profligate, and cruel though Caligula proved himself to be, his features, as shown in the busts, are regular and beautiful; and one of these—the famous bust in green basalt in the Museum of the Capitol—is among the very finest art treasures of Rome. The present bust is beautiful also, but there is "a strain of dire mental tension on the forehead." All his portraits, it has been said, give him a violent and sinister expression—a true image of his cruel and disturbed mind.

A Priestess. — "The drapery is richly composed and wrought with great delicacy and facility of execution. The composition of the folds is strikingly like that of the drapery of the female statue in the Mausoleum Room, which is commonly called Artemisia," p. 212 (Newton). Sometimes taken for the Empress Livia.

Claudius (No. 1155)[1]: reigned 41-54 A.D.—This emperor—the younger son of Drusus and Antonia, the uncle of Caligula, and nephew of Tiberius—was poisoned by his wife, Agrippina, the sister of Caligula and mother of Nero. Though the historians of the time draw a most unfavourable picture both of his bodily and of his intellectual qualifications, he was in fact an able ruler; and in his portraits we see a countenance which, though depressed with an appearance of pain and perplexity, is yet handsome and intelligent:—

"A well-formed head, against which, from the point of view of beauty, one can hardly note anything, but that the oval of the face is too compressed. The broad forehead is overcast with clouds of melancholy. The eyes disclose, with their unsteady, sad, and kindly look, a plodding and suffering spirit, that is conscious of its noble birth, but unable to maintain its freedom" (*Roman Days*, p. 63).

This bust, which is in a very fine style, was put together from several fragments found on the floor of the temple at Prienè (Ch. XII.). It shows marks of the fire by which that temple was destroyed.

Nero (reigned 54-69 A.D.).—Nero, the son of Agrippina the younger, and stepson of Claudius—who lives in history as a monster of iniquity, is represented in his busts as handsome in countenance, but, as Suetonius remarks, without grace or winningness of expression. As a boy he inherited something of the beauty of the Julian family, and Seneca, his tutor, described him as a young Apollo. But his brow was low, his neck thick and sensual, and a scowl seems to mark the expression of his eyes. This bust was brought from Athens in 1740 by Dr. Askew.

Otho (reigned 69 A.D.).—With Nero the Julian stock came to an end. Otho—at first the boon companion of Nero, and then the husband of Poppæa Sabina, whom Nero took away from him—seems to have affected to imitate that emperor in appearance. He was an exquisite of the period He shaved daily, we are told, and rubbed his face with bread sops. This portrait shows him at a later period, and at hi best, when "he suddenly threw off the habits of his past li and embraced without a murmur all the severities of servic the field." The wig which Otho wore is easily distinguish

[1] The reference is to the number in the new *Catalogue of Sculpture*, issued by the Trustees of the Museum (1892-1900).

From the shortness of the reign of this emperor, his portraits are very rare. This one, which is in exceptionally fine condition, was purchased in Alexandria. The head is coarsely but forcibly executed.

An Empress. — Variously identified as Messalina, as Agrippina (wife of Claudius), and as Domitia. Found on the Esquiline Hill, 1775. The hair is dressed elaborately in the form of a diadem.

Domitia Longina, wife of Domitian (reigned 81-96 A.D.). —Purchased in 1865 at the sale of the Pourtalès collection. The empress wears an expression at once charming and dignified.

Trajan (reigned 98-117 A.D.). — Excavated by Gavin Hamilton in the Campagna. In very fine condition. The want of elevation over the forehead, which is remarkable in this head, may be observed in all the ancient portraits of the emperor, whether in medals or in marble. There was in this great ruler, who rose from the ranks of the army, none of the beauty of the imperial families; we see rather in his face the old hardy Roman type. He had, we read, a fine figure and a noble countenance:—

"In stature he exceeded the common height, and on public occasions, when he loved to walk bareheaded in the midst of the senators, his grey hairs gleamed conspicuously above the crowd. His features, as we may trace them unmistakably on his innumerable busts and medals, were regular, and his face was the last of the imperial series that retained the true Roman type, not in the aquiline nose only, but in the broad and low forehead, the angular chin, the firm compressed lips, and generally in the stern compactness of its structure[1]; the thick and straight-cut hair, smoothed over the brow without a curl or a parting, marks the simplicity of the man's character in a voluptuous age, which delighted in the culture of flowing or frizzled locks. But the most interesting characteristic of the figure I have so vividly before me is the look of painful thought, which seems to indicate a constant sense of overwhelming responsibilities, honourably felt and bravely borne, yet, notwithstanding much assumed cheerfulness and self-abandonment, ever irritating the nerves and weighing upon the conscience" (Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. lxiii.).

[1] Winckelmann has observed that generally in the busts of Roman emperors the lips are closed, indicating peculiar reserve and dignity, free from human passion and emotion. For a contrasted usage in Greek sculpture see p. 135.

Titus (reigned 79-81 A.D.).—This emperor—the conqueror of Jerusalem—was very handsome, we are told, with a fine commanding presence. There was in him, says Merivale, a certain feminine softness which ingratiated him with those who came ordinarily in contact with him, and he bore the reputation of a scholar and a refined thinker no less than that of a great military leader. His bust, says another critic, "suggests in the clearest manner his two most prominent characteristics—his marked sensuality, and the high degree of benevolence which curiously enough accompanied it" (Helbig). His fine saying, "I have lost a day," when he suddenly remembered one evening that he had done no act of kindness, is well known. The present bust was found at the Porta Portese, Rome, and was presented to the Museum by the late Lord Savile, who, when Ambassador at Rome, took so great an interest in archæology.

[Below the bust of Titus are two portraits, unidentified, of the time of the Republic.]

Hadrian (reigned 117-138 A.D.).—Of this remarkable emperor, who visited in person every corner of his vast dominions and combined the most diverse interests and tastes, the Museum possesses several portraits. One was found in the emperor's villa at Tivoli. In it he is clad in armour and wears the paludamentum (military cloak). Another was formerly in the Villa Montalto at Rome, and is one of the finest busts of the emperor. In a third (see below, p. 29), he carries emblems of the poet. In a fourth (in the Hall of Inscriptions, p. 11), he is again in full armour as military commander:—

"His person and countenance, which we have unusual means of figuring to ourselves from the number of his busts, statues, and medals, corresponded well with his character. With Hadrian the Roman type of features begins to disappear. Hadrian is neither Greek nor Roman; he is of no race nor country, but rather what we might deem the final result of a blending of many breeds and the purest elements. He reminds us more than any Roman before him of what we proudly style the thorough English gentleman, with shapely trunk and limbs, and well-set head, no prominent features, no salient expression, but a general air of refinement and blood, combined with spirit and intelligence. His face and figure are both eminently handsome, though inclining to breadth and bulk. His countenance expresses ability rather than genius, lively rather than deep feelings, wide and general sympathies rather than concentrated thought or fixed enthusiasm. The sensual predominates in him over the ideal, the flesh over the spirit; he is an adminis-

trator rather than a statesman, a man of taste rather than a philosopher. A casual observer would perhaps hardly notice that Hadrian is the first of the Romans whose bust is distinguished with a beard. Hitherto, though the arrangement of the hair varies from one generation to another, or follows the personal taste of the wearer, every public man at Rome scrupulously shaved his cheeks, lip, and chin. But Hadrian Atticised as well as philosophised, and he might reasonably incline to cherish the natural appendage which betokened both the Greek and the sophist. Some indeed whispered that he suffered hair to grow on his chin to conceal a physical blemish; but this explanation seems far-fetched, and the fashion set by Hadrian and adopted generally by his successors seems rather to indicate a change in the feelings of the people, and their inclination to disregard the special distinction of race in deference to views more enlightened and general" (Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. lxvi.).

"It has been observed," says Gregorovius, "that the busts of Hadrian show a foreign, not a Roman face, possessing neither the Latin beauty of the Julian family, nor the mild gravity of the features of Trajan. . . . This marble face does not convey the impression of all that was contained in the character of this strange man. He was a mass of contradictions, which no single portrait could display. For, on the one hand, we find his delight in the intellect of Greece and in Eastern sensuality, his enthusiastic love for art, his sophistical versatility, his sound judgment, his statesmanship, his humanity and generosity. But there is also the darker side of his capricious temper, his inordinate vanity, his love of irony and of trifles, and his gloomy mysticism. Who could hope to reconcile these conflicting traits in one portrait? We cannot see his bust without asking who the distinguished man is, so conscious of his own power, with the questioning glance and the light observant smile playing round his mouth. It must be the likeness of one who has been sovereign in some sphere of life, and has ruled over the spirit of his age" (*The Emperor Hadrian*, translated by Mary E. Robinson, p. 186).

Antinous.—A fine specimen in Parian marble of Roman sculpture of the time of Hadrian, and one of the most noteworthy of the numerous representations of the emperor's favourite which have been preserved. The head, with several parts of the statue to which it belonged, was found in 1770, in small pieces, used as stones in a wall erected in some grounds near the Villa Pamphili at Rome.

Antinous was born of unknown parents in Bithynia, and was brought in early youth to Rome, where he soon attracted the regard of the Emperor Hadrian, who made him the companion of his travels in the East. While they were in Egypt Antinous was drowned by accident, as the emperor reported in a letter to the Senate, but according to another account by an act of self-devotion. "The Magi had pre-

dicted danger to Hadrian's life, which could only be averted by the substitution of another life. Antinous is said to have voluntarily offered himself to the dark powers of fate for his imperial friend. The regret and gratitude of the emperor knew no bounds. Temples were erected to Antinous as a god in Greece and Egypt, oracles and games established in his honour, and countless statues set up in every part of the empire" (W. C. Perry, *Catalogue of the Collection of Casts in the South Kensington Museum*).

The large number of these representations which have survived, and, on the whole, their good preservation, are remarkable. Some have argued from this fact that his deification was generally acceptable in the ancient world and that he became a popular saint, his legend being taken as typical of the self-devotion of Love. He is often represented, as in this bust, with the attributes of Dionysus, in reference to the enthusiasm which inspired his supposed self-sacrifice. What is certain is that the desire to represent the deified favourite of the emperor gave a great impulse to the art of sculpture. All the representations of Antinous show the same peculiar features by which even the most casual observer cannot fail to be arrested. Beneath all the idealisation of the artists a strongly-marked and individual character survives :—

"The whole body combines Greek beauty of structure with something of Oriental voluptuousness. The same fusion of diverse elements may be traced in the head. It is not too large, though more than usually broad, and is nobly set upon a massive throat, slightly inclined forwards, as though this posture were habitual; the hair lies thick in clusters, which only form curls at the tips. The forehead is low and somewhat square; the eyebrows are level, of a peculiar shape, and very thick, converging so closely as almost to meet above the deep-cut eyes. The nose is straight, but blunter than is consistent with the Greek ideal. Both cheeks and chin are delicately formed, but fuller than a severe taste approves: one might trace in their rounded contours either a survival of infantine innocence and immaturity, or else the sign of rapidly approaching over-bloom. The mouth is one of the loveliest ever carved; but here again the blending of the Greek and Oriental types is visible. The lips, half parted, seem to pout, and the distance between mouth and nostrils is exceptionally short. The undefinable expression of the lips, together with the weight of the brows and slumberous half-closed eyes, gives a look of sulkiness or voluptuousness to the whole face. This, I fancy, is the first impressio which the portraits of Antinous produce; and Shelley has well co veyed it[1] by placing the two following phrases, 'eager and ir

[1] In his prose fragment "The Coliseum."

passioned tenderness' and 'effeminate sullenness,' in close juxtaposition. But after longer familiarity with the whole range of Antinous's portraits, and after study of his life, we are brought to read the peculiar expression of his face and form somewhat differently. A prevailing melancholy, sweetness of temperament overshadowed by resignation, brooding reverie, the innocence of youth touched and saddened by a calm resolve or an accepted doom—such are the sentences we form to give distinctness to a still vague and uncertain impression" (J. A. Symonds in *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*).

Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian, and grand-daughter of the Emperor Trajan's sister. The hair is plaited and built up into an elaborate structure, according to the grotesque fashion of the period, as described by Juvenal, who likens these arrangements of hair to "towers of many stories" (vi. 502). There is a singular moroseness in the expression of the countenance which corresponds with the character of this empress as given by Spartianus.

Bust of a Young Man.—Inscribed as dedicated by the *Decemviri stlitibus judicandis*, officials who presided in the Court of the Centumviri. It has been conjectured to represent Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. It was found in excavations at Rome, and probably removed surreptitiously, as Mr. Townley notes in his description that the site must not be mentioned.

Statue of Hadrian (No. 1381, see p. 26), found broken in two in the Temple of Apollo, at Cyrenè. "The head, which was of a separate piece from the body, from which it could be removed at pleasure, fitted into a socket—a somewhat barbarous expedient for making a deceased emperor do duty as his living successors, after the simple change of the head and the name." Close to the statue was found an inscription with Hadrian's name. Presumably, therefore, the statue represents that emperor, though the likeness is not a strong one. In the left hand is a sprig of laurel; on the head a pine wreath, which would indicate a victory in some Greek festival (Smith and Porcher, *History of Recent Discoveries at Cyrenè*, 1864, pp. 42, 92).

Antoninus Pius (No. 1463): reigned 138-161 A.D.—Found at Cyrenè, on the site of a building which was probably an Augusteum. When discovered beneath the ground the bust was thickly coated with an incrustation of sand and lime; this was removed by warm water (Smith and Porcher, pp. 76, 95). The bust, which is in very fine condition, is an

admirable portrait of the good emperor, the praise of whom by his adopted son Marcus Aurelius is confirmed by the universal voice of antiquity, and who gave to his guard as his last watchword, *Equanimity*. His moral excellences were set off by a noble figure and expression. The numerous busts of him agree in representing him as one of the finest in personal appearance of the whole line of Cæsars. "Seldom," it has been said, "does the quiet and gentle strength of moral will shine forth from the features of a Roman emperor as from the glorious face of Antoninus Pius" (Rydberg).

> I saw a calm and Princely Presence come,
> Who, stately as the imperial purple, bore
> His robe, a saint in mien, mild, innocent,
> Perfect in manhood, with clear eye serene,
> And lofty port; who from the sages took
> What lessons earth could give, but trod no less
> The toilsome path of Duty to the end;
> And as he passed I knew the kingly ghost
> Of Antoninus, who knew not Christ indeed,
> Yet not the less was His. I marked the calm
> And thoughtful face of him who ruled himself,
> And through himself the world.
>
> LEWIS MORRIS, *Epic of Hades*.

Faustina, the elder.—The unworthy wife of Antoninus Pius. A fine example of the general Roman female type, of mingled energy and sensuousness. Found in 1887 at Rome, in the ruins of the gardens of Sallust.

Antoninus Pius.—See above for a much finer portrait of this emperor.

Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161-180 A.D.).—The Museum is fortunate in having several portraits of this imperial sage, who has been called by a critic of our own time "the most beautiful figure in history," and who sought, both in precept and in practice, to show that "even in a palace life may be led well." His countenance was, as it were, the outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace. Farther on, in this room (see p. 32), is a bust of the emperor in his gracious and beautiful youth. The present statue shows the emperor as one of the Fratres Arvales, a college of priests instituted by Romulus, whose office it was to go into the fields in procession at certain seasons and offer prayer for the crops. The bust is very beautiful and characteristic. For Marcus Aurelius, we

read, was attached in very early years to the service of the altars, and was "observed to perform all his sacerdotal functions with a constancy and exactness unusual at that age; was soon a master of the sacred music; and had all the forms and ceremonies by heart." No. 1464, which was found at Cyrenè, is in very fine condition, having sustained no injury except a fracture across the neck. The hair is skilfully disposed in clustering masses, and the general treatment of the head is simple and dignified (Smith and Porcher, pp. 76, 95). "The bust rests on a circular plinth, on which are three leaves—an ornament the same in intention as that of the bust called Clytie," see p. 70 (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. ii.). In the Hall of Inscriptions (see p. 9) is a full-length statue of the emperor in civil costume.

Mr. Pater, in a chapter entitled "The Divinity that doth hedge a King," has drawn in words a portrait of the emperor which will be read with interest in the presence of these marble effigies :—

"Amply swathed about in the folds of a richly worked toga, Marius beheld a man of about forty-five years of age, with prominent eyes—eyes, which although demurely downcast, were by nature broadly and benignantly observant. He was still, in the main, as we see him in the busts which represent his gracious and courtly youth, when Hadrian had playfully called him not *Verus*, after his father, but *Verissimus*, for that candour of gaze, and the bland capacity of the brow; which, below the brown hair, clustering as thickly as of old, shone out low, broad, and clear, and still without a trace of the trouble of his lips. It was the brow of one who, amid the blindness or perplexity of the people about him, understood all things clearly. . . . That outward composure was deepened during the solemnities of the day by an air of pontifical abstractedness; which, though very far from being pride, and a sort of humility rather, yet gave, to himself, an aspect of unapproachableness, and to his whole proceeding, in which every minutest act was considered, the character of a ritual. . . . It was that pontifical collectedness which now impressed itself on Marius as the leading outward characteristic of Aurelius" (*Marius the Epicurean*, ch. xii.).

Faustina, the younger.—Daughter of Antoninus Pius, and wife of Marcus Aurelius :—

"The most beautiful woman in the world, who was also the great paradox of the age. As has been truly said of the numerous representations of her in art, she had the air of one restless to enter into conversation with the first comer. She had certainly the power of

stimulating a very ambiguous sort of curiosity about herself. And Marius found this enigmatic point in her expression, that even after seeing her many times he could never precisely recall her features in absence" (*Marius the Epicurean*, ch. xiii.).

Claudia Olympias.—A bust dedicated, as the inscription shows, to a lady so named by her freedman, Epithymetus. This bust, of indifferent sculpture, but in excellent condition, formerly belonged to Burke. It is probably of the time of Nero.

A Roman Portrait.—Unidentified. Found at the Porta Portese, Rome, and presented by Lord Savile.

Marcus Aurelius as a boy (see above).

Lucius Verus (reigned 161-169 A.D.).—Associated with Marcus Aurelius in the government of the empire, and in spite of his unworthiness always treated by the elder emperor with great forbearance. The bust from the Pourtalès collection shows him in the pleasant comeliness of youth. The statue (made of one block of marble) shows him in manhood. All the portraits of him are noticeable for the hair, of which he is said to have been proud, and to have taken special care. This statue was acquired by Mr. Townley from the Mattei collection. There is another portrait of Lucius Verus in the Bronze Room (p. 440).

Lucilla.—Daughter of Marcus Aurelius, and wife of Lucius Verus. This finely-sculptured bust was purchased from the Castellani collection in 1873.

Commodus (reigned 180-193 A.D.). — Son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. This infamous prince, whom his biographer calls "more cruel than Domitian, more vicious than Nero," inherited something of his father's good looks but none of his good qualities. The insinuation that he was the base-born son of a gladiator—suggested perhaps by his own passion for the shows of the arena—is belied by his strong likeness to Marcus Aurelius. There is, however, a singular weakness in the face of Commodus; he was, we are told, the slave of those who surrounded him.

Crispina.—The profligate wife of Commodus. This bust, which is in excellent condition, comes from the Pourtalès collection.

Pertinax (reigned 193 A.D.).—This emperor, a veteran soldier and prefect of Rome—who reigned only three months —was sixty-two when he succeeded to the throne after the

assassination of Commodus. He is described as being a "toothless but hale old man," and we see in his face some reversion to the old, hardy type.

Septimius Severus (reigned 193-211 A.D.).—The energy and dominance of Severus's character and his capacity for rule —which led him from the legions on the Danube to the imperial throne—are easily traceable in his portraits. These correspond with the description of his biographer, Spartianus: *ipse decorus, ipse ingens, promissa barba, cano capite et crispo, vultu reverendus.* This bust, in excellent condition and well executed, was found on the Palace of the Cæsars in Rome in 1776.

A Female Figure (No. 1415).—Found in the Temple of Venus at Cyrenè. "It is evidently a portrait, but has not yet been identified. The countenance is very expressive, and the whole statue, though not finely executed, is interesting from the simplicity of the conception, and the impression it conveys of a faithful rendering from nature" (Smith and Porcher, pp. 76, 97). From the fashion in which the lady's hair is plaited, the portrait is ascribed to the age of Hadrian.

Caracalla (reigned 211-217 A.D.).—The face of this emperor —perhaps the most frantic in his cruelties of all the tyrants who disgraced the purple of the Cæsars—is that of a wild beast rather than of a man. As numerous, almost identical examples of the bust have been discovered, we may accept it as embodying the portrait approved by the emperor and officially vouched. He specially prided himself on his ferocious expression, which is reproduced in the portrait busts of the time with a realism that almost causes horror. The head, it will be observed, inclines towards the right shoulder. It is stated by his biographer, Aurelius Victor, that Caracalla affected this attitude and a scowling expression in order to be thought like Alexander the Great. The treatment of the hair, in short crisp curls, probably represents the close yellow wig which Caracalla is said to have worn. This bust was found on the Esquiline Hill in 1776. The other bust of him is very similar in expression.

Julia Mammæa. — Mother of the gentle and pious Alexander Severus (who reigned 222-235 A.D.), his guardian, and for many years the real head of the administration. The hair is plainly arranged in front and looped behind the ear. This bust, formerly in the collection of Cardinal Fesch, came to the Museum from the Pourtalès collection.

Gordianus Africanus, the elder (reigned 238 A.D.).—Gordianus, procurator of Africa, was proclaimed emperor at Carthage, and wore the purple for a month. He was a scholar, a poet, and a man of integrity.

Sabinia Tranquillina.—Wife of Gordian the Third, who reigned 238-244 A.D. Her father, Timesitheus, was appointed Pretorian Prefect, and to his ability was due the brief tranquillity which the empire enjoyed under Gordian.

Otacilia Severa.—Wife of Philip the elder (reigned 244 A.D.).

Herennia Etruscilla.—Wife of Trajanus Decius (reigned 249-251 A.D.).

Female Bust.—Unidentified, belonging to the period 230-260 A.D. From the Castellani collection.

Portrait Bust.—Dedicated, as the inscription tells us, to L. Vetulenius Caricus by his heir and friend, L. Julius Theseus.

[On the wall high above the busts are Roman mosaics: for these see Ch. XIV. On the other side of the room are Roman antiquities found in this country: see Ch. XXVIII.]

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST GRÆCO-ROMAN ROOM

Greece, conquered Greece, her conqueror subdued,
And Rome grew polished, who till then was rude.

THIS and the two succeeding rooms are called "**Græco-Roman,**" because they are appropriated to sculptures which were discovered elsewhere than in Greece and mainly in Rome, but which in style and subject were derived from Greece. The saying of Horace, that Greece led her conquerors captive, is familiar. During the first five centuries of her existence, Rome "neither possessed," says Plutarch, "nor knew of any curiosities of this kind, being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance." The Romans were content, in Macaulay's words, to "leave to the Greek his marble nymphs." But after the conquest of Greece, Roman generals began to carry back with them, among their spoils, works of Greek art. The contemplation of these refined the taste of the more cultivated of the Romans. Cicero has recorded for us the acts of meanness and violence into which Verres was driven by his passionate connoisseurship. The emperors despoiled the cities of Greece in the most wholesale manner, and filled the palaces and temples of Rome with Greek masterpieces. The greater part of these has perished, but among the works in our Museum, which have been excavated in or about Rome, some few Hellenic originals, transplanted by the Romans from Greece, may be included. The plunder of Greece by the Romans was, however, followed by the migration of Greek artists to Rome, and most of the Græco-Roman works here collected were executed in the time of the emperors. They were the work of Greek sculptors, based on Greek models, but were executed in Rome to suit the Roman taste.

Three classes of such Græco-Roman works may be dis-

tinguished: (1) direct copies from Greek originals—such, for instance, as the Caryatid in this room; (2) variations, in representations of divinities, upon a limited number of well-known types; (3) perversions of Greek types to suit the less refined taste of Imperial Rome—as, for instance, the Venus in this room.

In some directions, it should be added, **Roman sculpture** struck out new paths for itself. Thus, it excelled in portraiture of a realistic kind, as we saw in the Roman Gallery; it grafted foreign deities upon Roman or Greek types (as, for instance, the Jupiter-Serapis, p. 64); and it personified abstract ideas and localities more freely than was usual in Greek art. Akin to Roman realism in portraiture was the historical sculpture which decorated triumphal arches with contemporary scenes. The Greek custom (as we shall see) was very different (p. 170). Lastly, we may note, as something distinctive of the Græco-Roman school, the revival of art which took place under Hadrian, which has filled the museums and galleries with idealised portraits of his favourite, Antinous. The task of the student and connoisseur in this branch of archæology consists in no small measure in deriving and reconstructing Greek originals from Græco-Roman copies, and distinguishing pure Greek types from Græco-Roman modifications.[1] We shall therefore, in the following notes, include occasional references to such points.

A large part of our collection of Græco-Roman works came from the collection of Mr. Charles **Townley** (1737-1805), who may almost be called one of the founders of the Museum. He was of an ancient and Catholic family of Lancashire, and his ample means gave him the opportunity of gratifying his archæological tastes. By singular good fortune he settled at Rome in 1765, in an era, next to that of Leo X., the most interesting and fruitful in the discovery of antiquities. He was admitted to the confidence of three British residents in Rome,

[1] Among the best English works on ancient sculpture are:—A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture* (2 vols., Murray); E. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (2 vols., Macmillan); Upcott's *Introduction to Greek Sculpture* (Clarendon Press); and W. C. Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Longmans). Mr. Perry's Catalogue of the valuable Collection of Casts presented by him to the South Kensington Museum (where they deserve to be better shown) is also an instructive work. Furtwängler's great work has been translated into English: *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture* (Heinemann).

who had formed a sort of syndicate for excavation. These were James Byres, an architect, Gavin Hamilton, and Thomas Jenkins, a banker. Many of the marbles which he bought came from excavations at Hadrian's Villa and at Tivoli. Townley also bought largely from existing collections. In 1777 he returned to England and exhibited his treasures in a house in Park Street, Westminster. "The arrangement," we read, "was so classically correct, and with accompaniments so admirably selected, that the interior of a Roman villa might be inspected in our own metropolis." He continued to import antiquities largely, and would start off at a moment's notice to be present at some specially promising excavation. His collection was always accessible to students, and by his will he left the whole of it to the nation. By a later codicil, necessitated by family arrangements, this bequest was made conditional and reversionary. Upon his death in 1805, his executors offered the marbles and terra-cottas to the Museum, and these were purchased by Parliament for £20,000. His other collections—of gems, coins, etc.—were purchased in 1814 for £8200 (see *The Townley Gallery*, by Sir H. Ellis, 1836). To Townley's enterprise, therefore, it is owing that some share of the Græco-Roman antiquities excavated in Italy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century found its way into our Museum.

The Townley marbles were, however, in accordance with the custom formerly prevalent in Italy, freely *restored*. Among the persons employed in this way at Rome was Nollekens, the sculptor. Gavin Hamilton and Nollekens used at one time to go shares in what they bought; "and as I (said Nollekens) had to match the pieces as well as I could, and clean 'em, I had the best part of the profits. Why, I got all the first, and the best, of my money by putting antiques together." Nollekens used to restore his antiques by fitting heads and arms to trunks at his own sweet will, and Townley was among the most constant of his customers for these botched goods. In other cases Townley himself employed Nollekens to restore his antiques by the addition of modern arms. The sculptor's biographer, who stood to him for some of these restorations, has left reminiscences which are interesting, but to the archæological student painful, on this point. (See J. T. Smith's *Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, vol. i. pp. 10, 184, 251, etc.)

"'Ample is the glory stored up for Olympian winners.' What Pindar's contemporaries asked of him for the due appreciation, the consciousness, of it, by way of song, that the next generation sought, by way of sculptural memorial in marble. . . . In the courts of Olympia a whole population in marble and bronze gathered quickly,—a world of portraits, out of which, as the purged and perfected essence, the ideal soul, of them, emerged the *Diadumenus*, for instance, and the *Discobolus*. . . . All over Greece the enthusiasm for gymnastic, the life of the gymnasia, prevailed. It was a gymnastic which, under the happy conditions of that time, was already surely what Plato pleads for, already one-half 'music,' a matter, partly, of character and of the soul, of the fair proportion between soul and body, of the soul with itself. Who can doubt it who sees and considers the still irresistible grace, the contagious pleasantness, of the *Discobolus*, the *Diadumenus*, and a few other precious survivals from the athletic age which immediately preceded the manhood of Phidias, between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars?" (Pater, *Greek Studies*, p. 296).

The period and phase of Greek art thus described by Mr. Pater as "the Age of Athletic Prizemen" are represented by the collection of athletic statues arranged around the door of this room. The spirit of it seems to be concentrated in the small figure of **an athlete** in white marble, poised gracefully, on the extreme right. This charming figure, from the Westmacott collection, is thought by some to be a copy of a work by Polyclitus; by others, to belong to the later Attic school, 1st century B.C., and to belong to a group of the Orestes and Pylades type. The other figures are on a larger scale, and we will notice them in order, turning first to the left:—

The "Vaison" Diadumenus (500).—A Græco-Roman copy, found at Vaison, in Provence, in 1862, of the Diadumenus (or youth binding a diadem) by Polyclitus:—

Polyclitus, a younger contemporary of Phidias, was the chief sculptor of the Argive school. His activity covered roughly the years 450-420 B.C. He was an architect as well as a sculptor. He worked also in gold and ivory, and was celebrated for his chasing of precious metals. He wrote a book, now lost, on the proportions of the human figure, and drew up a canon for the use of sculptors. Most of his statues rested on one leg, and ancient writers speak of them as being square-set in form. "But although," says Quintilian, "the palm is awarded to him by most persons, yet, that some qualification may be made, they think that he wanted dignity, for though he endowed the human form with a beauty beyond the truth of nature, he did not reach the sublimity of the gods." Works in the Museum which have been brought into relation with Polyclitus are, besides the Diadumenus, an Amazon (p. 69) and a head of Hera (p. 192).

The "Diadumenus" was one of his most famous works. It fetched, Pliny tells us, 100 talents at an auction—an enormous sum in antiquity, and was copied in innumerable forms in marble and bronze. The Diadumenus is a victorious athlete, binding about his head the sacred diadem over which the judge was to place the wreath of wild olive. The subject afforded an excellent opportunity for displaying the symmetry and proportion of the arms and chest. Another subject of the artist was the "Doryphorus" or spear-bearer, and of these two subjects Pliny says that the one represented "a young man of soft forms" (*juvenis molliter*); the other, "a boy of manlike forms" (*puer viriliter*). Of the beauty of the head of the Diadumenus the present copy gives no idea.[1] "The weak point about the statue," says Furtwängler, "is the motive. The pause in the act of walking is not appropriate to the principal action represented. No one walks about while tying a ribbon round his head. Polyclitus cannot identify himself with his subject sufficiently to create the motive from the centre outwards. The first consideration for him is the beauty of rhythmic movement; the meaning of the movement comes second. The result is that the movement is beautiful indeed, but appears unnatural, nay, even affected" (*Masterpieces*, p. 244).

Turning now to the other side of the doorway, we notice the **statue of a hero.** This noble figure of a young hero, from the Farnese Palace at Rome, is supposed to be a copy of an original by *Calamis* (about 500-460 B.C.), an Athenian sculptor whose school flourished alongside of that of Phidias, and was characterised by a somewhat greater degree of stiffness. "Who," says Cicero, "does not know that the statues of Canachus are too rigid to be true to nature; that those of Calamis, while still hard, are yet softer than those of Canachus?" The statue before us shows the original Attic composition for the type of Hercules—a strong and beautiful young man, free and bold in attitude, with the left leg placed flat on the ground to one side, and the head turned in the same direction as the free leg; the right arm hangs down, and

[1] "The head of the 'Vaison' can give us but a very unsatisfactory notion of the original; not so much because, like the body, it is a poor and careless piece of work, as because it is so much defaced and so much and so arbitrarily worked over" (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, edited by Eugénie Sellers, p. 239).

the left arm and forearm is extended and carries a club (Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 298). In the present statue a chlamys, falling in firm, vigorous folds, is flung over the hero's left shoulder. The body is beautiful and life-like. The hair has a strongly plastic quality, the eyes are heavy-lidded, the mouth is full and open. It is an admirable realisation of "the young man rejoicing in his strength." Later sculptors introduced some element of pathos into the faces of their victorious athletes.

The "Farnese" Diadumenus (501).—From the Farnese Palace at Rome. Often considered a copy of the original by Polyclitus (see under 500 above), and the nearest approach, according to Dr. Murray, to Pliny's description, as an example of "a boy with manlike forms":—

"The torso is strongly marked, as of an athlete, though the outline of the chest-bones is softened down. The calves of the legs and the feet are softly covered with flesh and rounded. The thighs also are fleshy rather than muscular, while down the back of the left thigh (the other is invisible) runs a sharp muscle, as in the leg of a boy rather than a man. Again, the face is soft and young, while the large development of the skull, and the diminished proportions of the statue as a whole, are characteristic of youth" (*History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 314).

On the other hand, Furtwängler attributed this copy to an original by Phidias:—

"(In respect of motive) the Farnese Diadumenus far surpasses the Diadumenus of Polycleitus by the very simplicity and naturalness of the conception. The youth stands still and puts on the fillet just as he would have done in real life. There is neither stride, nor bend of the head, nor forced attitude of the right elbow near the body. . . . The head and the bodily forms, the whole appearance and bearing, are nowhere more closely parallel than on the frieze of the Parthenon. . . . We are justified in expressing the opinion that the Farnese statue is a copy of the Phidian Diadumenus in Olympia. . . . It is clear from a consideration of form alone that the Farnese type is a pure product of the older style, as the attitude and the treatment of the hair show most clearly; further, the natural simplicity of the motive proves that we have it here in its original form. Polycleitus borrowed the motive from Phidias, and gave it an artistic elaboration which never could have formed part of the earliest conception" (see *Masterpieces*, pp. 244-245).

Head of a Diadumenus.—See under No. 500, above. This head, recently obtained from Greece, is (says Mr. A. H.

Smith) "of a finer style than either of the two statues, and probably nearer to the work by Polycleitus" (*Guide to the Department*, p. 91).

We now proceed past the opening and notice a **Canephora.** This figure of a "basket-carrier" was found with four similar figures among some ancient ruins in the Villa Strozzi on the Appian Way. It is evidently an architectural statue, and the figures probably supported the portico of a small temple. On one of them was an inscription showing that it was made by Athenian sculptors in the Roman period. The figure is a Græco-Roman imitation of the Caryatids of the Erechtheum at Athens. One of the latter is exhibited in the Elgin Room (p. 195), and a comparison of the two figures gives a clear idea of the difference between Greek and Græco-Roman art (C. T. Newton, *Guide to the First Græco-Roman Room*). The later work is more formal, and lacks the graceful spontaneity of the original.

Dionysus.—From the Castellani collection. Discovered at Posilipo on the Bay of Naples, 1874. There is none of the Greek gods who underwent such transformations both in worship and in art as Dionysus, the wine-god. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the type here set before us, and that which we shall often meet of the youthful Bacchus. This later type was evolved by the Greek imagination as an embodiment of the impressions derived from the vine and its fruit (see Mr. Pater's *Study of Dionysus*). The earlier type, represented in the statue now before us, embodies rather the Asiatic conception of the god (whose worship originated in the East) and his legendary advent to Greece. He is a man of years, with a long beard, wide draperies, and majestic pose, having the appearance of an Asiatic monarch. It is thus that he is represented in a series of bas-reliefs as entering into the house of mortals (see the relief in the Third Græco-Roman Room, p. 62).

Bust of Jupiter.—This bust, found in Hadrian's Villa, at Tivoli, was presented by Mr. J. T. Barber Beaumont, 1836. It is very coarsely sculptured, but reproduces in some sort the normal Greek conception of the head of Zeus—a conception which Græco-Roman sculptors adopted, and which is best seen in the "Otricoli Jupiter" of the Vatican. The hair rises straight up on the forehead, and falls down on each side of the head like a mane. The head is full and massive, and flows in

rich curls. The god is thus given a certain leonine aspect, but mildness is mixed with majesty in the general effect, as befits one who is the Gracious Father as well as the Omnipotent Ruler. There is, however, something exaggerated and stagey in this type: the pure Greek type, which may be seen in the "Asclepius" in the Elgin Room, and on a smaller scale on several Greek coins, is at once simpler and more effective.

On either side of the door is a bust of **Minerva.** Here, as in the Jupiter, we see a conventional type adapted by Græco-Roman artists from the earlier Greek representations. The goddess has clear-cut, severe features and a thoughtful expression; the hair, divided into two parts and slightly waving, frames a severe brow beneath a helmeted head; the mouth is stern, the head somewhat bent. The Greeks in Athena, and the Romans in Minerva, personified the warlike courage which guarantees peace and the intellectual activity which makes peace fruitful. In one of the busts Minerva's owl is sculptured on each side of the helmet. The sockets of the eyes, now hollow, were originally filled with some viscous material; it appears from an extant inscription that the art of putting the eyes into marble statues was a distinct profession.

Satyr and Infant Bacchus.—A satyr playing with the infant Bacchus, whom he holds in a fawn skin. The infant has one bunch of grapes in his hand, and is in the act of pilfering another, looking up at the satyr with an expression of conscious naughtiness. The satyr, with a roguish smile which intimates that he is not in earnest, threatens the little Bacchus with a club:—

"The motive of this group (purchased in 1864 from the Farnese Palace) is original and animated, but the composition is not felicitous. The principal figure seems over-laden on the left side, and depends too much on a clumsy and artificial support which disturbs the eye. The proportions of the satyr are too long, and the subordinate parts of the composition are very carelessly treated. Allowing for these defects, this group may be considered a fair specimen of decorative Roman sculpture" (Newton).

The "Rondonini" Faun.—So called because the statue formed for a long period one of the most remarkable objects in the Rondonini Palace at Rome. Only the torso is ancient; the restorations, very skilfully made, represent the Faun playing on the cymbals, a motive which occurs in several extant statues. (See the cymbals hanging from the limb of a

tree in the next statue). The torso is noted for its anatomical skill, and the statue was so highly prized by Canova that he succeeded in preventing its exportation from Italy, although it had been disposed of to an English nobleman. On the sculptor's death it was brought to England, and in 1826 the British Museum acquired it for £300.

[The treatment in art of **satyrs and fauns**, the attendants of Dionysus, underwent modifications corresponding to those already noticed in connection with the case of Dionysus himself. Originally they are no more than the savage and superhuman beings with which popular fancy peoples the mountains and forests, and their type in art results from a combination of human and animal nature. Their bodies end in a tail, their noses are snub, their profiles savage, their ears pointed like those of goats. We shall encounter frequently this type of satyr on the Greek vase paintings. In sculpture the Marsyas in the Bronze Room belongs to the same type. But here, as elsewhere, the tendency of Greek art was to humanise the type. The brutal Faun passes into the "Laughing Faun," and finally the animal nature almost disappears. In the type conceived by the Greek sculptors of the fourth century, the satyr has no longer anything brute-like about him, only his pointed ears and the fawn skin recalling his origin; his careless attitude and graceful figure give him the charm of a young man. This new type of the satyr was reproduced in art incessantly with every kind of variation. It attained its greatest refinement in the Satyr of Praxiteles, which is echoed in the famous Faun of the Capitol, so well described by Hawthorne and Pater.]

Head of Juno.—A typical head of the consort of Jupiter, in whom the Greeks and Romans saw a representative of queenly dignity. She wears the frontal called *stephanè*. This bust was acquired at Rome in 1774.

Venus.—One of many statues of this subject derived from the Venus of Praxiteles at Cnidus, which drew many visitors to the town in Roman times. In the original statue the goddess was represented as just about to remove her last garment preparatory to returning to the sea, her native element. In these later adaptations (of which the Capitoline Venus at Rome is the best), the vase (originally a mere artistic accessory required to support the drapery) was given more prominence from the desire of the copyists to produce a general impression

of a goddess entering a bath—a motive suitable to the tastes of their time (cf. Ovid, *de Art. Am.* ii. 614). Presented by King William IV., 1834.

Bust of Apollo.—The head only is antique. From the Albani collection: of the Citharœdus type.

Apollo Citharœdus (1380).—Found in 1862 on the floor of the Temple of Apollo at Cyrenè, 10 feet below the surface of the ground:—

"The head was broken off, and the body in three pieces; but, as the fractures were clean and sharp, and their edges unchipped, we hoped that the whole figure might afterwards be put together without difficulty. When this was actually done, after the arrival of the sculptures in England, the parts were all found to fit each other so accurately that the fractures were barely perceptible. The statue as it now stands, without the slightest restoration, is built up of no less than 121 separate pieces. . . . The god is represented in a musing attitude, as if pausing between the strains of his music. His left hand, now broken off, must have played over the strings of his lyre; his right arm has been raised, the right hand, resting on the crown of his head, has held the *plectrum*, with which he is about to strike the lyre. On the hair may be seen a projection where this hand has been attached. The head of the serpent round the trunk of the tree is upturned as if he were listening to the music of the god. The countenance of Apollo has a suave and beautiful expression, and the general attitude is very harmoniously composed" (Smith and Porcher, *Discoveries at Cyrenè*, pp. 41, 91).

[This statue is one of the more important "finds" made by the late *Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, of the Royal Engineers, and Commander Porcher, of the Royal Navy. Smith had been attached to Sir Charles Newton's expedition to the Levant in 1857-58, and had taken the keenest interest in the archæological discoveries at Halicarnassus and Cnidus (see Ch. XII.). He was afterwards stationed at Malta, and "it occurred to him that a rich and hitherto almost untouched field for exploration lay ready to hand at Cyrenè. That city had for many centuries been the capital of a flourishing Greek colony, afterwards the Roman province of the Cyrenaica. Since the Arab conquest there had been no settled population in the Cyrenaica, which favoured the hope that such remains would be found in a comparatively perfect condition." Smith talked over the project with his friend Lieutenant E. A. Porcher, who agreed to join him in the undertaking. It was not without its difficulties and dangers. The country was inhabited by

fanatical Bedouins; it was mountainous, it lay inland, and communications were defective. The explorers conducted three excavations in 1860-61 at their own expense, but under official sanction. They discovered several temples, and procured several statues, as well as other antiquities, which they presented to the British Museum. The track of the ancient road was found; brushwood was cleared away, and cuttings and embankments were restored in order to bring away the treasures. The story of the expedition is told in the *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrenè*, 1864, written by Smith and illustrated by Porcher (referred to in this handbook as "Smith and Porcher"): see also ch. v. in W. K. Dickson's *Life of Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, 1901. Smith was subsequently employed for many years on telegraph service in Persia, where he acquired a valuable collection of Persian objects of art now in the South Kensington Museum.

The **types of Apollo** in Greek and Græco-Roman art are very numerous, and many of them are represented in the Museum:—

Primarily Apollo was to the Greeks the sun-god, the god of light and radiance, the divine archer who shot his beams with power at once to heal and to destroy. But he was also the god of harmony, the leader of the choir of the Muses, the inspirer of poets and able to give men the gift of prophecy. Hardly had he been born than he cried out, "Give me a sweet-sounding lyre and a curved bow, and my oracle shall make known unto men the true wishes of Zeus." These and many other aspects of Phœbus-Apollo were differentiated in later art; in the statue before us he appears as Apollo with the lyre. Originally, however, the god was represented under one uniform type—not always clearly distinguished from that of other gods. The earliest images of Apollo were mere symbols—shapeless forms of wood or stone. Then, as technical skill increased, he was given the robust development of an athlete, wearing his hair long after the ancient Greek fashion. He is so described in the Homeric hymn, "The god was like unto a man full of sap and vigour in all the brilliancy of young manhood; and over his broad shoulders streamed his loosèd locks." The visitor will find specimens of these earlier types in the Archaic Room (p. 115), the Ante-Room (p. 119), and the Bronze Room (p. 429). In later times various types were, as we have said, differentiated,

for instance:—(1) Apollo Victorious—as in the famous Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican. (2) Apollo at rest—in graceful and unstudied pose, of less muscular frame, and wearing a marked expression of calm and gentleness. Among the Bronzes from Paramythia there is a statuette of this type (p. 437). (3) Apollo Citharœdus—sometimes fully draped, in the flowing robes of a minstrel; sometimes half-draped, as in the statue before us. (4) Apollo Musagetes—"'Tis Apollo comes leading His choir, the Nine." In this type the expression of the god is more rapt and enthusiastic, and it passes into another (5)—that of the Pythian Apollo, as the god of prophecy. Beautiful heads belonging to these two latter types will be found in the next room (p. 51).]

Diana.—The type of Artemis (Diana)—sister of Apollo and goddess of the chase—is drawn in bold outline by Homer; "as when Artemis, proud of her arrows, walks over the mountains, either upon the long ridge of Taÿgetus or on Erymanthus, and delights in following the wild boar or the swift stag." Her characteristic as huntress is the dominant note in all the representations of her in Greek and Græco-Roman art—as a poet of the Anthology says, "On a statue of Artemis ready for the chase":—

I am Artemis, as ye may know. That the craftsman who wrought me
Did purpose to show me, the daughter of Zeus and no other,
The virgin's bold aspect proclaims. One would say of a surety
That all the whole earth was a hunting-ground only for me.
(Translated by ALMA STRETTELL.)

In the present statue the goddess is obviously pressing forward. The arms, as well as the feet, are restored. Probably the left arm originally held a bow, and the right was drawing an arrow from a quiver. In the early statues of Artemis she is clad in a long tunic, over which is thrown a shawl; the hair spreads over the shoulders, and two locks fall upon the chest; the straightness of the body and the nearness to one another of the legs give an appearance of rigidity to the body. Of this archaic type an imitation may be seen in the next room but one (p. 62). The same type survives in many respects in the present statue, but the legs are freer, and there is altogether more life in the figure. In the later Attic type the virgin huntress was rendered in a much freer and more elegant manner. She wears only a short tunic (the lightness of which,

as she moves through air, is remarkable in contrast to the somewhat stiff folds here); the hair is gathered up on the top of her head in a knot and the legs are left free. The present statue was found in 1772 near La Storta, about eight miles from Rome, on the same spot as the "Bacchus and Ambrosia" (p. 58).

The **"Head of Diana,"** bequeathed by Payne Knight in 1824, looks like a portrait, and is probably a bust of some imperial personage, perhaps Faustina the younger, in the character of Diana.

Bust of Homer.—Discovered in 1780 among some ruins on the site of Baiæ. A fine example of the portrait busts which, as Pliny tells us, the Romans loved to place in their libraries, when "desire of possession gives birth to unrecorded features as happens in the case of Homer." A fillet (*tainia*), the distinctive mark of a poet, encircles the head. The poet is represented in advanced age, and blind. No actual portrait of Homer was extant; this ideal conception, in which the ancients endeavoured to compose a head suitable in expression of dignity to the genius and reputation of the poet, probably dates from the Macedonian period, when Homer was so much studied at Alexandria. By this bust, as also by one of Pericles, Mr. Townley set special store. He had engravings of them made on a small plate, which he used as a visiting card.

Bust of a Poet.—Another such portrait, possibly of Hesiod. Found near Albano, on the supposed site of a villa belonging to Marcus Varro, lieutenant of Pompey, the friend of Cicero, and the most learned of Roman antiquaries.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND GRÆCO-ROMAN ROOM

There, too, the goddess loves in stone and fills
The air around with beauty.

Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth.

THIS room contains some of the best-known Græco-Roman sculptures in the collection, especially the "Townley Venus" in the alcove on the left, and the "Quoit-Thrower" in that on the right.

The "Townley" Venus.—This statue, found in 1776 among the ruins of the baths of Claudius at Ostia, was one of the principal gems of Mr. Townley's collection, hence the name by which it is generally known. The figure consists of two pieces of marble imperceptibly joined within the drapery. It was in consequence of the two parts being separately exhibited as unconnected fragments that Mr. Townley obtained permission to export them from Rome. This was one of the stratagems in which the wily Nollekens, who was Mr. Townley's agent in Rome, excelled.[1]

If the ascription of Furtwängler be correct, the statue is as historically interesting as it is beautiful in itself. He regards it as a copy, after Praxiteles (see p. 144), of the portrait statue of his mistress, Phrynè—the famous courtesan—which she presented to Delphi. "The left hand held up the mirror, and the right may have held some other toilet requisite. The whole conception lacks the dignity and repose of the other statue (the 'Venus d'Arles' in the Louvre); this maiden has a questioning, self-conscious look; rejoicing in her beauty she

[1] Another was the smuggling of silks, gloves, and lace, by packing them inside hollow busts and statues which he afterwards stopped by an outside coating of plaster (see *Nollekens and his Times*, i. pp. 13, 262).

raises the mirror, and cares not if her mantle slips down a little lower. It seems to me that a Phrynè by Praxiteles must have looked just like this—ideally beautiful and noble, yet different enough from a goddess. The statue of Phrynè, so famous in antiquity, was the one at Delphi. It is this statue that I should like to imagine as the original of the Townley Venus" (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 319 *sq.*).

The Discobolus, or quoit-thrower (250).—This is a marble copy (found in 1791 at Hadrian's Villa) of the famous bronze original by *Myron*. We have seen in the Diadumenus of Polyclitus the *beau idéal* of athletic repose; in the Discobolus of Myron we have the *beau idéal* of athletic motion.

Myron (about 500-440 B.C.) was a contemporary of Phidias. He was a native of Eleutheræ in Bœotia and a pupil of Ageladas of Argos, but the main scene of his activity was Athens. While Phidias was pre-eminent in the field of ideal art, Myron excelled rather in studies from nature. He was in fact, says Mr. Pater, "an earnest realist or naturalist, and rose to central perfection in the portraiture, the idealised portraiture, of athletic youth, from a mastery first of all in the delineation of inferior objects." There are thirty-six epigrams extant on a brazen cow by Myron—"So like a living animal that the cowherd tried to drive it off." He seems, said Pliny of him, to have "multiplied truth." He succeeded, that is to say, in realising particular situations or characters, as, for instance, in his statue of Ladas, the celebrated runner, of which a Greek epigram said that the sculptor "graved in the whole body the hope of the crown." He studied varieties of truth by seeking out daring situations, even strained and violent actions which his accurate knowledge of nature enabled him to invest with the appearance of ease essential to artistic effect. According to Quintilian, the laboured complexity of the Discobolus is extreme, but any one who should blame it on this ground would do so under a misapprehension of its purpose, inasmuch as the merit of the work lies in its novelty and difficulty. Lastly, according to Pliny, Myron, though accurate in representing bodily forms, did not express the feelings of the soul.[1]

[1] Such is the traditional characterisation of Myron. If, however, Furtwängler's ascriptions of works to the sculptor be correct, the traditional view of him must be abandoned. "He is no longer the one-sided sculptor of athletes, interested only in violent exertion, and caring nothing for the spiritual element of his figures. Myron has created gods and heroes too, which for depth of conception and power in the presentation of character surpass all contemporary work. The ancients, however, were so lost in admiration of his two figures, representing athletes in violent movement, the Discos-thrower and the Ladas, and of the cow with its fidelity to nature, that, by the side of these, other aspects of his work became obscured. If

In the style of Myron, as thus defined by ancient writers, the Quoit-Thrower is the most famous of his works. The Quoit-Thrower, says Lucian in a description of the statue, "is stooping forward in attitude to throw, twisting his body round towards the hand that holds the quoit, half crouching on one leg, and looking ready to spring up as he makes his cast." The marble copies agree with this description, except that the head is here looking forward instead of back. Notice, first, the skill with which the sculptor adapts his work to the limitations of his art. A sculptor cannot represent movement; he can only suggest it. Since he can only render permanent a single instant of time, the skilful artist will choose that moment which is most pregnant with suggestion, that which in itself partakes in as small a degree as possible of violent action, while it is most suggestive of the action which is over and the action which is to follow. Here the sculptor has chosen (says Mr. Perry) the moment of pause and transition between two energetic actions, when the disk-thrower has collected all his force for the supreme decisive effort, and all his powers of body and mind are bent to the fullest stretch, "like a bow before the discharge of the arrow." Every limb, every muscle partakes in and contributes to the main action of the body, and the rhythm runs from the centre through all the members, through every vein and fibre. (Myron, says Pliny, was more rhythmical in art than Polyclitus.) The youth, it will be seen, rests all his weight on his right foot, the toes of which clutch the ground for firmer hold; as the arms swing round, the left foot, now balanced, will be thrust forward and receive all the weight of the body as the missile leaves the hand. In another moment the imagination sees the left foot planted and the quoit whirled into the air. The object of the game was to throw the quoit, a mass of stone or metal, as far as possible; not, as with us, at a mark (Upcott, *Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 56; Perry's *Catalogue of the Casts*). Another work by Myron in which he similarly chose a moment of pause was the Marsyas, of which there is a bronze statuette upstairs (see p. 431).

With regard to the face, the absence of expression seems

we compare Myron with Phidias, we find that the bent of Phidias is towards the peaceful, the mild, the reflective, the beautiful; while Myron's is to energy, power, character, and truth" (pp. 201-202). Among other works in the British Museum which Furtwängler brings into relation with Myron are a Hercules (p. 56), and a Perseus (p. 138).

to bear out Pliny's criticism given above. But it is doubtful whether this head really belonged to the statue.[1]

We now examine more cursorily the other sculptures in this room:—

Heroic Bust.—This beautiful head, which formerly belonged to a statue, shows the type of features characteristic of Greek heroes as they were represented by sculptors of the Macedonian period. The countenance is very beautiful, and the sculpture is probably by a Greek hand. The head was found at Ostia, and was formerly in the possession of Rogers the poet, by whom it was greatly esteemed. The base and bust were restored by Flaxman.

Head of Apollo ("Pourtalès").

Head of Apollo (Baths of Caracalla).

Head of Apollo (from Capua).

The first of these heads, called "Pourtalès," from a former owner (from whose collection it was bought in 1865), is remarkable for the earnest pathos of the expression and its somewhat effeminate character. It probably belongs to the time of Alexander the Great. The corners of the eyebrows are slightly drawn up, thus giving to the face a somewhat melancholy expression very unlike that of the Apollo Belvedere. The form and expression of the face make it probable that it is intended for the ideal of the Pythian Apollo: the rapt and overwrought expression would be very appropriate to the statue of the God of Prophecy (Perry's *Catalogue of the Collection of Casts at South Kensington*, No. 198). For different types of Apollo, see last chapter, p. 45. The head from Capua wears also an expression of pathos.

The other head, found in the Baths of Caracalla, is doubtless a copy from the same original as the Pourtalès head. There are, however, certain differences between the two, which Furtwängler ascribes to reminiscences, on the part of the Pourtalès sculptor, of the style of Cresilas:—

"From the similarity in their proportions and main features, there can be no doubt that the two heads are merely different versions of one and the same original, while from the qualities common to both it is evident that this original was not materially earlier than Alexander.

[1] The head appears to have been put on to the figure by a modern restorer under the direction of the English dealer through whose hands it passed at Rome (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, i. 240).

Now the copy from the Baths of Caracalla displays exclusively the forms proper to that period: the eye is deeply recessed and exceedingly pathetic (the god is supposed to be sunk in musical inspiration); the hair aims dexterously at the most realistic treatment. In a word, there is complete harmony between the conception and the stylistic forms. In the Pourtalès head, on the contrary, we note an irreconcilable contradiction between style and conception; an artist enamoured with the style of Cresilas has evidently attempted to introduce the formal qualities of the master into a head of totally different style. Accordingly, the deeply recessed and pathetic eyes have been transformed into Cresilaian eyes with strong prominent lids and overshadowed by sharp angular brows; in the hair conventional little curls with twisted ends replace the naturalistic fall of the loop of hair over the forehead, and the loop itself hangs more over to the front" (Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 165*n*).

Alexander the Great.—If this be indeed a portrait of Alexander, it is much idealised. It should be compared with the beautiful, but more realistic, bust in the Ephesus Room (p. 142).

Head of Aphroditè.—Formerly described as a head of Dionè, the mother of Aphroditè. The head is antique, but the nose and bust are modern. "Notwithstanding the injuries it has received, this head is one of the most beautiful specimens of Græco-Roman sculpture" (Newton).

Heroic Head, known as "**Diomedes.**"—This head, celebrated for the intensity of its expression, was found at Hadrian's Villa in 1771, and is generally recognised as belonging to the School of Pergamum.

[In connection with this head and that of the Alexander already noticed, a few words may be useful upon the *Hellenistic, Macedonian, and Pergamene Schools.* The period covered by the work of these schools may be put roughly at as from 320 to 100 B.C.

It thus precedes and partly overlaps what in a previous note we have called the Græco-Roman and Roman period (p. 35). The chief influence at the beginning of this period was the personality of *Alexander*, who gave a new impulse to portrait sculpture under his favourite sculptor Lysippus (p. 141). The conquests of Alexander carried Greek art over all the Eastern world, and this is called therefore the *Hellenistic* age. Other characteristics of the art of the period were a fondness for *pastoral* motives (see under the Bacchus relief in the next room, p. 63), and the recognition of *childhood* as a

theme (see p. 68). It is from the beginning of the Hellenistic age that the chubby cupids, so familiar to us from late Greek and Roman art, begin to date. The "boy and goose" subject also belongs to this period (see a silver statuette described on p. 598). The introduction of *genre* subjects generally is also characteristic of this age (see under the Spinario, p. 63).

Under Attalus I. (241 B.C.), and Eumenes II. (197 B.C.), the city of Pergamum became the centre of a new school of Greek sculptors. To celebrate his victories, Attalus summoned from Greece a body of sculptors, and thus arose the *Pergamene School.* The victories of the kings of Pergamum over the Gauls gave the occasion and the motive to this school, in the same way that the victories of the Athenians over the Persians had given the impulse to the earlier Greek sculptors. Of extant works thus executed for Attalus, the so-called "Dying Gladiator" (really, Wounded Gaul) of the Capitol at Rome is the best known. Under Eumenes II. yet more splendid works were undertaken. To commemorate the great achievement of his race, the overthrow of the barbarians, he built a vast altar to Zeus the Saviour, on which the symbolic theme of the defeat of giants by gods was treated on such a scale, with such wealth of detail and with such dramatic force, as made the monument one of the wonders of the world. "I know where thou dwellest," says St. John in the Revelation, addressing the angel of the church of Pergamum, "even where Satan's throne is"—a striking description of that wonderful open-air altar, where gigantic figures of the old Pagan deities still towered above the city. A German engineer, employed in making roads for the Turkish Government, discovered in 1871 the remains of this altar. They are now in the Pergamum Museum of Berlin, and still overwhelm the spectator with a sense of the force and profusion of the art employed upon them. It is from these marbles that the characteristics of the Pergamene School are deduced. What most concerns us here is the intense pathos of some of the Pergamene figures—the characteristic of Scopas (p. 217) carried to an extreme.]

This characteristic is very marked in the head now before us. It is inclined to the right; the eyes are intently fixed; the lips parted. The countenance, one of the most expressive ever produced in marble, speaks of the agony of painful suspense. "The treatment is broad and masterly, and the countenance is remarkable for a subdued intensity of pathos

rare in ancient art. . . . The head seems to possess those characteristics which we associate with the Macedonian period of sculpture, and the features present a striking likeness to a head on the silver tetradrachm of Philip V. of Macedon, which appears to represent that king or some member of his family in the character of the hero Perseus" (Newton).

Bacchante Chimairophonos (bas-relief).—A graceful figure of a Bacchante, clothed in thin transparent drapery, holding a knife in her right hand, and the hind limbs of a kid in the left. The priestesses of Bacchus, during the celebration of the Dionysiac festivals, ate the raw flesh of different animals, which is the reason why they are so often represented carrying the knife and limbs of animals (chimairophonos = goat-slaying). Euripides describes the Bacchæ as rushing upon the herds as they grazed, to rend them piecemeal. You might see, he says, the ribs and cloven feet here and there, or hanging upon the pines and dropping blood.

Head of a Muse.—"The head is remarkable for its simplicity of treatment, and its tranquil harmony accords well with the ancient conception of a muse. Probably a skilful Roman copy of some masterpiece of Greek art" (Newton).

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD GRÆCO-ROMAN ROOM

"When the Roman came under the spell of the more highly cultivated Greek, a new era began. First it was an era of plunder; next of imitation and reproduction; finally, the art put on such new features that it may be regarded as a new development. The immense majority of the antique statues in our European galleries belong to this age of revival, and yet the number of works which can be assigned to a positive date, or placed within certain limits of time, is comparatively small" (UPCOTT).

". . . In order to determine the relative merit of these works, and to approximate to their dates, we must refer them to the one standard of comparison, the sculptures of the Parthenon" (NEWTON).

ON entering this room we find on either side of the door **busts of Hercules.** This deified hero—the type among the Greeks of gigantic labour and romantic adventure—was a favourite subject in ancient sculpture, and it is interesting to distinguish different types of him. Sometimes he was represented as a beautiful youth; then, as a young man less beautiful, but having characteristic marks of strength strongly defined. It is as a full-grown hero with muscular limbs that we shall encounter him in the casts of the metopes of Olympia (p. 114). Lastly, he came to be represented as an old man, bearded, with features bearing testimony to his labours.

Head of Youthful Hercules.—From the Barberini Palace, Rome. The ears are bruised and broken—a characteristic of ancient pugilists. A fine type of Hercules, probably introduced in the Macedonian period. Larger than nature, and strongly marked by the appearance of muscular strength. "Remarkable for the character of individuality in the features, which nearly resemble those on the gold coins of Philip of Macedon, in which the portrait of the king is intermixed with the ideal image of the deity—a mode of compliment not infrequent in ancient art" (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, i. 328).

Hercules in Advanced Life.—Found at Hadrian's Villa in 1769. This is a head of the hero more advanced in life. Furtwängler sees in this head a copy of an original by Myron. The eyes are unusually big and round, rather than long—a trait which especially distinguishes Hercules in archaic art. The head conforms to the usual type of Hercules as fixed by earlier sculptors, but some new characteristics are introduced to accentuate the individuality of the hero. "On the sharp edge of the brow the trace of the eyebrows is slightly indicated —a singularity which is not, I think, to be ascribed to the copyist, but to the artist's search after realism, or after some touch that should emphasise the powerful nature of the hero. Hair and beard are quite short, and arranged in small tight curls. Just over the centre of the forehead the little locks are brushed up, obviously in order to heighten the impression of strength" (*Masterpieces*, p. 179).

Head of the Youthful Hercules.—The countenance is mild and pleasing, and more of a feminine type than is usually associated with Hercules. But the bruised ears leave no doubt of the identification. Found near Genzano, in very good condition. He wears a wreath of poplar. "Several replicas exist of this attractive work, which is thought to be copied from an original by Scopas" (*Guide to the Department*).

On the other side of the door are two heads of **Hercules as an old man.** Of these the more remarkable is the one found in the lava at the foot of Vesuvius, and presented to the Museum by Sir William Hamilton. This head resembles that of the well-known Farnese Hercules in Naples. That statue was the work of Glycon, an Athenian sculptor; in it, as in this head, two sets of characteristics may be noticed, both of which distinguish Græco-Roman work of the age of Hadrian from Greek work of an earlier period. In the first place there is a note of exaggeration. The strength of the hero is expressed by colossal size, massive proportions, protruding bones, swollen muscles. Secondly, the conception of the hero is changed from the "glad confident morning" of eternal youthfulness to a more modern note of weariness and depression. The weary Titan has found his strength overtaxed at last, and looks downward with pathetic gaze. The other, and smaller head, shows Hercules as an old man again, but the expression is less pathetic.

We now return to the other side of the door, and make the tour of the room from left to right, noticing the more interesting pieces.

A Votive Offering to Apollo (776).—A father and two sons (all clad in Roman military armour) are consulting the oracle of Apollo. Each has his right hand placed upon his breast to express their awe of the god. The god is seated on the omphalos (or round stone supposed to mark the centre of the earth), holding up his hand in an impressive manner. The two female figures—of taller stature than the mortals—are supposed to be Latona and Diana, the mother and sister of Apollo, whose worship was often associated with his. On the base are the remains of a dedication to Apollo in verse. (On the subject of votive reliefs, see Ch. XIII.)

Hecatè Triformis.—The Triple Hecatè—a common type in ancient art—seems to express the mystical union of the Chthonian deities, the deities of the under-world—Artemis, Selenè, and Persephonè. Such statues as this were frequently placed in towns and villages where three roads met; the suitability of the triple form for the ornament of a finger-post at such places may have influenced the selection of this artistic type. In one aspect Persephonè was the goddess of corn and other fruits of the earth: hence she wears the *modius* or corn measure on her head (cf. the statuette in the Ephesus Room, p. 125). The country folk left her a fragment of bread and a morsel of meat, at the cross-roads, to take on her journey; and perhaps some real Demeter carried them away, as she wandered through the country. But she was the goddess of death as well as of life ("dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return"), and her worship included magical rites and incantations. Hence in her hands she holds instruments of terror—the key of the under-world, a serpent, twisted cords, the lower part of a torch, and the handle of a sword. This statue—found outside the Porta del Popolo, Rome—was set up, as an inscription informs us, by Ælius Barbarus, an imperial freedman and bailiff of the estate.

Ceres, with Attributes of Isis.—On her head is a *stephanè* ornamented with a disk placed between two serpents, the symbol of Isis, and surmounted by ears of corn, the symbol of Ceres or Demeter. In her left hand she holds a *situla* or bucket, the usual attribute of Isis. Probably executed in the time of Hadrian, when the types of Ceres and Isis were so blended as to be with difficulty distinguished. These mixed types were a result of the pantheistic spirit of the second century (Newton).

Bust of Minerva.—Found in 1784 at Rome. "The head only is antique. The helmet and the breast, which are bronze, are modern: they were copied, with some variations, by Albanini, from an ancient bust in the Vatican Museum. The eyes, which are now filled with plaster, were originally formed of onyx or some similar material in imitation of the natural eye" (Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. 319).

Cupid riding on a Dolphin.—In green basalt; found in Egypt: Roman period. "The complete group probably contained a figure of Aphroditè, supporting herself by a rudder, of which a part remains. The figure appears to have formed part of a fountain, as a bronze tube passed through the rudder" (*Guide to the Department*).

Girl playing Astragali.—For this game, see below. The attitude here is very easy and graceful. This figure was found in 1766 at Rome, on the site of the Gardens of Sallust.

Head of a Water Nymph.—Notice the wavy lines of the hair. The hollow sockets of the eyes were originally filled with glass or precious stones.

Figure from a Group of Astragalizontes.—"Players at knuckle-bones" (in English called dibbs). The game was played with four *astragali*, dice made of knuckle-bones. The earliest recorded use of this motive in sculpture is a group of two naked boys by Polyclitus, which stood in the palace of the Emperor Titus. It is probable that that work was of an ideal character, and not intended to represent a street-scene from daily life (cf. the group on Table-case D in the Terra-cotta Room, p. 714). The present marble—found in the Baths of Titus and bought by Mr. Townley from the Barberini Palace—is of a very much later date, and of a different order of art, being an excellent example of the *genre* style which prevailed in the Hellenistic period. The figure belonged to "a group of two slave boys quarrelling over their game. The figure which has survived is biting his companion in the leg, in which operation he shows his teeth. His body is spare and sinewy, and reminds us strongly of the *putti* of Murillo. He wears the *exomis*, the usual dress of slaves, the folds of which are very skilfully treated to suit the material. His opponent, who must have been either kneeling or standing, was behind" (Perry). There is great vigour and dramatic force in this representation of a street-scene.

Bacchus and Ambrosia.—Ambrosia—a personification of

the food of the gods—looks up, holding in her right hand a bunch of grapes towards the wine-cup in his hand. Bacchus, in an easy and graceful attitude, leans on her, placing his hand affectionately on her shoulder. "The skill of the sculptor has blended together the animal and vegetable forms with so much ingenuity that it is difficult to decide where the one begins or the other terminates" (Ellis).

The Slaying of Niobe's Children.—The legend of Niobe—one of the most familiar in ancient art and poetry—first occurs in the 24th book of the *Iliad*. Niobe, filled with pride in her "six beauteous daughters and six stalwart sons," dared to challenge comparison with Latona, the goddess-mother of Apollo and Artemis. For which impiety were her children slain:

> The maids, the Archer-Queen, Diana, slew,
> With anger fill'd that Niobe presumed
> Herself with fair Latona to compare
> Her many children with her rival's two;
> So by the two were all the many slain. . . .
> And now in Sipylus amid the rocks
> And lonely mountains, where the goddess nymphs
> That love to dance by Achelöus' stream,
> 'Tis said, were cradled, she, though turn'd to stone,
> Broods o'er the wrongs inflicted by the gods.

In this circular disk (from the Castellani collection) the figures are carved in relief on a series of terraces representing the side of Mount Sipylus. Apollo and Artemis are on the topmost row. In the second row, notice the son throwing up his mantle like a curtain or shield to protect his sister; and in the bottom row, the pædagogue or tutor, who is less concerned for his own safety than for that of his charge, who clings to him. The figures on this disk were doubtless copied from statues in well-known attitudes—such as those of the Niobe series now at Florence. Those famous statues were from originals by Scopas or Praxiteles. It is probable that in this disk we have reminiscences rather of the Niobe group which Phidias is known to have executed for the throne of Zeus at Olympia. Furtwängler calls special attention to the figure in the middle of the second row. It is "a bold and individual design. A Niobid has fallen backwards over a rock. The head is down, the hands clasped behind it, while the legs, bent at the knees, still seem clinging to the rock above. Just the

same motive is introduced on the shield of the Athene Parthenos" (*Masterpieces*, p. 44).

Recumbent Satyr.—Originally part of a group of a satyr struggling with a nymph. "Only two fingers of the nymph are left, pressed against the face of the satyr. The modern restorer has ignorantly adapted these to the left hand of the satyr" (Newton).

Bust of Diana.—Her hair is bound with a diadem and tied in a knot at the top of the head. The face betokens "chaste severity and virgin sweetness."

Venus.—Found in an ancient bath at Ostia in 1775. Her hair is bound by several fillets. On her feet are sandals tied round the instep. The arms are modern, and there is no authority for their present action. This is one of several statues restored for Townley by Nollekens, whose biographer (J. T. Smith) lets us into the secret of how such things are done:—

> "Mr. Townley desired Mr. Nollekens to send for his small Venus in order to model a pair of arms to it. That gentleman also wished him to try them in various positions, such as holding a dove, the beak of which might touch her lips; entwining a wreath; or looking at the eye of a serpent. Strange to tell, I stood to Mr. Nollekens for all the various positions he could devise for the arms, and after six changes the present ones were carved" (*Nollekens and his Times*, 1828, i. 184).

Youthful Satyr.—A very graceful figure, found at Antium. "He probably held up a jug in his right hand to pour into a bowl held in the left." Formerly in the Augusteum, Dresden, from which museum it was obtained in exchange for various casts in 1838.

A Laughing Faun.—From the Macarani Palace, Rome. The lower part of the legs, the arms, and the trunk supporting the left side of the statue are modern restorations. It may be doubted whether these restorations are in all respects correct. "The strain and tension of all the muscles round the knees prove that the figure was represented on tiptoe, looking eagerly at some agreeable object, which would account for the momentary attitude and expression given to the countenance" (Ellis). The right arm with the pipe hardly accords with this motive. The Faun wears the skin of a deer, the legs of which are tied across the left shoulder. In his left hand he holds the pedum or short crook.

Paniscus, or Youthful Pan.—Roman works, found in 1775 in the villa of Antoninus Pius, at Civita Lavinia. The pointed ears and small horns show that it represents the human type of Pan, who is more commonly represented with the goat's legs. Both are inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Marcus Cossutius Cerdo, a freedman. "The letters are of the first century A.D., and the style of the sculpture is that of the so-called school of Pasiteles, an artist working at the close of the Roman Republic" (*Guide to the Department*).

Terminal Figure of Midas.—Otherwise called Pan, but the figure differs from any known type of that deity. Midas was the inventor of the plagiaulos, or flute. The action of breathing into the instrument is well expressed. This figure, probably executed in the time of Hadrian, was found at Civita Lavinia in 1775. These termini (or hermæ) were columns surmounted with the heads of deities. The custom of so representing Hermes was so common at Athens that the name became generic, being applied to all figures of the kind, though the heads were of other divinities or persons.

Roman Portrait.—Probably of Julius Cæsar, in black basalt, found in Egypt.

Torso of Venus.—Fragment, of very fine execution, from a statue which was shattered in the fire at Richmond House, 1791. The Empress of Russia was at that time in negotiation for its purchase.

We next come to an **archaistic head** of Dionysus, and near it are several other busts and statues in the same style. In all the arts there are times when the imitation of early work becomes a fashion. Just as in our days there are many amateurs of painting who give all their admiration to "the primitives," so at Rome in the first century there were many connoisseurs who admired the earliest style of Greek sculpture, stiff and formal though it was. This taste may in part have been a reaction against the over softness and smoothness of late Græco-Roman sculpture; in part, perhaps, it was affectation. It was to meet this taste that statues such as these before us were executed—in deliberate imitation of the archaic style. This archaic style will become familiar to us in the next rooms.

Among the archaistic imitations here is a full-size figure of **Diana,** in which something of the grand style may be seen. In her left hand she held a small stag as her symbol. Com-

pare this imitation of the archaic Diana with the Græco-Roman type described above, p. 46. There are also some archaistic heads of the bearded Bacchus. The **head of an athlete** is an archaistic imitation of a Greek original; it is of very finished workmanship, but with stiff little corkscrew curls.

Some other works in this part of the room must also be noticed:—

A Bacchanalian Rout.—A bas-relief of fine workmanship showing a portion of a revel in honour of Bacchus—a frequent subject in ancient sculpture. In front is a mænad, playing on the tambourine, in a state of orgiastic excitement. Behind are two satyrs; one of them is playing on the *tibia*, or double flute. His head is bound with a kind of leathern mouthpiece, used to give additional force to the muscles. The other satyr holds out a panther's skin, and the panther of Bacchus walks beside. This marble was found at Civita Vecchia. Actual scenes such as that here represented were not unknown in the days of Imperial Rome. "Messalina," writes Tacitus (*Annals*, xi. 31), "more wildly profligate than ever, was celebrating in mid-autumn a representation of the vintage. The presses were being trodden; the vats were overflowing; women girt with skins were dancing, as Bacchanals dance in their worship or their frenzy. Messalina with flowing hair shook the thyrsus, and Silius at her side, crowned with ivy and wearing the buskin, moved his head to some lascivious chorus."

Head of a Bacchante.—Found outside the Porta San Pancrazio, Rome, 1776. The rough dishevelled hair proclaims her a Bacchante.

Visit of Bacchus to Icarius.—This bas-relief is of great interest, both for its subject and its style. The relief illustrates the Attic myth, according to which Dionysus paid visits to Attic princes and presented them with various gifts. One of the persons so honoured was Icarius, the hero of viticulture and of the satyric drama (notice the masks below the couch). Icarius is reclining at table, on which stand dishes and a drinking cup. A female figure, which was also on the couch, is chiselled away. Before taking his place as a guest, Dionysus has his sandals loosed by a satyr. Another satyr, mounted on the wall, is decorating the house with garlands. Behind Dionysus is his revel rout. The god himself is bearded and venerable, according to the older and Eastern type. So far, we see in

the relief a lively representation of a myth. But it is specially interesting as giving us a delineation of an Athenian house, with its roof of pantiles, its eaves like inverted battlements, its pediment or gable-end adorned with a head of Medusa, supported by two tritons, its rude windows with a single mullion and capitals. With regard to the style, the relief belongs to the Hellenistic or Alexandrian age, and it is essentially pictorial in treatment :—

"The poems of Theocritus show us how the trees and mountains and breezes of Sicily were brought to refresh the jaded intellect of the townsmen of Alexandria. The same desires found expression in a series of reliefs, which also, with a strange inconsistency, are the chief examples of a new and luxurious device for the decoration of buildings. These 'pictures in relief,' as they have been aptly named, were designed as panels to be let into the walls. . . . They are distinguished not only by their choice of subject, but by a peculiar pictorial treatment of the design, especially in the background" (E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 439).

Hermes.—An archaistic bas-relief in granite. Hermes carries the caduceus and lyre. Found by Mehemet Ali in 1825, on the site of a temple at Canopus dedicated by Ptolemy Euergetes I. From the Stowe collection.

At the end of the room are two important works :—

Spinario.—This is a marble version of one of the most famous ancient works of *genre*, known from numerous reproductions. The antique bronze at Rome (Capitol Museum) is, says Mr. Pater, "delightful in itself, technically exquisite, and most interesting in its history" :—

"Tolerated in the general destruction of ancient sculpture—like the 'Wolf of the Capitol,' allowed by way of heraldic sign, or like the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius doing duty as Charlemagne—like those, but like very few other works of the kind, the Spinario remained, well known and in honour, throughout the Middle Age. Stories like that of Ladas the famous runner, who died as he reached the goal in a glorious footrace of boys—the subject of a famous work by Myron—were told of the half-grown bronze lad at the Capitol. Of necessity, but fatally, he must pause for a few moments in his course ; or the course is at length over, or the breathless journey with some all-important tidings ; and now, and not till now, he thinks of resting to draw from the sole of his foot the cruel thorn, driven into it as he ran. In any case, there he still sits for a moment, for ever, amid the smiling admiration of centuries, in the agility, in the perfect *naïveté* also, as thus occupied, of his sixteenth year" (*Greek Studies*, p. 307).

The close attention with which the boy devotes himself to the work of extracting the thorn is well expressed in the half-opened mouth and the protrusion of the lower lip. It is noteworthy that his hair does not hang down over his cheeks, as the bent position of the head would necessitate, but clings closely to his skull. This may be a piece of archaism, or more probably an artistic license taken in order not to obscure the face, which is already partly concealed.

The statue before us was found on the Esquiline, and appears to be a work of the Hellenistic age. It represents (says Helbig) the same motive as the Capitoline example, but with vulgar forms and in a completely realistic style. "It proves that the Hellenistic art, which so often transformed ideal types into realistic and especially into rustic figures, has done so in the case of the figure before us. The fifth-century type[1] has been transmuted into a genre figure in the proper sense of the term, and represents nothing more than a street Arab picking a thorn out of his foot" (*Antiquities in Rome*, No. 617).

Hermes.—This statue was formerly in the Farnese Palace at Rome. It was purchased with other statues from the ex-King of Naples in 1865. The messenger of the gods is in an attitude of rest; he wears the winged sandals (*talaria*) on his feet, and holds the caduceus, or wand, in his left hand. The brow is slightly knitted, giving a certain gentle sadness to the expression, as in Wordsworth's lines:—

> Mild Hermes spake, and touched her with his wand
> That calms all fear.

The statue is one of many copies from some Greek original. The expression may be compared with that of the Hermes on the sculptured column from Ephesus (p. 132).

Jupiter-Serapis.—The polytheism of the imperial age introduced many strange gods to Rome. The Egyptian Serapis had, however, been admitted to the Greek Pantheon. His worship, very popular at Alexandria, soon spread through the Greek and Roman worlds. In the age of Hadrian it was especially in favour, and Roman inscriptions to Serapis have been found in Britain. In art his type partook of the character

[1] It is, however, much disputed whether the bronze boy of the Capitol is really an early version of a work of the age of Myron or a modification of the theme invented in the Hellenistic age.

at once of Zeus and of Hades. His unfailing attribute is the *modius* upon his head, thought by some to be the bell or seed-vessel of the lotus (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, i. 313).

Apollo and Victory (774). — A votive relief — Apollo receiving a libation from Victory. For the subject, see the chapter on these reliefs (XIII.). The same subject occurs on several reliefs. "All exhibit the same peculiar style, in which certain characteristics of the archaic period are retained in the treatment, probably from a religious motive, whence this style is called *hieratic*" (Newton).

Ganymede.—The beautiful Phrygian youth who was taken up to heaven by an eagle to be the cup-bearer of the gods. Here Ganymede is looking up, as it were, to heaven, while the eagle prepares to carry him away.

Female Head.—This head (from the Castellani collection) has been identified as the poetess **Sappho**, by a certain resemblance to a portrait of her on the earlier coins of Mytilene (her birthplace). "The deep skull and the vigorous features betoken an unusual amount of feeling, will-power, and capacity. The expression of severity is softened by the languishing look of the almond-shaped eyes. The massive chin and the full under-lip reveal a strongly sensuous nature" (Helbig, No. 789).

Actæon.—A statue of the young hunter who, because he had boasted that he excelled Diana in the chase, or, according to another version, because he had seen the goddess when her garments were laid aside, was turned into a stag and devoured by his dogs. The moment of transformation is here represented: the horns of a stag are already sprouting from his head. Found at the villa of Antoninus Pius, 1774.

Mithraic Group.—The subject of this group has already been explained, in connection with a similar piece of sculpture in the Hall of Inscriptions (see p. 14).

Jupiter.—"Seated figure of the Infernal Jupiter. He is on a throne, on the right of which is an eagle, on the left Cerberus. The combination of these symbols indicates that in this statue the Olympic and Chthonian divinities are united in one type. Such mixed types were common in late Roman art" (Newton).

Head of a Barbarian.—This fine head, in which feelings of rage, disappointment, and revenge may be perceived, was found in Trajan's Forum. It has been variously supposed to

be Arminius, the celebrated German chief who was conquered by Germanicus; his son Thumelicus; or the British chief Caractacus. The countenance is remarkable for the low forehead, and the beard is shaved, all but the moustache, as Cæsar notes to have been the case with the ancient Britons.

The Apotheosis of Homer.—This relief, though much restored and in some ways not artistic, is full of interesting matter. The scene is laid on Mount Parnassus. Zeus, seated on the summit, has granted the petition of the Muses, and the apotheosis itself is taking place in the lowest tier, in which the figures are inscribed with their names. The capitals of the pillars are visible above the curtain which is stretched across them as a background. The poet is seated on the lowest tier, in the traditional attitude of Zeus, on a throne, with a scroll in one hand and a sceptre in the other. He is not "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," such as he is represented in busts (see p. 47), but appears in all the freshness of immortal youth. In front of his footstool lies a roll with a frog at one end and a mouse at the other, representing the "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," a mock-epic erroneously attributed to Homer. On the two sides of his throne are small figures of the *Iliad* (holding a sword as a sign of war) and of the *Odyssey* (with the figurehead of a ship, symbolical of travel). Behind the poet are figures of Time and the Inhabited World. The *World* wears on her head a modius (or corn-measure), and crowns the poet with a chaplet. *Time* has an Egyptian cast of face, typical of the land of immemorial monuments. In his hands are two scrolls, symbolical perhaps of the past and the future; or more probably he is represented with long swift wings as bearing the poet's works down the stream of time. Immediately in front of Homer is *Myth*, pouring a libation; his boyish form may be indicative of the childlike character of fable. Next comes a flaming altar, behind which meekly stands, ready for sacrifice, a Carian ox, with the hump peculiar to the breed. *History*, of which Homer was the source, casts incense upon the flame. Next comes the spirit of *Poetry* in general, raising two torches on high; followed by *Tragedy*, stately and dignified, and the more sprightly *Comedy*. They raise their hands in praise, for the germ of both is contained in Homer's poems. The signification of the next group is more difficult to decide. Behind are *Virtue* (who raises her hand in admiration); *Memory*, with her hand to her mouth;

Faith, with steadfast gaze; and *Wisdom*, meditating, with her hand under her chin. These four figures may signify the qualities inherent and combined in the poet himself—Faith meaning rather what we should call "imagination." But what is the child? The Greek φύσις may mean either the *nature*, *i.e.* the native genius, of the poet—afterwards subdivided into the four qualities given above, just as Poetry is subdivided into Tragedy and Comedy—or it may mean Nature, in which case "Nature, the type of all that is childlike, looks up with its smile into the face of Faith."

On the top of Parnassus is *Zeus*, by whom the gift of genius is bestowed on man. He sits apart, sceptre in hand and with the royal bird at his feet. He is signifying his pleasure to *Melpomenè*, the sweet singer, that the poet shall receive the honours of apotheosis. Next to her is *Thalia*, who hurries down the hill to convey the news to the other Muses. In the next row *Euterpè* points with her double flute to the artist's name inscribed beneath the throne of Zeus (see below). *Erato* holds a small lyre. *Calliopè*, the beautiful-voiced, with uplifted hand, is reciting the works of Homer to *Clio*, the Muse of epic poetry. Below (on the left) are *Terpsichorè*, the Muse of choral song, and *Urania*, the heavenly, with a globe. Next comes *Polyhymnia*, in an attitude of inspiration, listening to the strains of Apollo. He is clad in long flowing robes and plays the lyre, as Citharœdus (see p. 45). He stands outside the Corycian grotto. His bow and quiver lie upon the *omphalos*, or navel of the earth. A *priestess*, whose smaller size denotes her more human character, holds in her hand the cup of libation.

There remains to be explained the tall figure on the pedestal, with a tripod behind him, who appears to be unconnected with the rest of the picture. Some suppose him to represent Hesiod or Orpheus. Another theory is that the relief formed one of a series of tablets made in the reign of Tiberius for the use of schools, and that the figure represents some deified emperor, seated on Parnassus among the gods and muses. The suggestion of Goethe is, however, more probable. According to this, the whole work is a votive tablet, made to commemorate the victory of a poet who had won a tripod as a prize for a poem in honour of Homer, and the figure on the pedestal represents the victorious poet himself. The tablet was found at Bovillæ, twenty miles from Rome, among the ruins of the

villa of the Emperor Claudius. It was bought from the Colonna family in 1819 for £1000.

The artist was Archelaus, son of Apollonius, of Prienè in Caria, and the work is supposed to have been executed in the time of Tiberius. It is full of ingenious allegory and imaginative ideas. But the execution is not always very refined, and the unity of time which is essential to sculpture is violated. Zeus is giving orders above for the apotheosis which is actually taking place below. "The sculptor has tried to write a story in compartments of marble"—a return to an archaic artlessness (W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 606-610, and an article by H. W. Nevinson in the *Magazine of Art*, June 1898).

Cupid Asleep.—Or perhaps a personification of the god of sleep as a winged infant in deep slumber. This marble, found at Tarsus, is a very poetical piece. In his hand the child has a bunch of poppies, the symbol of sleep. His head rests on a jar, in the mouth of which a pipe has been put. This shows that the statue served as a fountain. The water gently flowing under the head of the figure is suggestive of the calm, deep sleep of infancy.

Head of Eros.—This charming head was discovered in the Temple of Aphroditè at Paphos, Cyprus, in 1887. The upper ridge of teeth showing through the half-open mouth, the faint smile of the half-shut eyes, and the rounded modelling of the rest of the head are noticeable. The sculptor's desire to render the lively expression of childhood with truth to nature leads to a half-conscious smile (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*,[1] x. 164, 218; xi. 105). By some authorities it is believed to be an original Greek work of the earlier times. More probably, however, it belongs to the Hellenistic or the Græco-Roman period, in which children began to be a favourite theme with sculptors. To the earlier Greek sculptors the immature forms of childhood seemed to present no attraction, and when they rendered children at all, they made no attempt to realise the truth of nature.[2] The child in the Hermes of Praxiteles (p. 145) is roughed out as a mere accessory.

[1] Afterwards referred to in this book under the abbreviation *J. H. S.*

[2] "If you will overpass quickly in your own minds what you remember of the treasures of Greek antiquity, you will find that, among them all, you can get no notion of what a Greek little girl was like. Matronly Junos, and tremendous Demeters, and Gorgonian Minervas, as many as you

Centaur carrying off a Female Figure.—This bas-relief should be compared with the metopes of the Parthenon, on which similar subjects are represented in a different style. Here we may see much that is spirited and picturesque; in the metopes, greater simplicity and severity.

Heroic Head.—From the Payne Knight collection. A work of the Pergamene school (see above, Ch. IV.).

Standing Discobolus.—This beautiful statue, a favourite model for art students, exists in several copies—another of which, found in 1792 on the Via Appia, is in the Vatican Museum (Sala della Biga). The athlete is here represented in the attitude immediately preceding that of the Discobolus of Myron (p. 49). He is just taking up his position, measuring the ground with his eye and feeling it with his advanced foot. This activity, at once physical and mental, is expressed by the artist with admirable clearness. With the quoit borne for a moment in the left hand so as not to weary the right, the player presses his right foot slightly against the ground, as though to test at once its firmness and the elasticity of his own limbs. He moves the fingers of his right hand, as if testing their strength and pliancy, on which his fate depends. The forward inclination of the head is in unison with the simple motive of the whole figure. "This charming statue affords an excellent example of the type of the well-born Greek youth formed to strength and harmonious beauty by '*the grace-giving Palæstra*,' and the face wears the simple frank expression to which we are accustomed in the cella frieze of the Parthenon. It is probably an excellent copy of some celebrated original from the best period of Attic art" (Perry's *Catalogue of Casts*, No. 82; Upcott, p. 59; Helbig, No. 331).

Head of an Amazon (503).—This beautiful head is believed to be a copy from the famous statue of an Amazon which Polyclitus executed for the Temple of Diana at Ephesus:—

"The treatment of the hair, with its flicker of light and shade, unsuitable for marble, shows that it has been copied from a bronze original. . . . The shape of the head, high in the crown, flat on the

please; but for my own part, always speaking as a Goth, I had much rather have had some idea of the Spartan Helen dabbling with Castor and Pollux in the Eurotas, none of them over ten years old" (Ruskin, *The Art of England*, p. 96). In the figurines of Tanagra those who share Mr. Ruskin's preferences will find ample satisfaction (see Ch. XXVII.).

sides and on the cheeks, but massive and long in the front aspect, was adopted by Polykleitos, if not created by him. The expression is that of a wounded Amazon—not such an expression as might be discovered in this or that feature, in the mouth or the eyes, but one which pervades the whole face, and belongs to the order of ideal creations that defy analysis, but yet haunt the spectator as perfect types" (Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. 319).

Furtwängler, however, reads a somewhat different expression into the Polyclitan type of Amazon, which, he thinks, sacrificed truth and simplicity to beauty and elegance. The former qualities he sees rather in the type of Amazon as created by Cresilas, and existing in the statue in the Capitoline Museum at Rome:—

"Both heads, in accordance with the general style of the fifth century, show nothing of the contraction of certain muscles caused by pain; they try rather to express the suffering only through the general bearing. Yet here there is a difference. The Polykleitan head, apart from the statue, has absolutely no indication of suffering" (*Masterpieces*, p. 136).

A Dacian Prisoner (about 107 A.D.).—From the Palace of Trajan at Ramleh near Alexandria.

Two Youths on Horseback (780).—The simplicity of the treatment in the sculpture and the general character both of the horses and of their types indicate that this relief is derived from some Greek original of the best period. The horses are small and compact, like those on the Parthenon frieze.

Erato.—A statuette of Erato (the lovely), the muse of love poetry, seated on a rock and playing on a lyre.

Head of Atys.—A head in which the youthful beauty of the two sexes is blended. This makes it appropriate to Atys, the beautiful Phrygian shepherd whose strange story is told by Pausanias. The head-dress is a variety of the Phrygian cap. "In taste and finished skill, this head has few rivals" (Ellis). Found at Rome, in the Villa Palombara.

A Barbarian Captive.—On a colossal scale, but not so expressive as the similar heads previously described.

"Clytie."—This beautiful and celebrated bust was one of the most treasured possessions of Mr. Townley, who used jocosely to call it his wife. He had purchased it in 1772 at Naples from the Laurenzano family. It is in the finest condition, the only modern restorations being two leaves of the flower. During the Gordon riots in 1780, Mr. Townley, as a

Roman Catholic, feared an attack upon his house in Park Street, and withdrew in haste. It is related that he had secured his cabinet of gems, and was taking, as he feared, a last view of his marbles, when he seized the Clytie and conveyed it to his carriage—a tale which recalls the stratagem whereby Phryne made Praxiteles select those of his works which he most prized. Mr. Townley named this head Clytie, because the bust rests on the calyx of a flower, which he supposed to be the sunflower into which Clytie was changed. Other attributions, founded on classical floral fables, have been suggested. Heads issuing from the calyx of a flower are, however, frequent on Greek vases, and in a sepulchral stelè found at Athens a female bust is represented rising out of the floral decoration which forms the usual ornament of this class of monument in Attica. The motive, therefore, is probably funereal. The bust itself is evidently the portrait of a Roman lady of the Augustan age. The type is more refined and the expression more highly wrought than is usual. The forehead is low, which, as we learn from Horace, was then thought a special characteristic of a beautiful face (Newton). "It may perhaps be the head of Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony, and mother of Germanicus." (See Huebner's *Bildniss einer Römerin.*)

Youth holding a Horse.—This beautiful bas-relief is in the style of the Parthenon frieze; it is probably an imitation executed in the time of Hadrian, in whose villa at Tivoli it was found by Gavin Hamilton. The boy is represented holding the rein, which was formerly of metal, as the holes for its attachment indicate.

Cupid bending a Bow.—There are many repetitions of this figure, presumably founded on some famous original. On the stump by the side is the skin of a lion; and as the bow is somewhat disproportionately large, it has been supposed that Cupid is here occupied not with his own bow, but with that of Hercules, which he had purloined from the demigod, along with the lion's skin and club. (See below.)

[The *Greek conception of Eros* (Cupid), which has entered so largely into the art and literature of subsequent ages and peoples, was a winged god, personifying the power of Love over the heart of man. The poet Anacreon described him as "a young child with wings, bow and quiver." These attributes were always given to him, but in Greek art two stages may be distinguished. (1) At first, Eros is represented as a beautiful

youth, and generally in close attendance on his mother, Aphroditè (Venus), from whom he is, as it were, an emanation and whose inestimable charm he personifies. In archaic reliefs Eros rides in a chariot at Aphroditè's side. On the frieze of the Parthenon he stands near his mother, a slender boy, and looks at the procession (p. 184). In the Eros of Praxiteles, of which the so-called "genius of the Vatican" ("the armless Vatican Cupid" of Mr. Arnold's poem) may be a reminiscence, the charm is that of adolescence—of a young boy in the first bloom of life. In another group of statues, attributed to the inspiration of the same sculpture, Eros, somewhat younger, is represented stretching a bow: this is the type now before us. (2) But, later, Eros appears as a little wanton boy, and his personality becomes divided into several little loves (*erotes*). In Greek vases we shall see these winged figures appearing like familiar spirits in innumerable scenes both of mythology and of domestic life. On Greek bronzes we shall see them fluttering round Aphroditè and helping to support the mirror (p. 431). Every visitor to Naples will remember the painting from Pompeii of the vendor of loves, who are kept in a cage. In sculpture, Eros becomes younger than heretofore—a baby, almost, instead of a boy. It is under this chubby and baby-like form that Eros (Cupid) generally appears in works of the Hellenistic and Roman schools. The sleeping Cupid, described below, is of this later type.]

The statuette before us was found by Gavin Hamilton in 1776 at Castello di Guido, the ancient Lorium, where Antoninus Pius died and his wife Faustina had a villa. The body and wings were found enclosed in an amphora, on which account the surface of these parts is in very fine condition. The other parts were lying in the earth close by. It has been suggested that the precautions employed to save the statue, and the haste with which they were taken (there being no time to find a vase large enough to hold the marble entire), point to a sudden incursion or dread of Christian iconoclasts (see Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, i. 210).

Endymion sleeping on Mount Latmos.—On his head is the petasus, or hat with low crown and broad rim, tied under the chin; on his feet are sandals laced up high on the foot.

Cupid bending his Bow.—This marble belonged to Burke, and was purchased at the sale of his collections. It had been

procured for him at Rome by the painter Barry, who for five years was maintained abroad by Burke to study art.

Hercules and the Stag.—One of the labours of Hercules was to bring alive to Eurystheus a stag famous for its incredible swiftness, golden horns, and brazen feet. In this bas-relief the hero is shown in the moment of triumph. He has seized the stag by the antlers, and is forcing it down by the pressure of his left knee. "The treatment of the hair and beard and the general style of the sculpture make it probable that in this relief we have either an archaic work which has been partially retouched in modern times, or such a pseudo-archaic imitation as would be executed in the time of Hadrian" (Newton).

Venus.—Torso of a small statue of Venus stooping to fasten her sandal. This torso, very finely modelled, was purchased at Rome from Cavaceppi, the sculptor, in whose possession it had been for many years. Mr. Townley considered it one of the gems of his collection.

Cupid sleeping, with Attributes of Hercules.—He lies on a lion's skin; in front of him is a club, and behind him, bows and arrows in a bow-case—all attributes of Hercules. Two lizards are crawling on the lion's skin. The introduction of the lizard in compositions of this kind has received various interpretations. Some suggest the supposed efficacy of the lizard in love-charms (to this day there is no commoner form of jewelled ornament); others, the fact that the lizard spends a great part of the year in sleep.

☞ *From the far end of the Third Græco-Roman Room, a staircase descends to the Græco-Roman Basement.*

CHAPTER VI

THE GRÆCO-ROMAN BASEMENT

Where dead men hang
Their mute thoughts on the mute walls around.

IN this basement are arranged Etruscan sarcophagi, ancient mosaics, and figures and reliefs of the Græco-Roman period, which are described by the authorities of the Museum as "of inferior merit." Nevertheless many of them are of considerable interest and beauty. The fact is, the British Museum is so rich in Greek and Roman antiquities, and so cramped for space in which properly to exhibit them, that collections which would be the pride of many another museum are here consigned to basements and cellars. The larger part of this basement is not open to the general public without special permission. In the following notes we deal only with such objects as are accessible to all visitors. Going round the room from left to right, we notice first:—

An Ancient Bath-chair.—Found in the Antonine Baths at Rome. In the centre of the seat is a hollow space in the form of an extended horse-shoe, serving a double use, either for water to be poured upon the person sitting in it, or to receive steam or vapour from beneath. It is curious that a precise description of this kind of chair, with an explanation of the purposes, medicinal and other, to which it may be put, has come down to us in a letter from King Theodoric to an architect. On each side of the seat a wheel is worked in relief, in imitation no doubt of such wheel-chairs as were at that time executed in wood, resembling in some degree the bath-chairs of to-day (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, ii. 308).

Statue of Venus.—A copy of the Cnidian Aphroditè by Praxiteles (see p. 43). "The present example is in many respects poor, but the torso retains something of the style of

Praxiteles, while the rendering of the hair seems fairly true to the original, as is also the drapery, held out by the left hand and falling over a vase on the ground" (*British Museum Return*, 1899, p. 60). This figure was found in Athens in 1811, acquired there by Lord Broughton (Hobhouse), and sent home by Lord Byron.

An Altar to Apollo.—On public festivals the Greek and Roman altars were usually hung with wreaths, whence in later times, when they were for the most part made of stone or marble, festoons were often sculptured upon them. Here a raven is resting upon a festoon of laurel, and on each of the sides a laurel, Apollo's tree, is represented.

In the first recess there is a charming **head of a youth.** The fragment is not in good condition, but exhibits the fine style of the school of Praxiteles.

"Grotta Dipinta."—A dark recess has been fitted up to resemble an Etruscan tomb. The paintings are copies. The sarcophagus is the actual one found in the tomb here represented. The Etruscan tombs were generally hewn in the rock, and sometimes included several chambers connected with each other, as in the famous Tomb of the Volumnii, with which every visitor to Perugia is familiar. In many cases the walls were richly decorated with paintings. In the chambers were placed the sarcophagi and urns containing the remains of the dead, who were accompanied in their resting-place by presents of numerous painted vases, bronzes, and other objects. The vases stood on the floor or were arranged on shelves, and as the Etruscan tombs were spacious and strongly constructed, enormous numbers of vases have come down to us in fairly good preservation. The tomb here represented is one of those excavated by Prince Borghese at Bomarzo, an Etruscan site near Viterbo. It is known as the Grotta Dipinta, and is thus described from personal observation by Dennis :—

"We are in a chamber whose walls, gaily painted, are alive with sea-horses snorting and plunging, water-snakes uprearing their crests and gliding along in slimy folds, dolphins sporting as in their native element. . . . These are symbols frequently found in Etruscan tombs, either depicted on the walls or sculptured on sarcophagi and urns. They are generally regarded as emblematic of the passage of the soul from one state of existence to another, an opinion confirmed by the frequent representation of boys riding on their backs. This view is, moreover, borne out by their amphibious character—horse and fish,

snake and fish,—evidently referring to a two-fold state of existence. The dolphins, which form a border round the apartment, painted alternately black and red, are a common sepulchral ornament, and are supposed to have a similar symbolical reference, though they have also been considered as emblematical of the maritime power of the Etruscans, the sea-kings of antiquity. The rolling border beneath them represents the waves in which they are supposed to be sporting" (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1883, i. 168).

On the right are two painted heads. The one nearest to us, with fixed stare and the hair standing out as if electrified, may represent Typhon or the spirit of Destruction. The old man's head on the same wall may be Charun (the minister of Death). The head in the centre of the other wall is probably the portrait of the Etruscan for whom the sarcophagus was constructed. "Next to the Typhon head is a large jar, sketched on the wall, out of which two serpents with forked tongues are rising. The demons or genii of Etruscan mythology are commonly represented brandishing these reptiles in their hands, or with them bound round their brows or waists, or sometimes, as in this case, having them by their side. That snakes were also made use of by the Etruscan priests and soothsayers, as by the Egyptian, to establish their credit for superior powers in the minds of the people may be learned from both history and sepulchral monuments, and it is possible that those used in the service of the temples were kept in such jars as this" (Dennis, *ibid.* pp. 168-170).

In this tomb was found the curious sarcophagus which we now see before us. It is of temple shape with a pair of serpents in knotted coils on the roof, and "it appears highly probable, from this and other adornments of the sarcophagus, as well as from the serpent-jar painted on the wall, that this was the sepulchre of some *augur* or *aruspex* skilled in the mysteries of the Etruscan Discipline and in interpreting the will of heaven. His name, we learn from the sarcophagus, was Vel Urinates, a family name met with in other parts of Etruria" (Dennis, *l.c.*, where also a detailed description of the sarcophagus will be found).

Continuing along the wall, we notice :—

Two Small Statues of Fishermen.—In one the fisherman carries his bucket of fish on his left arm; he wears a sailor's bonnet; a dolphin serves as a support to the figure. In the other the brawny fisherman rests his bucket on the stem of a

tree. He holds out a small fish in his right hand, and his mouth is open, as if he were calling out his wares. The conception is spirited and the sculpture fairly executed. Statues of fishermen are often met with. They probably ornamented the banks of fishponds which were a marked feature of Roman luxury.

Next to this fisherman is **a comic actor** (found at Rome, 1773), probably representing a slave taking refuge at an altar. The actor's face is covered with a comic mask; the mouth was left wide open for the free transmission of the voice.

In the recess here we catch glimpses of **Etruscan sarcophagi.** There is something very weird in the collections of these old Etruscans lying for ever in their tombs in melancholy rows in all the museums of Europe, where "dead men hang their mute thoughts on the mute walls around":—

> "I must say I was almost terrified at the figures when I first saw them, for by the dim light there appeared so much dignity in their attitudes, and severe majesty in their countenances, that I fancied they seemed to reprove our intrusion upon their solemn and sacred rest. There they lay, not with a look of death, but as if they had a tale to tell, if there was any one present willing to listen and worthy to understand. . . . They looked, indeed, as if they felt that they were in a strange country, cold, comfortless, and far from home" (Mrs. Hamilton Gray's *Sepulchres of Etruria*, pp. 6, 12).

Among the statues which may be discerned in the doubtful gloom beyond is one of a **youthful Bacchus,** found in the temple of that god at Cyrenè, and remarkable for a certain effeminate beauty. Next to it, also from Cyrenè, is a female figure—probably a portrait of a **queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty.** Several queens of that dynasty are represented on their coins as wearing diadem and veil, as in this statue. "Though the figure has rather an imposing effect at a distance, near inspection shows that it is very coarsely executed. The proportions are very clumsy. It was found in some ruins on the north side of the Temple of Apollo" (Smith and Porcher, p. 95).

Returning to the walls of the public room, we may next notice a very curious figure of **a tumbler.** He is of Ethiopian type, with thick lips and woolly hair. He is performing on the back of a tame crocodile. Strabo gives an account of a tame crocodile which he saw at Arsinoe in Egypt. The animal allowed the priests to open his mouth and stuff it full of good

things, after which he would jump into the adjoining piece of water and swim about merrily. This piece comes from Rome.

A votive altar, sacred to Bacchus. In the front is Silenus riding on a panther, with the thyrsus in his hand and above him the castanets. This altar was purchased at Rome in 1771 from Piranesi.

The **heroic head** here exhibited is much worn, and the "**Sappho**" is but a feeble copy of a Greek original.

We may next notice some statues from Cyrenè. One is of **the nymph Cyrenè** herself strangling a lion (see below). The figure of **Jupiter Ammon** also comes from Cyrenè. This is a type rare in sculpture, but the head is common on coins of Cyrenè (see Ch. XXIII. IV. C 40).

Through the next recess we can catch a glimpse of some more Etruscan sarcophagi. On the walls here are two interesting reliefs:—

On one side a bas-relief from the Townley collection representing **the arms of the Dacians and Sarmatians,** similar to those represented on the pedestal of Trajan's column at Rome, which are said to have been copied from the originals brought to Rome by that Emperor and displayed in his triumph. Pausanias (i. 21. 5), describing a Sarmatian coat of mail suspended in the Temple of Æsculapius at Athens, says: "Any one who looks at it will say that the barbarians are not less skilful craftsmen than the Greeks."

Opposite is a relief (No. 790) showing **Cyrenè** in the act of **strangling a lion** while, to commemorate her triumph, a crown is held over her head by Libya. Below is an inscription in Greek which may be thus translated:—

"Here, over the architrave, Carpos, making this dedication in token of great hospitality, has placed Cyrenè, mother of cities, slayer of lions. Libya, who has the glory of being a third continent, herself crowns her."

The bas-relief was found on the site of the Temple of Venus at Cyrenè and may have been a metope. According to one legend, Cyrenè was the daughter of Hypseus, King of the Lapithæ, in Thessaly, whose flocks she guarded against wild beasts. Apollo, seeing her slay a lion in the valley of Pelion, became enamoured of her, and carried her off to the parts of Libya which afterwards bore her name. According to another legend, Eurypylus, King of Libya, promised a portion of his

kingdom to the person who would slay a lion then dreaded for his ravages, and Cyrenè performed this exploit (Smith and Porcher, p. 98). Cyrenè was the mother-city of the Cyrenaica, the country bounded in old times by Egypt on the east and Carthage on the west. It was founded by Greek settlers in 631 B.C., and was the most important Hellenic colony in Africa. Several of the Athenian vases in the Museum come from the Cyrenaica. In legends such as are referred to in this sculptured bas-relief, the ancients symbolised the subjection of the Dark Continent to civilisation. The English, who are the modern founders of cities and slayers of lions, may take some special interest in such records. The museums of future millenniums will perhaps unearth similar records of English and Dutch colonisation in wild Africa—such as the sculptured lions which Mr. Barnato gave to guard Mr. Kruger's house, or the grandiose monument which Cecil Rhodes set up on the Shangani River to record the last stand of Major Wilson and his comrades.

Among other pieces in this part of the room we may notice :—

A **console** (bracket) formed by a double volute, the scrolls of which turn in different directions. The lower one serves as a pedestal to a small winged figure of Victory holding a wreath. The figure has been so elaborately hollowed out between the two volutes as, with the exception of the feet and wings, to stand perfectly detached. This marble, found at Frascati, near Rome, was perhaps the keystone of a triumphal arch. A somewhat rude bas-relief, representing **Priam** in an attitude of supplication asking Achilles for the body of his son Hector. A small statue of **Fortune**, who bears a corn-measure upon her head. Her right hand holds a rudder, the lower part of which rests upon a globe, whilst the left arm supports a cornucopia filled with fruits. This and the corn-measure symbolise the abundance which Fortune confers, while the rudder and globe mark her as the sovereign directress of human affairs.

Through the next recess we may notice an ancient **Roman wheel for raising water.** This was found at Rio Tinto, in Spain, showing that that famous mine was known to the Romans and worked by them. The wheel was found in 1886, imbedded in the north lode, as shown in the drawing exhibited here.

Among the bas-reliefs hung here are :—

Æsculapius.—His right hand rests on his hip, and under his left arm is a staff, round which is coiled a serpent. This is the almost invariable accompaniment of Æsculapius (see p. 431), though the youthful face and figure are unlike the usual representations of that god. He is generally shown as Zeus-like and bearded (see p. 193). But if the face is the face of Apollo, the staff is the staff of Æsculapius. It is known that Scopas introduced a youthful type of the god of healing, and this statue—of a much later date (probably the time of Hadrian)—is of interest as introducing us to an unfamiliar type (W. Wroth in *J.H.S.* iv. 46).

A bas-relief representing a **cow drinking** from a stone trough while suckling her calf. This subject seems to have been a favourite one amongst the ancients. It often occurs on coins (see Ch. XXIII. I. B 18), in which cases it was perhaps a symbol of the fertility of the land and of the pasture which it afforded for cattle. Opposite is a representation of **Luna**, the goddess of the moon, surrounded by the signs of the Zodiac.

The small sculptures arranged along the following wall come from Cyrenè.

In the next recess is another model of a painted Etruscan tomb :—

The "Campanari Tomb" at Vulci. — The tomb here reproduced was found at Vulci in 1833 by Campanari. The tomb itself was destroyed, but Campanari, in the process of excavation, had drawings made of it. From these drawings, preserved in the British Museum, the present imitation has been constructed. In 1837 Campanari held an exhibition of his Etruscan antiquities in Pall Mall. They were arranged so as to convey an idea of the actual tombs. It is Campanari's idea which the authorities of the British Museum have carried out on a small scale in this room :—

"Within, on the opposite wall, sat, on an elegant curule chair or throne, a king arrayed in Tyrian purple, with crown on his head and long sceptre in his hand, tipt by a lotus-flower. Before him stood his queen, in long chiton, mantle, and veil. This pair in all probability represented the king and queen of the Shades, Hades and Persephone, or, as the Etruscans called them, Aite and Phersipnei. Behind the throne stood three draped male figures, whose venerable aspect seemed to mark them as the judges of the dead—Minos, Æacus,

and Rhadamanthus. On either hand was a procession of figures, of both sexes, going towards the Throne, supposed to be souls proceeding to Judgment, though there was nothing in dress, appearance, or attributes to mark them as of the lower world. The group on each side of the throne was very similar; in fact it has been considered the same family—in one case going to judgment, in the other entering the abodes of the blessed."

On the outer wall of the tomb, on one side of the door, stood the figure of Charun, and the sepulchre may thus have been intended to represent the lower world—Charun mounts guard at the entrance, the King of Hades sits on his throne within:—

"The style of art was more advanced than in any of the tombs of Tarquinii. The paintings were quite Roman in character, and could hardly be earlier than the frescoes of Pompeii, which they resembled in freedom of design, truth and nature of the attitudes, and mastery over those difficulties which in every land attend the early stages of art. Yet the Charun who stood sentinel over the tomb was in a very different and more archaic style. He may have been painted at the first formation of the sepulchre, and the other figures added at the time of Roman domination. Another feature of late date was the massive column of *peperino* supporting the ceiling, with a remarkable capital of the composite order, having heads, male and female, between the volutes" (Dennis, i. pp. 448, 466, 481).

The two crouching lions now placed inside the entrance originally flanked the tomb on the outside.

On the walls here are a bas-relief with a figure of **Priapus** and two geese, birds sacred to that god. Here also is a collection of ancient **masks** in sculpture. The most interesting is the mask of Bacchus, on the top of which a loop of metal remains, by which it appears to have been suspended:—

"Whether this mask was ever actually suspended in the manner which will presently be described, or only made in imitation of those of terra-cotta, the bark of trees, or some lighter material, which were more generally used, seems doubtful. Faces of Bacchus of this latter kind (*oscilla*) were hung on trees that they might turn with the wind in order to spread fertility every way. Several are shown thus suspended in ancient gems, and Virgil alludes to the practice in his *Georgics* (ii. 292)—

> Where'er the god his gracious front inclines,
> There plenty gushes from the loaded vines."

(See Ellis, ii. 72, and Conington's *Virgil*, *l.c.*). In the Fourth Vase Room there is a painting of a mask thus hanging from a vine (on vase No. F. 179; see p. 397).

Turning now to the end wall, we notice in the centre an interesting **mosaic.** This was part of the pavement in a Roman villa at Halicarnassus, where it was discovered by Sir Charles Newton (see Ch. XIV. p. 257). The mosaic represents Aphroditè rising from the sea, seated in a large shell, and supported by two Tritons. She holds a mirror in one hand, and wrings a tress of hair with the other. The subject is familiar to all picture-lovers from Botticelli's picture at Florence. In the centre of one of the passages was an inscription within a laurel wreath—"Health, Life, Joy, Peace, Cheerfulness, Hope," in black on a white ground—a very pleasant inscription for the eyes of the owner of this villa to rest on as he paced up and down the corridor. This piece hangs on a side wall of the room.

The other mosaics here include some of minor interest from Carthage: chequer patterns (bequeathed by Sir William Temple), in which the maker's aim has been to give a deceptive appearance of actual relief; representations of boys boxing and of Hercules slaying the dragon in the garden of the Hesperides (presented by Lord Aldenham); and one of a fallen horseman on a truck (from the Pourtalès collection). This piece was, no doubt, part of a scene in a circus. There is a good deal of expression both in the man and in the horse, and the colouring is agreeable. (For other mosaics and for general remarks on the subject see Ch. XIV.

On either side of the large mosaic is a group of **Victory sacrificing a bull** (from the Townley collection, found in the ruins of the villa of Antoninus Pius). This is a very common subject in ancient art, owing to the custom of sacrificing a bull in honour of a victory. Two types (with intermediate variations) may be distinguished. In the earlier type Victory stands erect with one knee on the bull, which she stabs; she is draped and feminine: that is the type here. In the later type she is undraped and androgynous. She kneels beside the bull, the knife hanging purposeless in her hand (Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* vii. 276).

Here also is a relief representing a **bull-fight.** Two male figures attack a bull, who rushes on the spear with which one of the assailants has pierced his breast.

On the wall-spaces between the windows we may notice, besides some more mosaics, a **table-leg in porphyry.** This fragment has a curious little history. "The upper part,

including the head, was discovered at the depth of about 25 feet in the excavation made in the Forum under the Palatine Hill in 1772, and was purchased, with other fragments, by Vinelli, a mason at Rome, who soon recollected that nearly thirty years before, among another parcel of fragments he had then bought, there was a piece of a panther's leg, with its foot, in porphyry. It was at last found among the rubbish, and when it was applied to the upper part which he had recently obtained, the fractures exactly fitted, so that the junction was almost imperceptible, and it was evident that the two parts belonged to each other" (Ellis, *The Townley Gallery*, ii. 92).

Portrait of a boy in the form of a **term**; for the singular form of these figures see Herodotus ii. 51. Term of a **Hermaphrodite** found in 1774 near the Lake of Nemi.

Fragment of a **pedestal**: the central part is composed of the head and neck of a lion rising from the stem of a plant, the leaves of which are expanded like the lotus. On the forehead are the horns of a goat.

Altar dedicated by Callistus to Silvanus, the rustic deity who presided over woods. A small **statue of Hercules** in advanced age sitting upon a rock. His left hand holds the club; his right three apples. These are modern restorations.

In the last window are some **Roman sundials**; also a fragment of a **relief** (No. 815), in a very fine style, showing four heads of horses in rapid movement. In front of the horses is the edge of a mantle. A comparison of this fragment (from the Pourtalès collection) with a perfect relief in the Lisbon Museum shows that it belonged to a group in which a man was represented running in front of a four-horsed chariot. Our fragment (so far as it goes) is precisely similar to the Lisbon relief, and both must have been taken from some common original (see *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, published by the French School of Athens, 1892, p. 337, where reproductions of both reliefs are given).

On the same wall are several **disks**, ornamented on either side with subjects in relief, such as Silenus and a satyr, Bacchus and his panther. Disks of this kind were usually pierced with two holes in the upper margin, and we know from Pompeian paintings that they were suspended in the air between columns; or, mounted on central pivots, they served as revolving shutters for ventilators.

In the middle of the room we may notice a **basin of dark**

granite. This kind of basin was used anciently in temples to contain the holy water necessary for the purification of those who sought admittance to the sacrifices. They were also used in the baths. This specimen was formerly in the collection of Christina, Queen of Sweden. A **marble urn of Eppia,** infant daughter of Marcus; found at Ephesus. A **marble sarcophagus,** inscribed in Greek and Latin with the name Pannychos, his wife Pithane, and his daughter; from Ephesus (see Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 126). A **marble sarcophagus,** inscribed with the name Anassa, wife or daughter of Apollonius (Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 125). These sarcophagi are ornamented with rams' heads and festoons.

On another marble is a representation of a **parting scene,** with an elegy in Latin verse. A husband is taking leave of his wife, who has predeceased him. The Latin verses are rude in style, but are eloquent of the man's love (see *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.* i. No. 1011).

A **lead anchor,** inscribed in Greek with the name of the ship "Jove the Highest"; found off the coast of Cyrenè.

Two **Romano-Egyptian altars.**—On one side of the first altar is Apis, bearing a star upon the centre of his body; on the other side two hippopotami among the reeds of the Nile. At the back a figure of Autumn with a sickle. In front a priestess kneeling.

Marble urn of Metras (from Ephesus).—The words ὁ δῆμος inscribed within an olive chaplet show that the person who was here inurned was honoured with a public funeral. The label is inscribed "Metras Tryphon, son of Moiragenes." The date is about 180 A.D. Above the label is the representation of a keyhole.

☞ *Ascending the stairs and leaving the Third Græco-Roman Room, we pass into the Room of Archaic Greek Sculpture.*

CHAPTER VII

ROOM OF ARCHAIC GREEK SCULPTURE

Give these, I exhort you, their guerdon and glory
For daring so much, before they well did it.
The first of the new, in our race's story,
Beats the last of the old; 'tis no idle quiddit.

ROBERT BROWNING.

"For pushing on in their strength from such things as these, the great Phidias revealed Zeus, and Polycleitus wrought out Hera, and Myron was praised, and Praxiteles marvelled at; therefore are these men worshipped with the gods."—LUCIAN.

THE sculptures and casts here collected belong to the dawn of Greek art. The date of the Parthenon is about 450 B.C. Of the sculptures in this room the latest are fifty years earlier; the oldest at least one hundred years earlier. The interest of these works is to a large extent historical rather than artistic. They are valuable not so much for what they are in themselves as for their indication of what Greek art was destined to become, and their explanation of the stages through which it passed on the road to perfection. The visitor should note, as the *Guide to the Exhibition Galleries* (1896) suggests, the following landmarks:—

"Among the oldest works are purely decorative patterns (as those from Mycenæ), worked with the precision that comes of long tradition. The next step was towards the rendering of figure subjects, and here the artist is seen struggling with imperfect training and incomplete mastery of the mechanical difficulties. Nature is copied in a naïve and direct but somewhat gross manner. (See the sculptures of Branchidæ and Selinus.) More rapid progress is made with the forms of animals than with those of human beings. (See the friezes from Xanthos.) In attempting to avoid grossness the artist is occasionally too minute, and somewhat affected in the rendering of the mouth, the hair, and the finer drapery. In aiming at truth in his study of the

figure, he makes his work too pronouncedly anatomical. (See the pediments of Ægina.)

"It should be noted further," as Sir Edward Poynter has remarked, "that the free treatment of the limbs precedes in the development of art the natural rendering of the head. Of this the Æginetan sculptures are a good example. The heads of the Æginetan warriors are curiously destitute of life and individuality, as compared with the limbs and bodies" (*J.H.S.* vii. 193).

To this statement of particular characteristics a few general remarks on the spirit of Greek art, manifest even in the days of its infancy, may be added. An appreciation of that spirit —in its love of veracity, its aversion from what is inhuman and monstrous—will enhance our interest in studying these efforts of men who "dared so much before they well did it":—

"Childish though it may be, early Greek art is alike sincere and vividly imaginative. The actual work is that of infancy; the thoughts, in their visionary simplicity, are also the thoughts of infancy, but in their solemn virtue they are the thoughts of men. . . . From all vain and mean decoration—all weak and monstrous error—the Greeks rescue the forms of man and beast, and sculpture them in the nakedness of their true flesh, and with the fire of their living soul. Distinctively from other races, this is the work of the Greek, to give health to what was diseased, and chastisement to what was untrue. So far as this is found in any other school hereafter, it belongs to them by inheritance from the Greeks, or invests them with the brotherhood of the Greek. And this is the deep meaning of the myth of Dædalus as the giver of motion to statues. The literal change from the binding together of the feet to their separation, and the other modifications of action which took place, either in progressive skill or often as the mere consequence of the transition from wood to stone (a figure carved out of one wooden log must necessarily have its feet near each other and hands at its sides), these literal changes are as nothing, in the Greek fable, as compared to the bestowing of apparent life. The figures of monstrous gods in Indian temples have their legs separate enough, but they are infinitely more dead than the rude figures of Branchidæ sitting with their hands on their knees. . . . Of course every nation's character is connected with that of others surrounding or preceding it, and in the best Greek work you will find some things that are still false or fanciful; but whatever in it is false or fanciful is not the Greek part of it; it is the Phœnician, or Egyptian, or Pelasgian part. The essential Hellenic stamp is veracity. Eastern nations drew their heroes with eight legs, but the Greeks drew them with two. Egyptians drew their deities with cats' heads, but the Greeks drew them with men's; and out of all fallacy, disproportion,

and indefiniteness they were day by day resolvedly withdrawing and exalting themselves into restricted and demonstrable truth" (Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici*, §§ 82, 200, 202).

Not beauty but rightness was, says Ruskin, the essential characteristic of Greek art. Sir Edward Poynter remarks in this connection that the slow development of the sense of beauty is "one of the most remarkable features in an art of which beauty became finally the most conspicuous feature. In the earlier specimens of Greek sculpture there is absolutely no trace of it in any form. The idea to be expressed held the first place in the artist's mind. His object was to honour the gods, to revere the dead, to record and glorify the deeds of heroes. Beauty came gradually into Greek art not from conscious search, but from improved technique and the desire to give vitality to the marble" (*J.H.S.* vii. 193).

Bearing these general points in mind, we now pass to an examination in detail of the principal monuments of antiquity exhibited in this room. We shall examine them in the following order:—

1.	Fragments from Mycenæ,	about	1100 B.C.
2.	Metopes of Selinus (casts),	,,	610 B.C.
3.	Sculptures from Branchidæ,	,,	550 B.C.
4.	Sculptures from Naucratis,	before	550 B.C.
5.	The Xanthian Marbles,	about	550 B.C.
6.	The Archaic Temple of Ephesus,	,,	550 B.C.
7.	The Temple of Ægina (casts),	,,	500 B.C.
8.	The Temple of Olympia (casts),	,,	460 B.C.
9.	Archaic "Apollo" Statues.		
10.	The Charioteer from Delphi (cast),	,,	470 B.C.
11.	Miscellaneous Sculptures.		

1. FRAGMENTS FROM MYCENÆ

The earliest Greek work here (on the right of the door leading into the Ante-room) comes from Mycenæ, and brings with it memories of the most remarkable of all modern researches in the field of classical antiquities. Every one knows the name of Agamemnon. Perhaps it is not so generally known that "the king of men" lived, according to tradition, in a town of Argolis called Mycenæ. Of this town—"the wide-wayed city, rich in gold," Homer calls it—considerable ruins exist

above ground. Of the citadel of the princes of Mycenæ, Cyclopean walls remain and the entrance gate. This "Lion Gate" is an almost square opening, formed by two uprights, on which rests an enormous stone lintel. Above this is a triangular space closed by a slab of basalt, on which are carved two lions heraldically opposed, whose paws rest upon an altar surmounted by a column. This slab, which still stands in its original position, is well known as one of the earliest pieces of Greek sculpture. We shall often see the same heraldic arrangement of lions and other animals on early Greek vases. It is an arrangement characteristic of a very early stage of art, and, like all patterns and ornaments, had once a natural meaning. A device of two lions amicably confronted would be absurd. A device of one lion, as a symbol of the courage that defends a citadel, was sensible, and it is probable that the two lions had their origin in the early and childlike stage of artistic development, when the artist thus sought, without the aid of perspective, to show both sides of an animal at the same time (see an interesting paper by A. S. Murray in *J.H.S.* ii. 319, and cf. note on a Greek vase below, at p. 296). Below the citadel of Mycenæ extended the lower town, and there, too, remains of Cyclopean buildings exist. Of these the most remarkable is a large chamber-tomb to which the name "*The Treasury of Atreus*" is given. The walls of it were stripped by a Turkish governor; some fragments of the doorway (Nos. 1-4) are here before us. Pausanias, the Greek antiquary, who visited the ruins in about the year 150 A.D., says:—

"That Perseus was the founder of Mycenæ is known to every Greek. . . . Parts of the circuit wall are still left, including the gate, which is surmounted by lions. These are said to be the work of the Cyclopes. . . . There are underground buildings of Atreus and his children, where their treasures were kept. There is a grave of Atreus, and graves of all those who on their return from Troy with Agamemnon were murdered by Ægisthus after a banquet which he gave them. The tomb of Cassandra is disputed; the Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ claim that it is there. Another tomb is that of Agamemnon" (ii. 15, 4; 16, 4, 5).

It is to this statement of Pausanias that we owe the famous discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, which opened up a new era in Greek history. He was determined to find the tomb of Agamemnon. He began his excavations in 1874, and two years later he telegraphed to the King of Greece: "I have

the greatest pleasure in announcing to your Majesty that I have discovered the tombs which tradition, according to Pausanias, pointed out as the graves of Agamemnon, Cassandra, Eurymedon, and their companions." The tombs of princes Dr. Schliemann had undoubtedly discovered; *the tomb of Agamemnon* he resolved one of them should be. The reader will notice, among the Mycenæan fragments here collected, a slab of red marble with a rosette cut in two and separated by a sort of triglyph. This slab, presented to the Museum in 1900 by Mr. Godfrey Durlacher, was found in a shop in Margaret Street, W. It was probably brought to England early in the nineteenth century. It comes from the façade of "the tomb of Agamemnon," for it corresponds precisely with two other pieces discovered by Schliemann and now in the Museum at Athens. Schliemann's excavations, continued by other archæologists, have on the whole tended to confirm, in general lines, the statements of Pausanias. It is now clear that the plain of Argolis—with the cities of Tiryns, Argos, and Mycenæ—was one of the earliest seats of civilisation in Greece. Remains of this "Mycenæan age," as it is called, have since been found in many other places, and it is possible that the Island of Crete (in which so many wonderful discoveries have been made) was a centre from which Mycenæan civilisation spread. The date commonly assigned to such remains is 1600-1100 B.C., and one theory is that this old civilisation was swept away by the Dorian invasion. But another view now supported by some authorities is that Mycenæan art extends to a very much later date and in unbroken development.[1] In other parts of the Museum we shall see many objects belonging to the Mycenæan age which have been unearthed from tombs. Here we have architectural fragments which may be authentic memorials of the prehistoric dynasties celebrated in the Homeric poems. Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6 were procured by Lord Elgin; Nos. 3 and 4 were presented by the Institute of British Architects in 1843. It will be observed that the ornamentation on the fragments before us is purely decorative, consisting of bands of the wave pattern. This ornamentation resembles that on the earliest Greek vases. Nos. 5 and 6 are fragments of reliefs, showing lions and the legs of a bull respectively.

No. 217 (on the floor below)—a fragment of a lion-relief—

[1] For other references to the "Mycenæan question" see pp. 289, 559.

also comes from Mycenæ, but appears to belong to a later period.

2. METOPES[1] OF SELINUS (CASTS)

We now pass to the casts (high up on the east wall) from the temples of Selinus, on the west coast of Sicily. The ruins of these temples, which lie in stupendous heaps, are among the most extraordinary in Europe. The original sculptures, from which the casts before us were taken, were excavated in 1823 by two English architects, Messrs. Angell and Harris, the latter of whom died of malarial fever contracted during the excavations. Mr. Angell endeavoured through Sir W. Hamilton, the British Minister at Naples, to obtain leave to remove the sculptures to the British Museum. The Neapolitan Government insisted, however, on their being sent to the Museum at Palermo. Afterwards, on the representations of Mr. Canning, these casts were presented to the British Museum. They are of great interest, as reproducing the earliest specimens of Greek sculpture extant, if we except the celebrated lions over the gate of Mycenæ. The history of Selinus—the parsley city—so called from the wild parsley[2] which still grows abundantly on the banks of the river, is well known, and the date of the monuments can therefore be fixed with precision. The city, a colony from Megara Hyblæa on the east coast of Sicily, was founded about 628 B.C. The metopes (135, 136, 137) belonged to the oldest of the temples discovered among the ruins, and their date therefore is the end of the seventh century. They show us the first attempt on the part of a sculptor to enlarge and to translate into stone the mythological scenes with which he was already familiar in bronze reliefs and other decorative work. From purely decorative work (as in the remains from Mycenæ) sculpture now proceeds towards the rendering of figure subjects. The artist is seen struggling with imperfect training and incomplete mastery.

No. 135 is especially interesting. It is very quaint in itself, and a detailed examination of it will introduce us to several characteristics of archaic art. The subject is the **slaying of the Gorgon** Medusa by the hero Perseus in the presence of an attendant goddess. The Gorgon is already in her death

[1] For an explanation of this term see p. 169.

[2] Or celery? See on this subject a note on the coins of Selinus, p. 504.

anguish. With the left hand Perseus seizes her by the hair; with the sword in his right he is in the act of cutting off her head. We may notice in this rude but vigorous sculpture many points of interest in the evolution of Greek art. (1) The Gorgon is one of those monstrous forms which Greek art borrowed from the East. Here there is no attempt to soften down the hideous or refine the grotesque; this was a task reserved for the future. The beautiful head of Medusa in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome (see cast No. 190 in the South Kensington collection) should be compared with this early work. It will be seen that "the altogether grotesque and savage type of the archaic Medusa was in the end greatly modified. The face was no longer hideously distorted, as in this metope. In the Ludovisi head the feeling which it produced by its mingled expression of agony and defiant pride, although extremely painful, is one of compassion for a being in whom we see such an infinite capacity for suffering" (Perry). A comparison between the earliest and the latest type of Medusa shows us how far Greek art had to travel on the road to perfection. (2) Next it will be noticed that the figures move to the right, but their faces turn full, facing the spectator. It is just so that a child draws a man walking. We have before us a specimen of Greek art in its childhood. (3) The faces are similarly characteristic. "The artist has tried hard to make them live. He only succeeds in producing a friendly grin. Perseus looks so kindly as he performs his ghastly deed, and Athenè so good-humouredly indifferent to her *protégé's* performance, that it is impossible to help feeling drawn to the odd, friendly pair." The stereotyped smile is very characteristic of early Greek art. It was a long time before the sculptors mastered the art of expression. We shall meet with the same smile in the casts from Ægina. (4) The treatment of the hair is another matter in which Greek taste and Greek art had much to learn:—

"A Greek style of doing the hair suggests to most people—for a woman—the close-gathered severely simple knot; for a man—the short, crisp curls of the athlete. Such was the fashion of the fourth century B.C., though even then, for a woman at least, elaborate artificial hair-dressing, curling tongs, crimping pins, false hair, dyed hair were never unknown in real life, even if for a time discredited by art. But we are now in the seventh century, and men of that date, conspicuously athletes, wore their hair long, and plastered and plaited

it into shapes whose ugliness would do credit to the fancy of a savage. We see the crimped formal hair of Perseus appearing in a row of knobs beneath his close cap, the invisible cap given him by the Graiæ. Something must be allowed for the incapacity of the artist struggling with that most beautiful and difficult of subjects, human hair; but much is to be attributed to ungainly fashions which the Greek shared with the Assyrian and the Egyptian. The effort after personal adornment almost always issues at first in distorted ugliness; to be natural gracefully is the last fine flower of civilisation" (J. E. Harrison).

The visitor interested in such matters could make a most instructive collection of fashions in hairdressing from specimens in the Museum. (5) Another characteristic of Greek art in its perfection is its fondness for the type of slender and beautiful youth—the *gracilis puer* of Horace. The sculptors tended to elongate the type of the body; to make each limb finer, and the whole build more slender. But this also was a matter of long development. In the sculpture now before us the forms are thick, clumsy, gross. These same stumpy forms will be noticed in the Æginetan sculptures, and even in the much later Phigalian frieze (Ch. XIII.). (6) We may notice in this metope another characteristic of early art. It will be observed that under her right arm the Medusa clasps a tiny horse. This is the horse Pegasus, who was fabled to have sprung from her blood. The artist has attempted to compress into one picture two consecutive moments—her death and the moment after, when Pegasus springs to life. The sculptor is still in the *epic* stage; he wants to tell the whole story, incident after incident. In the perfect time, sculpture becomes *dramatic;* it chooses a single moment, and enshrines it in the cold marble for ever. (7) In drawing out the characteristics of this early specimen of Greek art we have necessarily noted chiefly its defects. Yet it contains within it the germ of development, for it is natural and sincere:—"The man who sculptured this metope believed his story, and tried his best to tell it. He brought his own mind to bear on the work, and hence it still has for us a certain freshness and charm." (See, further, the very interesting chapter on "The Metopes of Selinus" in Miss Jane Harrison's admirable *Introductory Studies in Greek Art.*)

No. 136 shows the same characteristics. The subject is **Hercules and the Cercopes.** These worthies were caught by the god in an attempt to rob him, whereon he fastened them

to his bow by their knees and ankles, and carried them across his shoulder with their heads downwards.

No. 137—a **chariot**—shows much greater skill :—

"The full-face chariot is a common type of early bronze relief; but the translation into stone was in this case peculiarly difficult. It is contrived first by giving the relief much greater depth, about twice as great as in the other metopes. Then the fore-parts of the horses are completely cut out in the round, while the hind-legs, the chariot, and the charioteer are in relief on the background. Thus the bodies of the horses are practically omitted; but when seen from in front, at a distance, the effect of the foreshortening is by no means unsuccessful. In details, too, the work seems better than in the other metopes. The eyes, both of the horses and of the charioteer, are convex, and the lids are clearly marked; his ears are better shaped, and do not project like those of Perseus" (E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 145).

3. SCULPTURES FROM BRANCHIDÆ

Some further characteristics of early art will be noted in the series of sculptures from Branchidæ arranged along the west wall of this room. These sculptures—the date of which is supposed to be between 580 and 520 B.C.—were discovered by Chandler in 1765, and removed by Sir C. Newton in 1858. They stood so as to form an avenue on the Sacred Way leading from the sea-shore to the temple and oracle of Apollo at Didyma (near Miletus in Asia Minor), which was in the hands of the priestly clan of the Branchidæ, whose name came to denote the place itself. The temple was destroyed by Darius about 496 B.C. :—

"Could these old headless figures speak, they might tell us something more interesting than the bare fact of their dedication inscribed on the marble, for through this very avenue may have passed the envoys sent by Crœsus to consult the most famous of Asiatic oracles; and the sacrilegious Persian band which plundered and burnt the first temple of Branchidæ, and carried off the statue of the god to Susiana, must have seen these very figures, and may have spared them as too insignificant for the vengeance of the Great King" (Newton's *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. 157).

The statues were dedicatory offerings made to Apollo by the persons represented. On one of them (No. 14) is this inscription: "I am Chares, son of Kleisis, ruler of Teichioussa (probably one of the local tyrants who were established after

the destruction of the kingdom of Crœsus); the property of Apollo." Another (No. 10) is inscribed with the name of the artist: "Endemos made me":—

"These primitive records addressing all future generations of men with a genial simplicity affect the mind more than the elaborate and pompous phrases with which the inscriptions of the Roman period seek to immortalise obscure individuals" (*ibid.* ii. 151).

From the artistic point of view these sculptures are interesting: (1) "because they exhibit the process by which the grotesque coarseness of primitive work tends towards the stiff and formal refinement that marks the later stage of archaic art"; (2) as among the earliest portrait statues in Greek art; and (3) as exhibiting traces of Egyptian influence. With regard to the first point note especially the female figure with hands on her knees (No. 16):—

"In attempting to indicate the legs with greater detail than his predecessors, the artist has rendered them as if they were nude; but in naturalness and freedom this statue is conspicuously the most advanced of the series" (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. i.).

On the other points Newton has some interesting remarks:—

"The statue (of Chares) is probably the most ancient extant example in Greek art of the portrait statue. We may assume that in these early attempts at portraiture no exact rendering of the features and expression could have been accomplished, though such works might serve to record the general character and proportions of the figure; the person represented must have been identified by the inscription or by distinctive symbols very much more than by the work of the sculptor. The statues were intended to be dedicated in some temple; it was not till a much later period that portraits were executed for private individuals" (*Travels*, ii. 152).

"In the type and attitude of all these statues, and in the composition of the drapery, there is much which reminds us of Egyptian sculpture. The arms are placed close to the sides, the palms of the hands resting on the knees; the shoulders are very broad; the folds of drapery are expressed by painted stripes and channelings, arranged in a formal composition of vertical and oblique lines. At first sight the sculpture appears ruder than it really is; for the main points in the anatomy are indicated, however slightly, without the accumulation and exaggeration of details so general in Assyrian and early Greek art. This subdued treatment of the anatomy gives breadth and repose to these figures, and suggests the idea that they were executed by artists who had studied in Egypt" (*ibid.* ii. 153, 154).

The figures are all seated in chairs. As these were doubtless imitated from chairs in wood, they are curious as examples of the furniture of a very early period.

In addition to these portrait statues, Newton found a sphinx and a lion. The latter (No. 17) is interesting both for itself and for an inscription along the animal's back. "The lion, which is couching, is rudely sculptured, but with a certain normal grandeur of conception. The repose of the folded fore-paws is very characteristic of the animal." The inscription records that "the sons of Orion, the governor, Thales, Pasicles, Hegesander, Eubios, and Anaxileos, dedicated these statues as a tithe to Apollo."

A few other sculptures from Branchidæ have come to the Museum from other excavations. We may notice (in the north-west corner of this room) a beardless male head from an archaic statue (No. 19), and (in the north-east corner) a relief with figures moving in a dance (No. 21). This is "a work of the end of the sixth century, and important as one of the earliest examples of the stratified arrangement of figures, so that one figure is partially covered by another, as in the case of horsemen in the frieze of the Parthenon" (Perry).

4. SCULPTURES FROM NAUCRATIS

We have mentioned in the case of the figures from Branchidæ traces of Egyptian influence. We now pass to sculptures from a Greek settlement in Egypt itself (glass case at east end of north wall). The discovery of the buried city of Naucratis, which was unearthed in 1884, presents some curious and interesting points:—

"Some years ago the discovery was made that the earth from a mound in the Delta—that is to say, from the site of an ancient city—forms an excellent top-dressing to spread over the fields; and the knowledge of this fact spread all over the fertile districts and led to the digging away of all the mounds they contain. Within, all these mounds now present the appearance of a sponge or a dry honeycomb, for many of the walls and most of the street lines have been left as useless, while the mud that surrounded them has been carried away. At the proper season for the work, in the spring months, hundreds of men fill the mounds, and teams of donkeys and camels bear to the fields the earth that is dug out" (Egyptian Exploration Fund's publications: *Naucratis*, ii. 16).

Arab dealers rescued the antiquities that were unearthed, and it was from a hint thus derived that Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, who was working for the Egyptian Exploration Fund, was led to discover the site of Naucratis. The city, situated on the westernmost or Canopic mouth of the Nile, nearly midway between Cairo and Alexandria, was a Greek settlement which had risen to great prosperity under Amasis, King of Egypt (564-526 B.C.):—

"Amasis, says Herodotus, was a Philhellene, and besides other proofs of friendship he granted the city of Naucratis for those of the Greeks who came to Egypt to dwell in, and to those who did not desire to stay, but who made voyages thither, he granted portions of land to set up altars and make sacred enclosures for their gods. In old times Naucratis alone was an open trading-place, and no other place in Egypt; and if any one came to any other of the Nile mouths he was compelled to swear that he came not thither of his own will, and when he had thus sworn his innocence he had to sail with his ship to the Canopic mouth; thus highly was Naucratis privileged" (ii. 178, 179).

From the same passage in Herodotus and from other references in classical literature it was known that Naucratis was (1) a busy commercial emporium; (2) that it contained a great enclosure used by all the Greeks, and also separate temples to (3) Apollo, (4) Hera, (5) Aphroditè, and (6) Zeus. During the first season's excavations, remains were discovered by Mr. Petrie of (1), (2), and (3); during a second season (1885-86) Mr. E. Gardner discovered (4) and (5), as well as traces of another temple and the cemetery. The architectural remains were very scanty; probably much of the earlier temples was built of mud bricks, and crumbling marble is, as we have seen, sought for by the native diggers. These architectural fragments are No. 100 (on the floor in the north-east corner of this room) and Nos. 101 and 102 (in the lower shelves of the adjoining glass case). There were also discovered inscriptions (including a decree of the city), coins of the city, weights and measures, vases, a large number of scarabs and of the moulds used for making them, and the statuettes now before us. The whole of the collections were presented to the British Museum, and we shall meet with some of them in other rooms (for vases from Naucratis see pp. 303, 334, 338). Mr. Gardner, in the course of an interesting description of the excavations, records that the work-people

if they were not alive to the archæological interest of their work, at any rate appreciated greatly its material rewards. Their unfeigned rejoicing found spontaneous expression in a picturesque ceremony:—

"When the signal of sunset had been given, the people, instead of hurrying away to their homes, formed themselves every night into a kind of festal procession; they had what the Arabs called a fantasiyeh; this one was regularly known as the fantasiyeh of the potsherds. Several of the girls selected by the overseer raised upon their heads the baskets containing the potsherds and other small antiquities found during the day and led off the procession; at their head went a piper, who came to meet them from the village. The procession, thanks to the flowing Arab dress, really had an impressive effect" (*Naucratis*, ii. 18).

With regard to the date of the temples discovered, it has been discussed whether the words of Herodotus quoted above prove that Amasis was the first to allow the Greeks to live at Naucratis, or whether (as Strabo asserts) it is probable that some Greeks were settled there already. The balance of evidence seems to incline to the latter theory, and the remains may therefore be dated from the middle of the seventh century downwards.

Passing now to examine the statuettes, we may notice generally that they closely resemble the Græco-Phœnician statuettes discovered in Cyprus (see Chs. XV., XXVII.). This resemblance is in accord, as we shall presently see, with a story told by Athenæus. These rude and early works are therefore of great interest to students of evolution in Greek art. The saying of Brunn should be borne in mind: "From the Phœnicians the Greeks borrowed only the alphabet of art, as they did also of letters; in both alike they spoke from the first in their own language." In the nude male statuettes here before us we see the original type which led up through the Apollo statues (presently to be described) to the perfect athletes of the great period in Greek art. The seated figures which we have seen on a large scale in the sculptures from Branchidæ were also a permanent type. No. 127 shows another type: a female figure enthroned with a naked boy at her breast. In this representation, probably of Isis and Osiris, we see the germ which ultimately developed into the Madonna and bambino of Christian art. Equally interesting is the figure of the Hunter, No. 118 (in a glass case, now in the

Ante-room). Here we may recognise the early type of "the Good Shepherd," as we see it in the catacombs of Rome.

On the technical side of the matter Mr. E. Gardner makes an interesting observation :—

"It is instructive to observe how far the art of statuary lags behind the sister-art of vase painting. While there are many vases from Naucratis that for beauty of decorative effect have never been surpassed, no statuette has ever been found which shows more than a small advance upon the models from which it was derived" (*Naucratis*, ii. 59).

The statuettes came for the most part from the temples of Apollo and Aphroditè respectively. Sometimes they represented the dedicator, sometimes the god to whom they were dedicated. The Hunter, already mentioned, was found in the temple of Aphroditè. In his hands he holds his bow and hunting-knife ; over his shoulders are slung two hares and two young boars. An inscription on the thigh (now illegible) recorded that "Kallias dedicated" it—a thank-offering, we may suppose, for success in the chase. As an illustration of statuettes representing the deity to whom they were dedicated we may cite a pretty story from the Greek littérateur Athenæus, himself a native of Naucratis, who flourished about the beginning of the third century A.D. :—

"In the 23rd olympiad, Herostratus, a fellow-citizen of ours, was on a journey, and having sailed round many lands, he touched also at Paphos in Cyprus. There he bought a statuette of Aphroditè, a span high, of archaic style, and went off with it to Naucratis. Now when the ship was near Egypt a storm suddenly came on, and they could not see whereabouts they were ; so all of them took refuge by the image of Aphroditè, praying her to save them. And the goddess, with her wonted favour to the people of Naucratis, suddenly filled all the region about her with green myrtle, and made the ship full of the sweetest odour, when the crew had now given up hope in their severe sickness. They were at once freely relieved, and the sun shone forth ; so they made out their landmarks and reached Naucratis. Then Herostratus, rushing from the ship with the image, and also with the green myrtle boughs that had suddenly come forth, dedicated them in the temple of Aphroditè. And having sacrificed to the goddess, and dedicated the image to her, he called his friends and relations to a banquet in the temple itself, and gave to each of them also a garland of myrtle, to which he thereupon gave the name of Naucratite" (*Deipnosophistæ*, xv. 18).

Any one of these female statuettes from the temple of Aphroditè may conceivably be the very image which Herostratus

thus dedicated. Between the rudeness of the image and the poetic fancy of the story preserved in Athenæus how wide an interval! Herein, again, we may note a general characteristic of early art:—

"The inconsistency between an Homeric description of a piece of furniture or armour and the actual rudeness of any piece of art approximating, within even three or four centuries, to the Homeric period is so great that we at first cannot recognise the art as elucidatory of, or in any way related to, the poetic language. You will find, however, exactly the same kind of discrepancy between early sculpture and the languages of deed and thought in the second birth and childhood of the world under Christianity. The same fair thoughts and bright imaginations arise again; and, similarly, the fancy is content with the rudest symbols by which they can be formalised to the eye" (Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici*, §§ 78, 79).

The glass case containing the statuettes from Naucratis contains also sculptures (Nos. 52-75) in limestone, found at Camirus and Lindus in Rhodes. The most interesting among them are those which again indicate the connection in ancient times between Rhodes and Egypt. No. 70—a sphinx—is a pseudo-Egyptian work. No. 75 is the Egyptian ram-headed deity, Knef.

5. THE XANTHIAN MARBLES

The series of sculptures which we have next to examine were discovered by Sir Charles Fellows at Xanthus in Lycia. The people of Lycia (over against the Island of Rhodes, in Asia Minor) were of non-Hellenic race, but the sculptures of Xanthus were distinctly Greek. The monuments in this room illustrate incidentally the wide dispersion of Greek civilisation, embracing as they do Sicily in the west and the coasts of Asia Minor in the east. The Xanthian Marbles are among the most important monuments in the British Museum. The history of their discovery is interesting:—

In 1838 Fellows first explored the country, and the account of his discoveries attracted much interest among the learned. In the spring of 1839 Lord Palmerston applied to the Sultan for a firman authorising the removal of the works of art, and in the autumn Fellows set out on a second expedition. He made fresh explorations and discoveries, but the firman was not forthcoming—the Porte objecting to the extent and generality of the demand. On this second expedition

Fellows was accompanied by the late Sir George Scharf, then a young artist, afterwards so well known as keeper of the National Portrait Gallery. Scharf's drawings are preserved in the Museum. In 1841 it was reported from Constantinople that the firman was granted, and Fellows set out on his third expedition. The British Government was to provide him with the necessary funds and assistance from H.M. ships. Fellows gave his own services gratuitously. On his arrival in the East he found many and great difficulties which he surmounted with characteristic energy and resource. Among other things there was no firman, but only an informal letter. The British Ambassador's requests had included permission to remove marbles from the Castle of Budrum (Halicarnassus).[1] This seemed to Fellows an unreasonable request, and he repaired to Constantinople to see if its withdrawal would smooth the way to Xanthus. This move was successful, and ultimately permission was granted "in consequence of the sincere friendship existing between the two Governments," for the removal of the antiquities if they should be found "lying down here and there and of no use." Even then there was a further difficulty, for the ruins of Xanthus turned out to be just outside the province of the Pasha to whom the firman was addressed. The proper Pasha, however, consented, saying that "the Queen of England was good, the Sultan was good, and that we were all brothers, and that we might take what we liked." At Christmastide 1841 Fellows and his party landed at the mouth of the river Xanthus and made their way in boats up the turbid stream to the ruins of the ancient city. Here they pitched their tents, the British sailors playing cricket by day and wolves and jackals howling around them by night. The immediate object of the expedition was to remove the monuments previously discovered by Fellows—namely, the Harpy tomb, the Horse tomb, and some fragments of a frieze built into the walls of the ancient Acropolis. But in the course of the excavations many more discoveries were made and additional marbles were removed. The pleasure and excitement of these discoveries were entered into, says Fellows, even by the sailors, "who often forgot the dinner-hour or worked after dusk to finish the getting out of a statue; indeed great care was needed to prevent their being in too much haste to raise up the figures, for while the marble was saturated with the moisture of the earth the slightest blow chipped off the light folds of the drapery; these hardened as they dried in the air." Unfortunately the work involved some loss of life; a boat capsized at the mouth of the river and two of the sailors who could not swim were drowned. The greater part of the stones excavated by Fellows were removed to England in 1842; the remainder and some additional casts and sculptures were removed in the following year (Sir Charles Fellows, *Excursion in Asia Minor*, 1839; *Discoveries in Lycia*, 1841; *The Xanthian Marbles*, 1843; *Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument*, 1848).

[1] See Ch. XII.

In this room are placed the more archaic of the Xanthian Marbles. The others are in the Nereid Room (Ch. XI.) and the Mausoleum Room (Ch. XII.).

The oldest of the Xanthian Marbles are the large tombs at the west end of this room.

The Lion Tomb (80).—This tomb was found by Fellows standing on, and at one end overhanging, a tall shaft, made of a single block of coarse limestone. The lid of the tomb is missing. This is believed to be the oldest of the Xanthian monuments, and to represent Lycian sculpture before the Ionian influence had begun to make itself felt :—

"The animals are in high relief and gross of form and sentiment. On each side of the tomb is a narrow frieze, with low flat relief, indicating in the proportions, attitudes, and costumes of the figures an exceedingly early condition of sculpture. On one side is a man killing a lion as a matter of form, not at all as a realisation of the fact. On the other are a mounted horseman, and turned away from him a foot soldier with a huge shield and enormous crest" (Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 127).

The Harpy Tomb (94).—This famous monument is later in date than the one we have just examined. The Lion Tomb shows Lycian sculpture before the Greek influence ; the Harpy Tomb, the Ionian School of Asia Minor, characterised by "a certain voluptuousness of form and languor of expression" :—

"The Lycians," says Mr. Pater, "were not a Greek people ; but as happened even with 'barbarians' dwelling on the coast of Asia Minor, they became lovers of the Hellenic culture, and Xanthus, their capital, as may be judged from the beauty of its ruins, managed to have a considerable portion in Greek art, though infusing it with a certain Asiatic colour. The frugally designed frieze of the Harpy Tomb, in the lowest possible relief, might fairly be placed between the monuments of Assyria and those primitive Greek works among which it now actually stands. The stiffly-ranged figures in any other than strictly archaic work would seem affected. But what an under-current of refined sentiment, presumably not Asiatic, not 'barbaric,' lifting those who felt thus about death so early into the main stream of Greek humanity, and to a level of visible refinement in execution duly expressive of it !" (*Greek Studies*, p. 287).

The tomb, found near the theatre at Xanthus, was first discovered by Fellows on 19th April 1838. It was again seen by him and described in 1840, and two years later was removed under his directions to the British Museum :—

"The Harpy Tomb," he says, "consisted of a square shaft in one block, weighing about 80 tons, its height 17 feet, placed upon a base rising on one side 6 feet from the ground, on the other but little above the level of the earth. Around the sides of the top of the shaft were ranged the bas-reliefs in white marble, about 3 feet 3 inches high; upon these rested a capstone, apparently a series of stones, one projecting over the other; but these are cut in one block, probably 15 to 20 tons in weight. Within the top of the shaft was hollowed out a chamber, which, with the bas-relief sides, was 7 feet 6 inches high and 7 feet square" (Fellows, *Asia Minor and Lycia*, pp. 173, 340, 438).

The date of the monument is probably prior to the sack of Xanthus by the Persians under Harpagus in 546 B.C. The precise subject of the bas-reliefs has been much debated, but the key-note of the composition is clear enough. On every side we see winged creatures with human faces carrying off the little souls of the dead. The "Harpy" Tomb is not correctly so called. Harpies in Greek art are winged figures of women, and are spirits of wrath and destruction. The birds with human heads are Sirens, the gentle messengers of death. As such they appear on the later funeral monuments and vases (see pp. 342, 708). The little figures here being carried off by the Sirens show no sense of dismay; they are carried very tenderly, and seem in their turn to "yearn towards those kindly nurses as they pass on their way to a new world"[1] (Pater's *Greek Studies*, p. 289, and Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* xiii. 103). The small stature of the figures who are being carried off does not prove them infants, but "only new-born into that other life, and contrasts their helplessness with the powers, the great presences, now around them." On some of the Greek vases the souls of the dead are represented in the same way, and the same symbolism is familiar in mediæval pictures and monuments. In Westminster Abbey, for instance, on the monument of Aymer de Valence (in the Chapel of the Kings), the soul of the deceased, a small figure wrapped in a mantle, is supported by two angels. The crouching figure on the north side of the monument before us represents perhaps the bereaved person who erected it, and at any rate suggests the grief of the survivors. The motive of the rest of the bas-reliefs appears to be the contrast between the beauty of life and growth and their sudden collapse in death:—

[1] The same idea has been employed by Mr. Watts in his picture of "The Messenger," now at the Tate Gallery (see my *Handbook to the National Gallery*, vol. ii. No. 1646).

On the west side is the opening to the chamber within. Facing each other, at either end, sit two goddesses always associated in the Greek mind with the fertile beauty and decay of Nature. On the left Demeter, large in form and lonely; on the right her daughter Persephonè, youthful in figure and receiving the attention of three other women (perhaps the Graces), who bring her rich fruits and flowers as tokens of the ripeness of Nature, which in person they also display. Above the opening is a scene calculated to carry the mind to fertile pasture-lands —a cow suckling her calf.

On the north side the sculptor shows us yet more directly the connection between daily life and death. A warrior is laying aside his arms, handing his helmet to the seated judge of the dead, under whose throne sulks a bear, while on either side flies a Harpy on her fatal occupation.

On the south side are again these Harpies. A woman with propitiatory gifts approaches the female judge, Persephonè. The hen here matches the cock, which, on the east side, as often in sepulchral reliefs, is offered by a suppliant to the god of the lower world.

On the east side we may note further that the young man is accompanied by his dog, who looks wistfully up at him :—

> He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire,
> But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company.

Behind the enthroned god are again draped figures bearing ripe fruits.

Mr. Pater, in a beautiful passage, gives a somewhat different interpretation of the sculptures :—

"A cow, far enough from Myron's illusive animal, suckles her calf. She is one of almost any number of artistic symbols of new birth, of the renewal of life, drawn from a world which is, after all, so full of it. On one side sits enthroned, as some have thought, the Goddess of Death; on the opposite side the Goddess of Life, with her flowers and fruit. Towards her three young maidens are advancing—were they still alive thus, graceful, virginal, with their long, plaited hair, and long, delicately folded tunics, looking forward to carry on their race into the future? Presented severally, on the other sides of the dark hollow within, three male persons—a young man, an old man, and a boy—seem to be bringing home, somewhat wearily, to their 'long home,' the young man, his armour, the boy and the old man, like old Socrates, the mortuary cock, as they approach some shadowy, ancient deity of the tomb, or it may be the throned impersonation of their 'fathers of old'" (*Greek Studies*, p. 289).

Whatever may be the precise signification of the sculptures, it will be generally admitted, as Mr. Pater says, that "the designer was possessed of some tranquillising second thoughts

concerning death, which may well have had their value for mourners; and he has expressed those thoughts, if lispingly, yet with no faults of commission, with a befitting grace, and, in truth, at some points, with something already of a really Hellenic definition and vigour."

It is interesting to know that the chamber enclosed by these representations of Death and Judgment was used in early Christian times as the cell of an anchorite—perhaps a disciple of Simeon Stylites, a dweller in funeral stelæ such as this. "The traces of the religious paintings and monograms of this holy man still remain," says Fellows, "upon the backs of the marble of the bas-reliefs."

Frieze of Animals and Satyrs (81).—On the whole we may say of the Harpy Tomb that while it is "in a severely archaic style, it shows already a light touch of grace" (Welcker). We now turn to the north wall, where there is a frieze of animals and satyrs, found by Fellows built into the walls of the Acropolis at Xanthus. In this the Greek influence, working upon an Assyrian model, is again discernible.

Below the satyr frieze is a **frieze of cocks and hens** (82), also found by Fellows built into the walls of the Acropolis of Xanthus. In this we may notice very careful and successful study from nature.

We may here interpose a reference to some **sculptures from Lydia** (on the ledge above the Xanthian frieze, north-east corner of the room),—two reliefs (Nos. 22, 23), which may have been part of a hunting scene on the walls of a funeral chamber. They were found by Mr. George Dennis in 1882 in one of the mounds at Ben Tepè, near the site of the famous city of Sardis, the capital of Lydia. It is possible that in No. 22 we have a representation of the famous Lydian horsemen described by Herodotus, whom Cyrus, King of Persia, defeated by means of his camels. "There was at this time no nation in Asia more courageous or more stout in battle than the Lydian, and they fought on horseback, carrying long spears, the men being excellent in horsemanship" (i. 79, 80). The subject of the other relief (23) is three deer grazing.

On the opposite wall (south), in the centre, is another frieze from Xanthus, a **frieze of chariots** (86). It was found by Fellows inserted in a wall of late date on the Acropolis of Xanthus. The frieze probably belonged to a tomb, and

represented a funeral procession. The human figures resemble in style the Harpy Tomb. But though the artistic style is Greek, there is a strong Oriental influence, as Fellows observed, in the horses and their trappings. The upright crest on the head of the horse in the fourth group, and the way in which the horses' tails are tied, resemble the reliefs of horses from Persepolis.

On either side of the frieze just described are slabs from other friezes or **gable ends of tombs** (87-93). No. 87, a slab from a frieze, shows the foot of a dead person who has been laid out on a bier. On several of the older fragments there are Sphinxes, in which it is interesting to note the artistic spirit of Greece refining forms derived from Oriental art.

The Sphinx on No. 90 was, "when first discovered in 1840, brilliantly coloured, as is recorded in a drawing by Scharf. The ground of the relief was bright blue, the feathers were red, black, blue, and white. The hair was yellow, and the *tænia* (fillet) was painted with a white pattern on a red ground" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. 52).

On the floor below the frieze and other reliefs just described are further **fragments from Xanthus**. Of these the most interesting is No. 95, a fragment (perhaps from a lintel), with remains of two dancing figures "executed with very great refinement and beauty."

6. The Archaic Temple of Ephesus

In the east end of the room are sculptures from the archaic temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus, which were found in 1872-74 under the foundations of the later temple. Into the story of the excavations we shall enter more fully when we come to the remains of the later temple in the Ephesus Room (Ch. IX.). The earlier temple, of which the remains are here before us, was built in the middle of the sixth century B.C., when Crœsus, King of Lydia, presented "the golden cows and the greater number of the pillars of the temple" (Herod. i. 92). This statement of Herodotus has been confirmed in the course of the excavations, for on one of the pillars in this room is an inscription recording (if the restoration be correct) that "King Crœsus dedicated" it (see below). In 356 B.C., on the same night on which Alexander the Great was born, the temple was burned down by an incendiary named Herostratus, wishing

to immortalise himself, if even by a monstrous crime. The Ephesians at once set themselves to reconstruct it on a yet more splendid scale; and now in the British Museum we have remains of both edifices—remains which show that in several important particulars, and especially in its sculptured columns, the later edifice was copied from its predecessor, but which show also in a very interesting way the progress of art during the intervals.

The most interesting of the archaic Ephesian remains are (1) the pieces from the cornice of the temple (No. 46), and (2) the base of a sculptured column (No. 29), ingeniously put together and conjecturally restored by Dr. Murray. Both cornice and column present interesting and unusual features. In the **cornice** the spaces between the lions' heads (which carried off the rain) are occupied not by floral ornaments, as in the later temple and in Greek architecture generally, but by delicately-sculptured groups. (This arrangement may throw some light on the origin of metopes; see Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, i. ch. v.) In the restored **column**, underneath the sculptures, are the fragments of the inscription by Crœsus, referred to above [Βα(σιλεὺς) Κρ(οῖσος) ἀν(έθηκεν)]. The sculptured part, together with the moulding above and the base-mouldings, formed as it were a pedestal supporting a fluted column above it. An Ionic capital from one of these columns is placed opposite. With regard to the fragments of sculpture Dr. Murray says:—

(The male figure.) "The lips are full and strikingly sensuous, as are also the large projecting eyes, which no eyebrows overshadow. The cheeks are full and fleshy, and the chin projects. That the strongly marked sensuousness of expression here referred to was a characteristic of the early sculpture of Asia Minor would in itself be probable from what is known of Greek settlements there, and it is confirmed by the recurrence of the same features in sculptures from other parts of this coast. Among them may be mentioned the reliefs of the Harpy Tomb, which, though unquestionably later in date, still preserve the full swollen lips and large forward eyes" (*History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 116).

There are remains of colour both on the column and on the cornice; in the latter the reds and blues are in parts quite brilliant (see the fragments preserved in the glass cases on either side of the door). This many-colouredness (*polychromy*) of ancient art is one of its characteristics which most startle

the modern student at first sight, or rather on first hearing. Owing to the fact that the colour is so evanescent, and that no reliefs or statues show any great traces of it, we have all been accustomed to suppose that Greek sculpture, whether as architectural adornment or in isolated statues, was distinguished by colourless purity, and relied on nothing but perfection of form and the play of light and shade on cold marble. But this is not so. "It seems clear," as Miss Harrison well says, "that whenever a nation lives under a cloudless sky, with constant brilliant sunshine, they instinctively seek to give their national art a life and glow that shall accord with its atmospheric surroundings." Every traveller in Italy must have noticed this fact. It is only in our cheerless North that dead white or cold gray are felt to be the appropriate hues. In old times the Greek temples were painted—especially the reliefs on the friezes, on which (being high above the eye and often in very confined spaces) the details were thus made to stand out more brilliantly. In the case of the early metopes from Selinus, vestiges of colour remaining when they were first unearthed show that the background was painted red, and that yellow and blue were used in picking out details of drapery and armour. The Medusa's eyes were also painted red. On the sculptures from Ægina, which we have next to examine, traces of brilliant colour remained — red, blue, and gilding. These served to distinguish and heighten the effect of several parts otherwise inanimate. The restored pediments in this room have been partially decorated in accordance with the indications noted by Cockerell at the time of their discovery. On exposure to the atmosphere the colours quickly disappeared. No traces of colour remain on the frieze of the Parthenon, which for so many centuries was exposed to neglect and to the atmosphere; but there is little doubt that it was similarly treated. On the remains of the Mausoleum, which had been buried, traces of colour were abundant. Mr. Watts, R.A., who was present at some of the discoveries, said, in reply to Mr. Westmacott, who had raised doubts on the point: "Mr. Westmacott cannot understand that colour which had been preserved for 2000 years should have entirely disappeared in the few months occupied in the transmission of the sculptures from Asia Minor to England; but I can state from positive experience that colour on some of the fragments—which, when the sculpture was first taken out of the ground, was as perfect

as if painted but a few weeks—entirely disappeared in the course of two or three hours." We now know from the discovery of archaic statues dug up on the Acropolis at Athens that single statues were also painted. Occasionally the flesh was tinted; more commonly, the hair and decorative details. Professor Lanciani recorded a few years ago that of the numerous statues excavated under his direction at Rome, one-half showed traces of colour at the time when they were first brought to light. (The general reader may be referred on this subject to Prof. E. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 28-32, and an article entitled "Did the Greeks paint their Sculptures?" in the *Century Magazine* for April 1892.)

7. THE TEMPLE OF ÆGINA (CASTS)

The sculptures which we next examine are from the Temple of Athena[1] at Ægina; they belong to the latest stage of archaic Greek art, and are the most important extant works of that period. They are represented in our Museum by casts only.

In the autumn of 1810 there happened to be assembled at Athens several gentlemen interested in Greek art, of whom Byron was one, and they agreed to embark on a series of excavations. Their discoveries were very important. The marbles of Ægina revealed for the first time the archaic sculpture of Greece; those of Phigalia enriched the learned world with important works by a contemporary of the great Phidias (see Chap. XIII.).

These were the early, romantic, and dangerous days of archæological study. There were no schools of antiquities at Athens; no scholarships at the universities to encourage the study; and digging was not organised into a long vacation pastime. Of the seven persons referred to above, three died in Greece; two served a term of captivity with pirates, and two suffered seriously from fever. In April 1811 four of them set out for the island of Ægina, after an evening spent with Byron in "pouring out libations in propitiation of his homeward voyage to England." The party consisted of Mr. C. R. Cockerell and Mr. Foster, English architects; Herr Linckh, of Wurtemburg; and Baron Hallen of Hallenstein, architect to the King of Bavaria. They found the temple partly buried under a field of barley, and at some distance below they came upon the sculptures, of which the casts are before us in this room. Having "squared" the

[1] So it has long been called; but "an inscription discovered in the excavations of 1901 makes it probable that the patron deity of the temple was a local goddess, Aphaia, having affinities with Artemis" (*Guide to the Department*, 2nd ed., p. 10).

headmen of the island by a sum of money, the explorers removed the sculptures to Athens, and afterwards for greater security to Zantè. The treasure-trove was the joint property of the four explorers, and as two were English and two German, international complications arose from the dual control. Mr. Gally Knight and another English gentleman, who happened to be in Athens when the marbles arrived there, offered to buy out the two Germans for £2000, with a view to presenting the marbles to the British Museum. But the Germans, fired with an equally honourable ambition on behalf of the Museum at Munich, declined the offer. The British Government next appeared on the scene with an offer of £6000 for the marbles, and a man-of-war was sent to remove them. This offer also was refused, but the British captain was asked to remove the marbles to Malta for greater security, as an attack by the French on the island of Zantè was at this time feared. As the only way out of the deadlock caused by the dual control the four explorers decided to put the marbles up to auction, advertising first the fact in the newspapers of all the European countries. The British Government, understanding that the auction would be held at Malta, where the goods had been deposited, instructed the Governor to bid £8000 for them, and Mr. Combe, keeper of the antiquities at the Museum, was sent out to Malta. There he waited till some time after the date announced for the auction, but no auction was held. Meanwhile the marbles had been sold by auction at Zantè to the King of Bavaria for £6000, the only bid there forthcoming. The two English explorers were deeply chagrined at the prize being thus lost to their country, but it was too late to repair the misunderstanding, and the marbles went to Munich, where they may now be seen in the Glyptothek.[1]

The sculptures thus recovered from the soil of Ægina were set up in commemoration of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians at Salamis in 480 B.C., in which Ægina took a distinguished part. According to the usual practice of Greek art, the monument recorded not the actual victory of the day, but the mythical exploits in earlier ages of the national heroes. These were in Ægina the Æacidæ, who marched twice against Troy, once in the time of Hercules, and again as allies of Agamemnon and Menelaus. Each pediment thus represents a battle of Greeks and Trojans over the body of a fallen warrior; the east pediment represents the earlier struggle, the west the latter. The figure of the goddess

[1] The transaction caused as many suspicions and insinuations as if it had been a case of a Chinese concession. The real facts, as summarised above, are to be found in the *Report of the Select Committee on the British Museum*, 1835, Q. 1528-1541, and C. R. Cockerell's *Temples at Ægina and Bassæ*, 1860.

Athena occupies the centre of both pediments, as witness and arbiter of the struggle.

On the north wall is the western pediment. The subject is the struggle between the Greek and Trojan heroes for the body of Patroclus, as described by Homer (*Iliad* xvii.). Beginning at the left hand, we have first a wounded Greek drawing an arrow from his right breast; a Greek advancing with spear; a Greek archer kneeling; and then the prostrate Patroclus :—

"This is one of the most perfect figures of the western pediment. He is falling to the ground, but props himself for the moment on his right hand, which held his sword. His hair, which is neatly arranged in curls like small shells round his brow, is confined by a band. The helmet is somewhat pushed back from the head so as to show the carefully executed locks of hair beneath it. It differs from the other figures of the western pediment in having the veins of the right arm clearly indicated. The gentle smile on the lips betrays no uneasiness" (Perry).

The goddess stands in the centre, motionless and apparently uninterested. She is fully armed and wears her *ægis*. Then come a kneeling Trojan; a warrior advancing with shield extended, perhaps Æneas; the Trojan prince, Paris; and a wounded Trojan.

On the opposite wall is the eastern pediment, representing a battle in the war which Telamon of Ægina, aided by Hercules, waged against Laomodon, King of Troy. Beginning on the left, we see first a dying Trojan, supporting himself by his shield :—

> He leans upon his hand, his manly brow
> Consents to death but conquers agony.

After the dying Trojan is a warrior, perhaps Telamon; then, a fallen warrior; Athena; the figure of a youth leaning forward to draw away his fallen comrade; and at the end Hercules, drawing his bow, with a lion's skin on his head.

With regard to the style of these sculptures, they mark, as we have said, the culmination of the archaic period. The *technical excellence* of the work is praised by Overbeck, who notices in it "an application of all known instruments of sculpture; the delicate calculation of weight in the composition of the several parts allowing the artist to dispense with all artificial supports, and to set his figures, with all their

complex motions, and yet with plinths only three inches thick, into the basis of the gable; the bold use of the chisel, which wrought the shield, on the freely-held arm, down to a thickness of scarcely three inches; the fineness of the execution, even in parts of the work invisible to an ordinary spectator, in the diligent finishing of which the only motive of the artist was to satisfy his own conviction as to the nature of good sculpture:" With regard to the *composition*, there is remarkable unity and concentration of design: figures of fallen warriors fill up the angles; while the combatants, or their efforts, are all directed towards the centre, which is occupied by a figure of the goddess. But the unity of the design is somewhat stiff and formal: "Effects of this we may note not merely in the simplicity, or monotony even, of the whole composition, and in the exact and formal correspondence of one gable to the other, but in the simple readiness with which the designer makes the two second spearmen kneel, against the probability of the thing, so as just to fill the space he has to compose in." We shall see, when we come to the pediments of the Parthenon, how Phidias, while true to the laws and traditions of symmetry in design, yet introduced elements of variety and diversity. In the next place, we may notice how much more satisfactory the Æginetan sculptures are in rendering the body than the face. The bodies are those of athletes in perfect training; indeed, in his striving after truth, the artist has made his figures too pronouncedly anatomical. On the other hand, the faces are for the most part *expressionless*. This is a point emphasised by Ruskin:—

"Look carefully in the British Museum at the casts from the statues in the pediment of the Temple of Minerva at Ægina. You have there Greek work of definite date—about 600 B.C., certainly before 580—of the purest kind; and you have the representation of a noble ideal subject, the combats of the Æacidæ at Troy, with Athena herself looking on. But there is no attempt whatever to represent expression in the features, none to give complexity of action or gesture; there is no struggling, no anxiety, no visible temporary exertion of muscles. There are fallen figures, one pulling a lance out of his wound, and others in attitudes of attack and defence: several kneeling to draw their bows. But all inflict and suffer, conquer or expire, with the same smile" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 191). "When I was in Venice in 1880, the authorities of the Academy did me the grace of taking down my two pet pictures of St. Ursula, and putting them into a quiet room for me to copy. Now in this quiet room where I was allowed to

paint, there were a series of casts from the Ægina marbles, which I never had seen conveniently before; and so, on my right hand and left, I had, all day long, the best pre-Praxitelite Classic art, and the best pre-Raphaelite Gothic art, and could turn to this side, or that, in an instant, to enjoy either: which I could do, in each case, with my whole heart; only on this condition, that if I was to admire St. Ursula, it was necessary on the whole to be content with her face, and not to be too critical or curious about her elbows; but in the Ægina marbles, one's principal attention had to be given to the knees and elbows, while no ardent sympathies were excited by the fixed smile upon the face" (*The Art of England*, 1884, p. 91).

In this "Æginetan smile," as it has been called, we see the conventional expression of archaic art.[1] In the figures of the eastern pediment, however, there is somewhat more expression of emotion; some critics have supposed, therefore, that this pediment is later in date than the other. The impassive immobility of the statue of Athena is, on the other hand, very strongly marked; and this, added to the archaic details of her drapery, suggests that the sculptor adopted a traditional type of temple-image. Lastly, it may be noted as characteristic of the early work here before us that "the profiles are still not yet of the fully-developed Greek type, but have a somewhat strong prominence of nose and chin, as in Etruscan design in the early sculpture of Cyprus, and in the earlier Greek vases; and the general proportions of the body in relation to the shoulders are still somewhat archaically slim." In all these respects Mr. Pater bids us find in the Æginetan sculptures, as in the work of the earlier Renaissance, the charm of *naïveté*, "in the freshness of spirit which finds power and interest in simple motives of feeling, and in the freshness of hand which has a sense of enjoyment in mechanical processes still performed unmechanically, in the spending of care and intelligence on every touch. . . . In a sort of stiff grace, combined with a sense of things bright or sorrowful directly felt, the Æginetan workman is, as it were, the Chaucer of Greek sculpture" (see "The Marbles of Ægina," in *Greek Studies*, pp. 263-282).

[1] Mr. Pater reads a certain element of pathos into this smile. "These figures all smile faintly, almost like the monumental effigies of the Middle Age, with a smile which, even if it be but a result of the mere conventionality of an art still somewhat immature, has just the pathetic effect of Homer's conventional epithet 'tender,' when he speaks of the flesh of his heroes" (*Greek Studies*, p. 280).

8. THE TEMPLE OF OLYMPIA (CASTS)

We now come, on the west wall, to some casts from Olympia (Nos. 190-192). This, as we all know, was one of the most famous sites in Greece. It was here that the Olympic games, the great national festival of the Hellenic world, were held; and here, in the Temple of Olympian Zeus, that stood the famous statue of the god which, in the judgment of antiquity, passed for the masterpiece of Phidias and the most sublime effort of Hellenic art. Of this great work we have no trace; but Olympia has yielded to the excavator other rich prizes of art and archæology. These prizes are shared between the Louvre and the Museum at Olympia itself, the credit in the latter case belonging to Germany. In the British Museum we have only casts—three in this room, and one in the Ephesus Room of the famous Hermes of Praxiteles. As in so many other cases, the excavations at Olympia followed in the wake of political events. In 1829, during the Greek war of independence, and immediately after the battle of Navarino, the French Government landed a body of troops in the Peloponnesus, and this expedition was accompanied by a scientific mission. This mission discovered and removed to the Louvre several metopes from the Temple of Zeus. No. 190 is a cast of one of these. The further exploration of Olympia was reserved for the Germans. The distinguished Professor Curtius had long been anxious to undertake the work, and his royal pupil, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, promised that when a favourable opportunity arrived he would further the enterprise. The time came after the war of 1870, when the German Empire sought to add the honours of peace to those of war. The German Government granted in all a sum of £30,000 for the excavations, and the Crown Prince supplemented this by gifts from his private purse. The convention with the Greek Government authorising the excavations stipulated that whatever was found should be retained in Greece. The excavations (1875-81) unearthed the race-course and the temple, and discovered many valuable sculptures. Nos. 191 and 192 are casts from two of these sculptures. The Temple of Zeus was being built from 470-455 B.C. The date of the metopes (Nos. 190, 191) is probably about 460 B.C. The sculptor of them is unknown.

"Most of the labours of Hercules," says Pausanias (v. 10. 9),

"are represented at Olympia." The two metopes here belong to this series. No. 190 is **Hercules binding the Cretan bull.** The subject is broadly and vigorously treated. The subject of the other metope (No. 191) is **Hercules and Atlas**:—

"In order to obtain the wondrous apples of the Hesperides, Hercules asked Atlas to gather them for him in the famous garden, while in exchange he offered the giant to relieve him for a moment in the arduous task of supporting the world upon his shoulders. The weight of the heavens is conventionally represented by the upper part of the entablature. The Olympian metope represents the moment when Atlas, who has accepted the offer, is bringing back the golden apples to the hero. In the centre is the nude figure of Hercules, supporting with both uplifted arms the heavens, which rest upon his head; in front of him is Atlas, holding in each hand three apples, and to the left one of the Atlantides. The sculptor of Olympia did not tell the end of the story. When Atlas had once laid down his burden, he found the liberty he had regained so sweet that he proposed to leave the world on the shoulders of Hercules, and to take the golden apples himself to Eurystheus. This, however, was not to the liking of our hero, who was beginning to find the weight oppressive, and, fortunately for himself, on this occasion he was as crafty as he was strong. He made a pretence of accepting the proposal, and only asked as a favour that he might make a comfortable cushion to support the burden, and that meanwhile the giant would take up his accustomed post for a moment. Atlas imprudently consented, and we may imagine that, once the heavens were replaced upon his shoulders, the hero took up his apples and made all haste to depart" (Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, p. 272).

The figures here are very noble in type, while the scene is full of naïve or realistic touches; note, for instance, "the cushion which Hercules has placed on his shoulders to bear the weight, the friendly but futile help of the nymph, the irony with which Atlas offers the apples which Hercules is unable to take" (Gardner, p. 229).

The figure of **Victory** (No. 192) is very beautiful in itself, and is of further interest as one of the few sculptures of which the artist's name and the date are positively known. On 20th December 1875 a pedestal was dug up in the Temple of Zeus; on it was an inscription recording that "Messenians and Naupactians dedicated it as a tithe of spoil to Olympian Zeus," and that "Pæonius of Mendè made it, who was victor also in the execution of the acroteria (or, figures above the pediments) of the temple." On the following day the greater

part of the Victory itself was discovered close to the pedestal. Our cast is erected on a reproduction of the famous three-sided pedestal, and into this is inserted a cast of the inscription. The victory commemorated was that gained at Sphacteria over the Spartans. The Messenians refrained, says Pausanias (v. 26. 1), who records the inscription, from mentioning the name of the enemy from fear. The acroteria referred to were, as we know from Pausanias, gilded figures of Victory, and the statue may have been a replica of one of them. The pillar on which the figure stood was, as here shown, about 20 feet in height, and the Goddess of Victory is thus represented as descending from on high :—

"An eagle hovers beneath her feet, and her whole body is thrown forward in glorious motion; the left foot scarcely touches the pedestal, while the right still presses the marble, which was formerly painted blue and represents the space through which Victory is taking her flight. All the outlines of the body are visible under the fine clinging material of her robes blown about by the wind, and the long Doric chiton, leaving the left leg and shoulder uncovered, swells out behind in harmonious folds. Originally her ample outspread wings and a wide mantle floating on the breeze supported the statue and restored its balance; originally, too, the left arm was raised, and gave the goddess a still prouder attitude, and the head, of which unfortunately only the back remains, completed the effect of this wonderful figure" (Diehl, *ibid.* p. 270).

In this figure, as in the later sculptures of the Nereid monument (Ch. XI.), the drapery is treated very finely as a means of emphasising the effect of rapid motion.

9. ARCHAIC "APOLLO" STATUES

We now examine a row of antique statues, which "exhibit in a remarkable degree the shortcomings of the early sculptor struggling to emancipate his art from hieratic stiffness and conventionality, but only attaining to a meagre and painful rendering of nature" (Newton's *Essays on Archæology*, p. 81). Nevertheless this archaic sculpture has the seeds of progress in it. "The artist only represents the bones and muscles necessary for the representation of active life; but in doing this much *well* he gives to Greek art its systematic and methodical foundation" (Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 58). The nude male figures of this style are generally called "Apollo," and it is known that some of them were

intended to represent that god. But probably the same type was at this period made to serve several purposes. Two classes of the type have been distinguished—the *first*, in which the hands are close to the sides; the *second*, in which the hands are slightly raised, by a bending of the arms at the elbows. The figure of "**Apollo**" (205), believed to have come from Bœotia, represents the earlier type, in which the hands are pressed against the hips.

The "Strangford" Apollo (206) is so called as coming from the collection of Lord Strangford. This belongs to the second type of "Apollo" statue, in which the arms were no longer close to the sides, and one feels at once a great advance on No. 205:—

"Here we seem to reach the limit of the period when interest in Greek sculpture ceases to be purely archæological and becomes artistic: a point when such a degree of skill had been attained by the artist, that his natural instinct for beauty of form had power to display itself, and he was able in a measure, however imperfectly, to realise his ideal. Like the earlier statues it is symmetrical in design, and this symmetry appears now even greater from the loss of the arms, which may have been differently employed. It is plain that they were not held close to the sides; probably they were bent at the elbow and held forward some object which would make the personality of the statue clearer, whether a god or hero or athlete was intended" (Upcott, *Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 14). There is, too, some expression in the face: "The mouth is small and compressed, the chin pointed and the cheeks full, giving altogether an expression of pleasure" (Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 175).

The torso of a female figure (No. 154), which stands between the two statues last described, is of archaic type—from the smaller temple of Rhamnus. No. 207, behind, is the torso of another "Apollo"—from Cyprus. The type was, we see, widely dispersed.

10. THE CHARIOTEER FROM DELPHI (CAST)

The bronze statue of a charioteer—a masterpiece of early Greek art and in nearly perfect preservation—is one of the finds which have rewarded the French excavations at Delphi. It was unearthed in 1896; this plaster cast was presented to our Museum in 1898 by the French Minister of Public Instruction. The statue seems to have belonged to a chariot-group, and to have been dedicated at Delphi to commemorate a

victory in the games. An inscription on the base shows that it was set up by a certain Polyzelus, who was probably the brother of the Syracusan tyrants Gelo and Hiero. The figure "affords an admirable example of the transition work of the time of Calamis. His long Ionic chiton [the characteristic costume of a charioteer] is arranged in perfectly simple folds curved on the body and arms, but falling perpendicularly from the girdle to his bare muscular feet, while the toes, drawn up, slightly indicate how he preserved his balance during his rapid course. His right arm is still extended as when he guided his fiery steed to victory, and his short hair, though confined by a fillet, curls delicately above his small ears, and strays softly down his cheeks. His eyes, which in the cast attract but little attention, are in the original composed of coloured enamel" (Wherry's *Greek Sculpture with Story and Song*, p. 66). The charioteer fitly concludes our studies in archaic Greek art, for the work only precedes the best period by a very short time.

II. MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

But before leaving this room and our studies in archaic sculpture, we may call attention to the **casts of Attic reliefs** in the north-west, south-east, and south-west corners of the rooms. They are good examples of the transitional period. No. 155 (south-east corner) is a woman mounting a chariot. The original (now at Athens) was found on the Acropolis, and may have been part of the frieze of the early, pre-Persian temple, on the site of which the Parthenon was afterwards constructed :—

"The designation woman or goddess is not undisputed, and there is no certain indication of sex or rank; but the delicacy of the arms and hands and the general effect of the figure seem to justify it. . . . The folds of the drapery in this relief are still in the highest degree conventional and artificial, and contrast strangely with the natural and gracefully flowing lines of the nude parts. An attempt is made to distinguish between the woollen stuff of the upper garment and the linen robe which is thrown across her shoulders" (Perry's *Catalogue of Casts at South Kensington*, No. 39).

No. 156 (south-west corner) is a **sepulchral relief.** The original is in the Villa Albani at Rome. The subject was formerly supposed to be the education of the young Dionysus

by Leucothea, but it is now recognised as a sepulchral relief, in which "the deceased is depicted as a happy mother, seated in a chair and caressing her little daughter. A relative or servant hands her a ribbon, either for her own decoration or that of the child. The two other smaller figures are either older daughters or servant-maids; their outstretched hands seem to express their delight in the gaiety of the little one. The wool-basket below the chair indicates that the deceased was a thrifty and diligent housekeeper" (Helbig). We shall have a good deal to say, in a later room (see Ch. XIII.), about the motives and characteristics of these sepulchral reliefs. Meanwhile we may note in this specimen "a fine example of archaic Greek sculpture at the stage just before it passed to greater freedom, and threw off the restraint which is still marked here in the stiff draperies and uniform lowness of relief."

Below this relief is the fragment (No. 130) of a **foot of a colossal statue of Apollo,** which was set up in his sacred isle of Delos by the Naxians. The base, which is still *in situ*, is inscribed with the words: "I am of the same stone both statue and base." This fragment was removed from the now deserted island in 1818. (In later years, 1873-88, Delos has yielded a rich field to the excavator. See ch. v. in M. Diehl's *Excursions in Greece.*)

We now turn to the north-west door, leading into the next room. On our left as we approach the door we may note an archaic female head—also of the sixth century—with hollow eyes and three rows of curls, and yet another head of "Apollo" (No. 208), with curious corkscrew curls. It is supposed that this is a later copy of an archaic work in bronze:—

"A really ancient work, or only archaic, it certainly expresses, together with all that careful patience and hardness of workmanship which is characteristic of an early age, a certain Apolline strength—a pride and dignity in the features, so steadily composed, below the stiff, archaic arrangements of the long, fillet-bound locks. It is the exact expression of that midway position, between an involved, archaic stiffness and the free play of individual talent, which is attributed to Canachus by the ancients" (Pater, *Greek Studies*, p. 257).

☞ *The door out of this Room, opposite the one by which we entered, leads to the Ante-Room.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANTE-ROOM

"The Cnidian shrine had once another treasure, the beautiful melancholy statue of the seated Demeter of the uplifted eyes. Far from the ruins above the sea, beneath the scorched seaward wall of rock: far from the aromatic fragrance of the rock-nourished flowers, from the bees, from the playful lizards, Demeter now occupies her place in the great halls of the British Museum."—ANDREW LANG.

IN this ante-room the most notable objects are two celebrated statues—the "Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo," on the left, and "Demeter," on the right.

THE "CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER APOLLO"

This statue (209) is so called after the French Ambassador at the Porte (see p. 150), from whose collection it was purchased in 1818. The statue is fine in itself, and of interest in the historical development of Greek sculpture as representing the culmination of pre-Phidian art:—

"The statue is that of a young man, entirely nude, standing still in a restful attitude. Most early statues of single figures in attitudes of rest have the weight poised equally on both legs; this produces an almost exact correspondence on each side of the body. To advance one leg was an obvious improvement; here a further step is reached. The weight is thrown upon the right leg, and while this consequently curves outwards, the body bends slightly the opposite way, and a pleasant variety in the lines of the figure is the result. The waist is spare; the chest very strongly developed and powerfully thrown forward. It may be that this is a survival of the tendency of early sculptors to exaggerate contrasts, to make what is broad too broad, what is narrow too narrow. The arms, the extremities of which are broken, hang downward; the left bends slightly, and certainly held some object, of which there is an indication on the left leg. On the shoulder and upper arms are strongly-marked veins. The legs are long and sinewy (they have been

partially restored); the feet are also long. The head, set very erect upon the finely-developed neck and throat, is small in proportion, and the face has a melancholy expression, due to the downward turn of the corners of the mouth and the drooping eyelids. A similar expression recurs frequently on the frieze of the Parthenon; it may be that here again no particular effect of pleasure or pain was exactly intended, but an expression of some kind, some feeling of life and mobility. The hair is tied in a band made by a plait of hair drawn across the top of the forehead; below this cincture fall ringlets artistically disposed, reminding the beholder of the days when the Greeks, even in war, as at Thermopylæ, took pride in their long and carefully-combed hair. A sense of severe dignity pervades this figure, and in spite of faults of proportion and a want of suppleness and grace in the attitude, it is strikingly suggestive of reserved power in rest" (Upcott, *Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 26).

In this same alcove there are two heads which are clearly replicas of the statue just described. No. 210 was found in the Temple of Apollo at Cyrenè; No. 211 was found in 1882 at a cottage at Ventnor, whither its owner had doubtless brought it from Greece. At Athens ("Apollo on the Omphalos," National Museum, No. 45) there is a version of the whole statue, and there is another at Rome (Capitoline Museum). It is clear from these numerous copies that the original was famous, but there has been much discussion among archæologists as to the subject of the statue and the school of art to which it should be referred. The sculptors commonly suggested are Calamis and Callimachus, artists of the transitionary period immediately preceding Phidias. It is generally supposed that the figure is an Apollo; though some have argued that it must be a pugilist, since "the proportions are rather suited to a patron of pugilism than to the leader of a celestial orchestra." Such wide differences as this between able critics in their interpretation of ancient statues are not uncommon, and illustrate a general characteristic of Greek art, at any rate in its earlier phases. As Ruskin pointed out, Greek art seldom aims at the expression of personal character; "and, continually, it becomes a question respecting finished statues, if without attributes, Is this Bacchus or Apollo, Zeus or Poseidon?" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 193). The statue before us is a development of the early type of "Apollo statues" which we discussed in the last room; and, as we have seen, it exhibits in the bodily forms a great advance. In the statue which we have next to examine, and which belongs to a later period, we shall

find a study in expression which, for subtlety and refinement, recalls the Florentine School.

We may, however, first call attention to the collection of small heads and other pieces of sculpture in wall-cases in the Apollo alcove. They come mostly from Cyrenè. One is especially fine (1454).

THE DEMETER OF CNIDUS

In the opposite alcove is one of the principal treasures of the British Museum—the beautiful Demeter (1300), from the ruins of Cnidus, the little town in Caria, Asia Minor, famous in ancient times for its statue of Venus by Praxiteles. This Demeter was found by Sir Charles Newton in the spring of 1858 among the ruins of a small temple of the goddess. He first discovered the little statue of Persephonè, presently to be described. Next he unearthed the base of a statue with an inscription recording the dedication of a temple and statue to Demeter and Persephonè by Chrysina, wife of Hippocrates and mother of Chrysogonè. A large number of antiquities further identifying the place as a temple of Demeter surrounded by its sacred precinct was found at the same time. Some are in this alcove; of the remainder the most important are a standing statue of Demeter in the Hall of Inscriptions, and a statuette of Persephonè in the Ephesus Room. We shall notice these sculptures together here, as they illustrate in a deeply interesting way one of the most beautiful of Greek myths :—

"The song of Demeter and her daughter Persephone (Proserpine), whom Aidoneus (Pluto) carried away by the consent of Zeus, as she played apart from her mother, gathering flowers in a meadow of soft grass, and above all the strange flower of the narcissus which the earth brought forth for the first time, to snare the footsteps of the flower-like girl. She stretched forth her hands to take the flower; thereupon the earth opened, and the king of the great nation of the dead sprang out with his immortal horses. He seized the unwilling girl, and bore her away weeping on his golden chariot. . . . The peaks of the hills and the depths of the sea echoed her cry. And her mother heard it. A sharp pain seized her at the heart; she plucked the veil from her hair, and cast down the blue hood from her shoulders, and fled forth like a bird, seeking Persephone over dry land and sea. . . . Then a more terrible grief took possession of Demeter, and, in her anger against Zeus, she forsook the assembly of the gods and abode among men, for a long time veiling her beauty under a worn countenance, so

that none who looked upon her knew her, until she came to the house of Celeus, who was then king of Eleusis. She seemed as an aged woman whose time of child-bearing is gone by, and from whom the gifts of Aphrodite have been withdrawn, like one of the hired servants who nurse the children in kings' palaces. (And there she consented to remain, and become the nurse of the young child whom Metaneira had lately borne to Celeus. But Metaneira suspected her, and the goddess was wrath.) . . . So, all night, trembling with fear, they sought to propitiate the glorious goddess; and in the morning they told all to Celeus. And he, according to the commands of the goddess, built a fair temple; and all the people assisted. Then Demeter returned, and sat down within the temple walls, and remained still apart from the company of the gods, alone in her wasting regret for her daughter Persephone. And, in her anger, she sent upon the earth a year of grievous famine, and the whole human race had like to have perished, unless Zeus had interfered. Zeus sent Hermes into the kingdom of the dead, and Aidoneus bade Persephone return. And Persephone arose up quickly in great joy; only, ere she departed, he caused her to eat a morsel of sweet pomegranate, designing secretly thereby that she should not remain always upon earth, but might some time return to him. And Hermes brought Persephone to the door of the temple where her mother was. Then Zeus ordained that Persephone should remain two parts of the year with her mother, and one-third part only with her husband in the kingdom of the dead. So Demeter suffered the earth to yield its fruits once more, and the land was laden with leaves and flowers and waving corn" (From the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Pater's translation).

Mr. Pater points out that in all Greek myths we may trace three successive phases. Thus the myth of Demeter—goddess of corn and fruits—is primarily a legendary description of the order of summer and winter. Then the myth passes into the hands of the poets, who elaborate its human interest and weave around it a pathetic story of mother and daughter. Lastly, the myth enters upon an ethical phase. Demeter becomes the type of Divine Grief; Persephonè, the goddess of death, but with a promise of life to come.[1] We shall find traces of all these three influences in the beautiful sculptures which we are now to examine.

The Standing Demeter (1301, in the Hall of Inscriptions).—Found by Newton in the sacred enclosure of Demeter at Cnidus:—

[1] This is an account of the myth in its literary phases. For rival theories of its origin, the reader should consult Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Mr. Lang's criticism of that work. See also an introductory essay in the latter's *Homeric Hymns* (1899).

"Immediately in front of the statue was a base, inscribed with a dedication to the Infernal Deities by Nikokleia, wife of Apollophanes. If this base belongs to the statue, as would seem from the relative positions in which they were found, the figure would represent Demeter. The type is peculiar. The features and form are those of an elderly woman wasted with sorrow, and do not exhibit that matronly comeliness and maturity of form which usually characterise Demeter in ancient art. If we suppose this figure to be Demeter, the deviation from her usual type can only be explained by supposing that she is here represented as the *mater dolorosa* of Hellenic mythology, disconsolate for the loss of her daughter." We have seen that in the Homeric hymn to Demeter it is stated that the goddess, while wandering in search of her lost Persephone, assumed the form and garb of an old woman. "The description accords very well with this statue. It may be observed that, contrary to the usual practice in ancient statuary, the eyes are represented looking up. It is possible that the artist of this statue may have intended to represent Demeter looking up to the god Helios, and imploring him to aid her in her search. It may be objected, on the other hand, that the type of the features and form are hardly in character with ideal representation, and that the statue must, therefore, be a portrait. In that case it probably represents a priestess of the temenos" (Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. pp. 186-187).

This latter view is accepted by many authorities. Hirschfeld sees in the figure the most ancient example of what afterwards became a favourite Roman type—a portrait statue of a priestess dedicated by herself in fulfilment of a vow made in times of trouble (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Pt. iv. p. 20). Mr. Pater finds it "hard not to believe that this work is in some way connected with the legend of the place to which it belonged, and the main subject of which it realises so completely." He interprets the motive thus:—

"The Homeric hymn, as we saw, had its sculptural motives, the great gestures of Demeter, who was ever the stately goddess, as she followed the daughters of Celeus, or sat by the well-side, or went out and in, through the halls of the palace, expressed in monumental words. With the sentiment of that monumental Homeric presence this statue is penetrated, uniting a certain solemnity of attitude and bearing to a profound piteousness, an unrivalled pathos of expression. . . . It is the very type of the wandering woman, going grandly, indeed, as Homer describes her, yet so human in her anguish, that we seem to recognise some far-descended shadow of her, in the homely figure of the roughly-clad French peasant woman, who, in one of Corot's pictures, is hasting along under a sad light, as the day goes out behind

the little hill. We have watched the growth of the merely personal sentiment in the story; and we may notice that, if this figure be indeed Demeter, then the conception of her has become wholly humanised; no trace of the primitive cosmical import of the myth, no colour or scent of the mystical earth remains about it" (*Greek Studies*, p. 148).

Demeter Enthroned (in the Ante-room).—Different, but equally beautiful, is the motive of this exquisite work:—

"The features have the matured and perfect beauty which befits the mother of Proserpine; a divine calm is diffused over the features, such as we may conceive the goddess to have worn on receiving back from Hades her long-lost daughter. . . . In the suave and tranquil beauty of this Demeter, the sculptor has sought to idealise the sacred idea of maternity. In expressing this the sculptor has, by a singular anticipation, thrown into her countenance an expression which, had it been seen by one of the early Italian painters, might have modified the conventional type of the Madonna. It has been truly said that the countenance of this Cnidian Demeter is in expression the most Christian work in early sculpture" (Newton, *Travels*, ii. 177, and *Portfolio*, 1874, p. 103).

"In the lines of her countenance are an inexpressible softness and loving tenderness, combined with the expression of a sorrow which has become chastened with time. The hair and veil serve to force the expression back upon itself. . . . Can it be only the result of chance that Christian artists have also represented the Madonna wearing a veil? The centre of the ethical religion of the Greeks was formed by the worship of Demeter and Persephone in the mysteries of Eleusis. In the centre also of the Christian religion is the figure of a mother who lives only for her child and in her child, who in the same way grieves for the loss of her son, and finds blessedness in the spiritual contemplation of him. Suppose a Christian artist were to give his Madonna the head of our Demeter, he would certainly not be censured for it. Indeed, who knows if modern critics, unaware of the ancient prototype, might not declare that here at last the problem was solved how to combine classic form with the depth of Christian sentiment? Such a criticism would teach us two things: first, that the power of rendering the deep emotions of the soul was by no means foreign to ancient art; and, secondly, that it is the general feeling of humanity in its highest sense, not dogmatism, which asserts itself in all art. Whether Madonna or Demeter, it is her pure womanliness that draws us towards her, or, in Goethe's words—

Das ewig Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan."

(Brunn in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Series, xi. p. 80.)

It should be observed that the back of this statue is left flat —a proof that it must have been placed in a niche.

Statuette of Persephonè (1302, in the Ephesus Room).— "I commenced my excavation," says Newton, "and in the course of half an hour came upon a small statuette, lying only a few inches below the surface of the soil, and perfect, all but the head, which I found broken off close by. It represents a draped female figure, wearing the tall cylindrical head-dress which, from its resemblance to a corn measure, is called *modius*, and holding in her right hand a pomegranate flower.[1] . . . The statuette has no mark of having ever been attached to a base; it was, therefore, possibly carried about as an idol in religious rites" (*Travels and Discoveries*, ii. 176, 198). Mr. Pater's description is full of beauty and interest:—

"The figure of Persephone is but seventeen inches high, a daintily handled toy of Parian marble, the miniature copy perhaps of a much larger work. The conception of Demeter is throughout chiefly human. In contrast, Persephone is wholly unearthly; and as sorrow is the characteristic sentiment of Demeter, so awe of Persephone. . . . Treated as it is in the Homeric hymn, and still more in this statue, the figure of Persephone may be regarded as the result of many efforts to lift the old Chthonian gloom, still lingering on in heavier souls, concerning the grave—to connect it with impressions of dignity and beauty, and a certain sweetness even; it is meant to make men in love, or at least at peace, with death. . . . The image of Persephone, as it is here composed, with the tall, tower-like head-dress, from which the veil depends—the corn-basket, originally carried thus by the Greek women, balanced on the head—giving the figure unusual length, has the air of a body bound about with grave-clothes; while the archaic hands and feet, and a certain stiffness in the folds of the drapery, give it something of a hieratic character, and to the modern observer may suggest a sort of kinship with the more chastened kind of Gothic work" (*Greek Studies*, p. 154).

With regard to the workmanship of these statues generally, Newton notes in them "more tenderness and refinement of expression and greater richness of line," while at the same time they are "less grand and monumental" than the statues of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, with which they are

[1] The pomegranate, of which Pluto gave Persephonè to eat and which the sculptor placed in her hand, passed on into Italian literature and Christian art (see Pater's *Greek Studies*, p. 154). It is one of the many instances of the continuous evolution of art, and of Christian adaptation of pagan legends. The pomegranate becomes a symbol of the under-world, and the mediæval painters place it "into the childish hands of Him who, if men 'go down into hell, is there also.'"

probably contemporary. They are indeed of peculiar interest as revealing a side of Greek thought and art which is not often apparent, namely, that "worship of sorrow," as Goethe called it, which is sometimes supposed to have had almost no place in the religion of the Greeks (see again on this point Pater's *Greek Studies;* the chapter in that book on "The Myth of Demeter and Persephone" is the best of commentaries on the statues before us).

Who was the artist to whose hands or influence these interesting statues may be ascribed? Newton decides from the evidence of the inscriptions that the date of the dedication of the temple was about 350 B.C., and thinks that the statues may have been executed under the influence of Praxiteles, whose Aphroditè was the chief glory of Cnidus. Other critics, dwelling on the subtle mixture of expression in the Seated Demeter, assign the work to the School of Scopas. Professor E. Gardner, combining both views, ascribes it to "a sculptor who was the associate of both during their activity in Asia Minor" (see *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 416).

The temple of Demeter, in which these sculptures were found, seems to have been a small chapel, situated in private grounds. The spot presents indications of volcanic disturbance, as if a chasm in the earth had opened there—a fact which would explain the choice of site for a temple to Demeter and the infernal deities.

In addition to the larger statues and several small votive figures of Demeter, a large number of lamps were found (p. 712), and a collection of spells devoting certain persons to the infernal deities (p. 547). (For further descriptions and discussions of the Cnidian shrine of Demeter the reader may consult "Demeter at Eleusis and Cnidus" in Mr. Dyer's *The Gods in Greece.* A full account of the excavations at Cnidus is given in ch. xliv. of Newton's *Travels and Discoveries.*)

Among other objects discovered were several marble breasts (probably dedicatory offerings) and fragments of statues (preserved in the glass case in this alcove); also two marble pigs (one of which stands on a shelf behind the Seated Demeter):—

"In the worship of Persephone and Demeter the pig was a symbol of special import.[1] When my Turkish workmen had dug out these

[1] For a discussion of the pig question in this connection, see Lang's

marble representations of the unclean animal, they exchanged knowing glances one with another. It was tacitly agreed that these objects must on no account be recognised as pigs, especially in the presence of the Giaour; so they insisted on calling them marble bears, a pious and convenient euphemism in which I was quite ready to acquiesce" (Newton's *Travels*, ii. 181).

Homeric Hymns, pp. 63-68. The pig played a great part in the ritual of Demeter. The pig was sacrificed to her, and the initiate in the mysteries brought pigs to Eleusis and bathed with them in the sea. Gardeners will have no difficulty in seeing in the marble pigs of Demeter a tribute to the fruitful virtues of pig manure.

CHAPTER IX

THE EPHESUS ROOM

"Not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth. And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians." —*Acts of the Apostles*, xix. 26-28.

> Strange clouded fragments of the ancient glory,
> Late lingerers of the company divine; . . .
> Yet even in ruin of their marble limbs
> They breathe of that far world wherefrom they came,
> Of liquid light and harmonies serene,
> Lost halls of Heaven and large Olympian air.
>
> E. MYERS.

FEW chapters in the romance of archæology are more interesting than that of which visible memorials stand before us in this room, and which tells how the Great Temple of Diana of the Ephesians was discovered by Christian hands sixteen centuries after its overthrow, and its broken fragments were set up one upon the other in our Museum Gallery. The remains in this room include also stones from the Great Theatre which witnessed the uproar caused by the preaching of St. Paul. The Temple and the worship of the goddess survived the Apostle's denunciations. Many splendid images—made by the guild of Demetrius the silversmith, as we know from inscriptions—were discovered among the ruins (see p. 5), dedicated to Diana of the Ephesians in the Christian era. Yet the forebodings of Demetrius were in the appointed time made true. In the year 262 A.D. the city and temple were destroyed by the Goths. The city never recovered its former

splendour, and at last sank into a wretched Turkish village, the name of which—Ayasaluk—preserved, in a corrupted form, the title of St. John (Hagios Theologos). The ruins of the temple, after serving as a quarry for the beautifiers of Constantinople and the builders of Christian Rome, were finally covered deep with mud by the river Caÿster, and tobacco—still of some reputation for its quality—was grown upon the land once occupied by the famous city and its still more famous shrine. The site of the temple was unsuspected until the laborious excavations of the late Mr. J. T. Wood, continued over a space of eleven years, were at last rewarded by the success whose trophies are now placed in this Ephesus Room.

The excavations, conducted for the Trustees of the Museum, commenced in May 1863, and six years elapsed before Mr. Wood struck upon the boundary wall of the temple. It was the discovery of the famous Salutarian Inscription (see p. 5) which gave him the necessary clue. In his book (*Discoveries at Ephesus*, 1877) very interesting accounts will be found of his many and incessant difficulties. What with rascally and superstitious pashas, fevers, brigands, and bad workmen, it may be said that Mr. Wood also had to "fight with wild beasts at Ephesus." It was "on the last day of 1869 that the marble pavement of the temple, so long lost, so long sought for, and so long almost despaired of, was at length actually found, at a depth of nearly twenty feet below the present surface of the ground." "I congratulate you most warmly," wrote the late M. Waddington—the eminent scholar and afterwards French ambassador in London—"on your most important discovery, the more so because it is not the result of a lucky accident, but entirely due to your wonderful perseverance and tenacity under difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances." From that day till 25th March 1874, when the works were abandoned, discoveries of the utmost interest were made. Heathen theatres, temples, inscriptions, coins, statuettes; Christian tombs and a font; and a vast quantity of shells of oysters, on which the Ephesians had once feasted, were among the things found. The strangest, perhaps, of all the "finds" was the discovery, partly below the foundations of the later temple and partly built into its walls, of remains of the earlier temple which we have already examined (Ch. VII.). The total cost of the excavations from first to last was £16,000.

The earlier temple was, as we have seen, burnt down in 356 B.C. The temple which replaced it was considered in after times the most perfect model of Ionic architecture, and was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders of the World.[1] The columns of the peristyle, 60 feet high, were 100 in number, 27 of them being the gifts of kings. Alexander the Great, after his victories, offered to pay the whole cost of reconstruction, on condition that he might inscribe his name as dedicator. This offer, suggested perhaps by a desire to emulate Crœsus (see p. 105), was declined. "The priests, who probably still secretly favoured the cause of the Persian king, replied with an adroit cunning that it was not meet for a god to make dedication to gods." The architect was Dinocrates, and Scopas was one of the sculptors employed in the decoration. Pliny says that one of the columns was sculptured by that artist.

The visitor, before passing on to examine the remains, should consult the plans which hang above the glass case in the centre of the west wall. These plans, drawn by Dr. A. S. Murray, give a conjectural restoration of the temple; the existing portions, which we can examine in this room, are tinted gray.

The best idea of the size of the temple will be obtained by looking at the huge **base of a column** (1220), in the middle of the room (east side). This was found by Mr. Wood *in situ*, and has been built up here:—

"On 6th February 1871 the fine base of one of the columns was discovered in position. A ladder was placed for me to descend the hole; but I was so excited and so careless in my hurry to get down, that I fell head foremost, much to the amusement of the men, as I suppose it must have been, although they did not show it in the slightest degree. This base is now re-erected in the British Museum, and gives a very fair notion of the grand scale on which the last

[1] An epigram in the Greek Anthology says:—

The chariot-ridden walls of Babylon,
Mausolus' shrine, the Zeus of Pelops' isle,
The Hanging Gardens, Statue of the Sun,
The towering Pyramids' stupendous pile—
These have I seen; but when before mine eyes
Arose the cloud-capped fane of Artemis,
All were bedimmed and vanished; 'neath the skies
Never the sun beheld a work like this.

(Translation in A. J. Butler's *Amaranth and Asphodel*.)

temple was built. Portions of this base retained much of the red colour with which it had been originally tinted, but exposure to air and light has so completely dissipated the colour that there are now no signs of it" (*Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 177).

The most remarkable architectural feature of the temple was the use of **sculptured columns.** This peculiarity—noticed by Pliny (*columnæ cælatæ*), and now confirmed by the excavations—was, as we have seen, copied from the older temple. Remains of four of these columns are ranged on the west side of the room. They show (*a*) a square base, sculptured in high relief; (*b*) above which is the lowermost drum of the column, sculptured in low relief; (*c*) surmounted by fluted columns. The subjects (beginning on the left) are :—

(1) 1200-1203. On the base, Hercules and an Amazon; on the drum, figures in Persian costume.

(2) 1204-1206. The second column is the only one in a complete enough state to give an adequate notion of its design and style. Both alike are very interesting, and the figures of which the heads are preserved are most beautiful. "There is of course no reason for supposing that this, the one column preserved, is the one which Scopas made. But his influence and that of his associates was at this time predominant in Asia Minor, and so it is likely enough to reflect the character of his art, even if it be not by his own hand" (E. Gardner).[1] On the base is a combat of Hercules and Cycnus. On the drum is a subject which possesses peculiar interest from its connection with one of the most pathetic stories of Greek tragedy, the story of Alcestis (the subject of the best known of the plays of Euripides, familiar to English readers from Browning's *Balaustion*, where also Leighton's picture of it is commemorated). Hercules, it will be remembered, recovers Alcestis from Death by force, after she has devoted herself to

[1] Professor E. Gardner adds, however, that he can see in the studied grace of these figures little to remind him of Scopas, the master of passion. "There is more of the influence of Praxiteles" (*Handbook*, p. 420). According to another writer, these figures "have all the qualities by which we recognise a genuine work of Scopas. The expression of pathos in the mouth of the winged figure, the upturned eye of Hermes with its slightly contracted eyebrow, and the strong resemblance they all bear to the heads from Tegea by the same master, make the conjecture almost a certainty" (Wherry's *Greek Sculpture with Story and Song*, p. 245). Furtwängles ascribes the Ephesus column to Scopas under the influence of Praxiteler (*Masterpieces*, p. 301).

save the life of her husband Admetus. The sculptor here tells the story somewhat differently:—

"The scene is placed in the lower world. Hades (on the spectator's right) is seated; before him stands Persephone; next comes Hermes, conductor of souls, easily identified by his caduceus and petasos hanging from his neck; next to him is Alcestis, whose head, like that of Persephone, has been broken off; next an enigmatical figure wearing large wings and a sword hanging by a belt. This figure is supposed to personify Death. Beyond him must have stood Heracles. The gods of the lower world have yielded to the demands of Heracles; and Hermes, with upturned face already seeking the regions of the air, is about to lead Alcestis thither; she gathers up her robe to follow him; Death moves aside as if relinquishing his claim. This last is one of the most striking figures of antiquity. So great was the Greek love of beauty and desire to banish from sight all that was ugly and repulsive, that the sculptor has not merely divested Death of his terrors, but even represented him under the form of a beautiful youth. Whatever may have been their emotions in the actual presence of death, their artistic sense required that the permanent expression of them should be calm and reserved"[1] (Upcott's *Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 86).

It may be interesting to add that this sculptured drum (weighing more than 11 tons) was found turned completely over and deeply buried in sand and marble chippings, and was almost entirely under water. It took fifteen men fifteen days to haul it up. This fact will give some idea of the expense of moving these large masses of marble to London.

(3) 1207-1211. On the base of the third sculptured column are Nereids riding on sea-horses; above, a group not identified.

(4) 1212-1213. On the base, Victories leading animals to sacrifice; above, not identified.

[1] See further on this subject, Ch. XIII., where the Greek tombstones are described. The interpretation given above has been commonly accepted. Mr. A. H. Smith, however, has recently suggested that the subject is the making of Pandora, as told by Hesiod (see the vase with this subject, p. 372). Zeus had hidden the fire from mankind and Prometheus stole it, hidden in his reed. Zeus in wrath devised a scheme of vengeance, He bade Hephæstus make a fair maiden, and bade Athena teach her weaving and other gods to give each a gift. When the gods had endowed Pandora, then Zeus bade Hermes take her to Epimetheus, and Epimetheus received her, contrary to the counsel of Prometheus. According to Mr. Smith, "Alcestis is Pandora, the winged figure is Eros; Hermes is leading Pandora forth. His opened mouth = the breathing forth of gift of speech to Pandora. Zeus is sitting; the goddess next holds out a necklace, one of Pandora's gifts" (*J.H.S.* xi. 278).

Behind these sculptured columns, on the west side of the room, are various other architectural remains from Ephesus—two Ionic capitals, with part of the shafts restored in plaster, a lion's head from the cornice, a fragment of an acroterion or ornament from the apex of the pediment, two steps from the ascent to the temple, a Corinthian capital, and various mouldings, chiefly of the familiar egg pattern. The restored Ionic capital (1224), surmounted by a piece of the **architrave,** is especially interesting. Pliny gives a curious account of the way in which the architrave was raised :—

"This the architect effected by means of bags filled with sand, which he piled up upon an inclined plane until they reached beyond the capitals of the columns ; then, as he gradually emptied the lower bags, the architraves insensibly settled in the places assigned them. But the greatest difficulty of all was found in laying the lintel which he placed over the entrance doors. It was an enormous mass of stone, and by no possibility could it be brought to the level upon the jambs which formed its bed ; in consequence of which, the architect was driven to such a state of anxiety and desperation as to contemplate suicide. Wearied and quite worn out by such thoughts as these, during the night, they say, he beheld in a dream the goddess in honour of whom the temple was being erected, who exhorted him to live on, for that she herself had placed the stone in its proper position. And such, in fact, next morning, was found to be the case, the stone apparently having come to the proper level by dint of its own weight" (xxxvi. c. 22).

In the north-west corner, against the wall, are some remains of sculpture. We may notice (going from north to south) part of a **statue of an emperor.** This was found in the great theatre and is of Roman period. On the breastplate are a Medusa's head and two griffins.

Triton blowing a Shell (1263).—This seems to have been a portion of the frieze from the proscenium of the theatre. The subject is interesting — a characteristic piece of the pagan world ; as Wordsworth sings :—

> Great God ! I'd rather be
> A pagan suckled in a creed outworn . . .
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea ;
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.

Also from the great theatre are the fragments of **Satyrs** (1248-1250) which belonged to a frieze. The humorous relief of **Pan as a warrior** (1270) is curious.

Gladiators and Grain Waggon (1285).—Found near one of the gates of the city; it may once have stood above the gate, and have represented "Peace and War." On a ledge farther on are various more or less mutilated **statues**, found in the theatre. No. 754 is a fragment of a **sepulchral relief.** Against the south wall is an interesting fragment, the lower half of a statue of **Lucius Verus** (1256, cf. p. 32). The base is inscribed (in Greek), "This statue to Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, the son of the emperor, was set up by Vedius Antoninus." The upper part of the statue was afterwards found; with some other antiquities it was put on board a sailing vessel which was wrecked, and it was never recovered.

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

We now make a second tour of the room in order to note the principal pieces among the miscellaneous sculptures here exhibited.

On either side of the door by which we entered are interesting heads:—

On the right of the doorway as we enter is a very fine head of **an armed runner** or combatant. A Græco-Roman copy, probably from a work by Cresilas; found at Rome and acquired by the Museum in 1899. The helmet is exactly like those bronze helmets to be found in various museums, which could be thrust back upon the nape of the neck, leaving the face uncovered. It is similar to the helmet of the bust of Pericles in the Elgin room, which is supposed to be a copy from a work by Cresilas, the contemporary of Phidias:—

"The peculiar interest of the bust is due to the intensity of the sorrowful emotion expressed by the features. The execution of the face, its severe forms, and the thoroughness of the modelling throughout, attest the hand of a highly-trained artist of a noble period, yet retain slight traces of an archaic style in the severity of treatment, which is very apparent in the eyelids. It has been suggested that we have here the head of a runner in the funeral games, perhaps of Patroclus" (*Athenæum*, 4th March 1899).

Especially fine in this head is the expression of life in the parted lips. Shelley, in one of his admirable letters from Rome on ancient art, notices this motive as characteristic of the Greek sculptors:—

"Their lips are parted: a delicate mode of indicating the fervour of their desire to arrive at the destined resting-place, and to express the eager respiration of their speed. Indeed, so essential to beauty were the forms expressive of the exercise of the imagination and the affections considered by *Greek* artists, that no ideal figure of antiquity, not destined to some representation directly exclusive of such a character, is to be found with closed lips" (*Essays and Letters from Abroad*, 1840, ii. 207).

On the other side of the door is the **head of a youth**, bound with a narrow diadem, the hair parted in the middle, falling in a mass of curls on the temples, and gathered into a thick roll behind. This fine head resembles, in these respects and in the type of face, a marble head in Munich (engraved in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 81), which has been called *Iacchus* from its general likeness to the head of that divine and beautiful youth, who stood as torch-bearer between Demeter and Korè on the well-known marble relief from Eleusis, now in Athens. The present example, acquired by the Museum in 1898, was found in Rome and is "a Græco-Roman copy, probably from an original by an Athenian sculptor shortly after the time of Phidias. The manner in which the front part of the hair is separated from the back part is suggestive of a follower of the sculptor Calamis. The rendering of the eyelids and eyebrows, and of the hair on the brow and temples, seems to indicate an original in bronze" (*British Museum Return*, 1899, p. 59).

The large **capital, sculptured with winged bulls** (1510), was found embedded in a hillock on the site of the agora at Salamis in Cyprus. No other works related to it were found. It is supposed to have surmounted a monumental column. It was probably intended to be used in later ages as a font in a Byzantine church. It was found in the excavations carried on in 1890 by Messrs. H. A. Tubbs and J. A. R. Munro on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund. One of the excavators thus discusses its artistic qualities:—

"The design is no doubt oriental. The two bulls back to back with their heads projecting to either side are found on the capitals from the Palace of Darius at Persepolis, where they were doubtless copied from older models in the art of Chaldæa and Assyria. But one cannot but feel how much the design has been improved upon in the work before us. The curtailment of the bulls to heads and shoulders gets rid of much of the grotesque awkwardness of the earlier composition, and gives greater relative prominence to the heads. The addition of wings

spreading from the shoulders and curling forwards like volutes is a happy, though perhaps not original, touch. On the other hand, the wings must have looked rather small and cramped, and the unity of the design is spoilt, for the artist has now to find something to fill the centre face of the capital between the wings. He does it with a female figure in Caryatid position, who passes below the waist into a curious floral ornament. The filling is well adapted to the space, and the contrast between the simple broad outer surfaces and the broken complicated play of light and shade in the middle section is not unpleasing. But the effect is none the less inartistic. Wholeness is sacrificed. The contrast between the big bulls and the little woman is too emphatic, and the centre has too much the appearance of a decorative patch on a bold sculpturesque design. . . . The bull's head projects boldly and effectively. The wings are treated in broad parallel curves, without any attempt at feathering. The rough hair, on the other hand, of the forehead and front face is carefully rendered, and the folds of hide on the neck are not forgotten. The modelling above the nostrils, and the expression of the small truculent eye, are well done. The female figure is dressed in a simple sleeveless *chiton* gathered in by a band round the waist. The work displays considerable skill in the rendering of the form, and some feeling for the difference of texture between the drapery and the flesh. On the whole the workmanship, if a little dry, is good and effective. Yet the capital must be of comparatively late date. The material, the style, and the taste displayed in the Caryatid, all prevent our assigning it to an earlier period than the Ptolemaic, even if it be no later, as well it may. The design is extremely interesting as showing how oriental motives persisted in the art of Cyprus after the final establishment of Hellenic culture" (J. A. R. Munro in *J.H.S.* xii. pp. 133-135).

On the ledge in the south-east corner are among other objects:—

The **Persephonè** (1302) from Cnidus, which has been already described (p. 125). The **Aphroditè** (1314) is from the same place. The **Eros**, from the Castellani collection, and the **Hermes**, Greek work of the fourth century, are both very fine. The **male head** from Cyrenè (1506), with inlaid eyes, is especially interesting as an example of polychrome or inlaid sculpture:—

"The crown of the head is cut away, so as to form a point, and it is evident that a helmet or other head-dress has been fitted on to it, doubtless of a different-coloured marble. The eyes are inserted in hollow sockets. The whites of the eyes, formed of marble, still remain in these sockets. The pupils, which have probably been made of coloured vitreous pastes, have fallen out. All round the marble eyes the edge of a thin bronze plate intervenes between the eye and the upper and lower eyelids; this edge has probably been serrated, so as

to indicate by its projection the upper and lower eyelashes" (Smith and Porcher, p. 92).

Below the ledge are some curious pieces: **Relief of Serapis and Isis,** from Rhodes, presented by the late F. T. Palgrave. A **personification of Spain**—a woman reclining, with a rabbit in a box which a boy is taking. The rabbit, as shown by coins of the time of Hadrian, was the emblem of Spain, of which country it is believed originally to have been a native.

The **Aphroditè Euploia** (1417) (giver of a favourable voyage) is interesting:—

"A small statuette representing Venus in the act of adjusting the sandal of her left foot. She leans forward, standing on her right leg, and resting her left thigh against a pillar. The toes of her raised foot, now broken away, have been supported by a dolphin. Her left arm, which is also wanting, is drawn back, and probably rested on the pillar; as the head is broken away at the base of the neck, it is uncertain in which direction it turned. Drapery hangs from a column, against which a rudder is leaning" (Smith and Porcher, p. 96).

There are many varieties and repetitions of this graceful figure, including two in the Bronze Room. Similar statuettes have been found in Crete, Rhodes, Cos, and Calymnus. There was no doubt some famous original from which they were all derived. The veil over the head of Venus in one of the bronzes represented a sail filled with favourable wind. The number of these small statuettes found in the islands of the Archipelago suggests the notion that they may have been dedicated by seafaring men after a voyage (cf. the story from Naucratis, p. 98).

The **votive relief,** No. 816, is referred to in a later chapter (p. 246).

Continuing along the east side of the room, we may notice:—**Scylla,** terminating in dogs' bodies below her waist, from Bargylia—an unusual subject in sculpture. Portrait of a **poet crowned with ivy,** "an interesting example of the half-idealised portraiture of the Alexandrine period." The pedestal with an interesting scene of farewell, No. 710, is described in a later chapter (p. 238). **Ionic columns** from Daphne (Elgin collection), near Athens, on the road to Eleusis, where there was a temple of Apollo. A **muse**—a base inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Apollodorus of Phocæa, and with a dedication in honour of Theodorus, son of Artemon. **Sculptured pedestal**

(724), with a sepulchral relief, described later on (see p. 243). **Torso of a Triton**, from Delos—"its style, with its high relief and colossal scale, may be compared with that of the sculptures from the great altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin." **Draped female torso**, from the island of Clauda, near Crete, presented by Capt. Spratt (see his *Travels and Researches in Crete*, ii. 277). The circular **altar** (1356) of coarse limestone served as a funeral cippus or tombstone; it was found on the site of the cemetery at Cnidus. The circular **pedestal** (1106), encircled with a frieze, comes from Halicarnassus. The frieze represents the nine Muses, but all the faces have been destroyed.

Very beautiful, though somewhat damaged, is the head of **Perseus**:—

"Acquired in 1879 from Alessandro Castellani with no record of its provenance. In the type of head and in the features is to be traced a powerful and pathetic original. The chin is æsthetically large, the eyes and eyebrows are strained forward as if by constant intensity of pathos, in contrast to the relaxation of muscle produced by an equable mind. Doubtless the original is to be sought in the schools of Praxiteles and Scopas" (A. S. Murray in *J.H.S.* ii. p. 55).

The winged helmet identifies him as Perseus. A replica has recently been discovered at Rome. Both must have been copies from a famous original. "Now we are acquainted through literature with one famous statue of Perseus, and with one alone, that of Myron. It stood on the Acropolis of Athens, and is mentioned by Pausanias (i. 23. 7), and also by Pliny (xxxiv. 57)." Furtwängler accordingly sees in this head a copy of the work of Myron—a sculptor to whom he gives a wider range than is found in the traditional account of him (see above, p. 49). In his discussion of this head, Furtwängler calls attention, *inter alia*, to the powerful forehead and expression of extreme energy, which is conveyed also by the broad, bony chin and the powerful muscles of the cheeks:—

"A long train of stylistic development undoubtedly lies between the Discobolus, with his impassive countenance, his severe flat hair, and the marked angle of brow and nose, and the Perseus, with his full flowing locks, straight profile, and rounder, freer modelling. Yet the Discobolus contains all the essential forms of the Perseus. This Perseus must have been a work full of grandeur and energy. The total effect, however, must have been greatly enhanced by the wings,

now missing, which, to judge from the attachments, must have been of considerable size and have given a supernatural expression to the head" (*Masterpieces*, p. 199).

In the same part of the room are some imposing fragments of **a chariot group**, presented by the late Lord Savile, from excavations conducted by him at Civita Lavinia (the ancient Lanuvium):—

"The head and neck of a horse, the size of life, were first discovered. The muzzle and ears were broken off, but otherwise it was in excellent preservation and of such fine character, animated expression, and freedom of execution, that it was evident the work was due to a Greek chisel or to some excellent imitator of Greek art; the fact of the material being of Parian marble being in favour of the former supposition. On the forehead, nose, and cheeks are the holes for the rivets holding the bronze head-gear usually found on statues of that period. (The other fragments were subsequently discovered, and have now been put together.) One remarkable circumstance connected with these horses is the individuality given to each animal; in modern sculpture of this monumental character the same horse would probably be repeated four times, but each of these horses might be a portrait; they are not even of the same size, a difference observed even in the hoofs, some of which are larger than others, while in all the frogs and parts which could hardly be seen are carefully made out" (from Lord Savile's account of his excavations, in *Archæologia*, xlix. 367).

In the north-east corner, on the right of the door leading into the Elgin room, are several interesting sculptures. Among them we may notice on the ledge a **female figure** (1473), from Cyrenè; and the (headless) **Nymph Cyrenè** (1472) (see p. 78):—

"The fashion of the time is peculiar. The sides are left open, so as to expose the breasts, between which the folds are gathered together in a broad band. The composition of the drapery is remarkable for severe and simple beauty. It is probably executed by a Greek sculptor of the best period. The type and costume are those of a young girl trained to the chase or athletic exercises. These characteristics make it probable that in this statuette we have the nymph Cyrenè herself" (Smith and Porcher, p. 94).

Below this ledge are some **gladiators** (1286), from Ephesus (who fought with literal wild beasts there); **fragment of a tombstone** (678), from Ephesus, with beautiful faces; and fragment of a **chariot group**, very spirited.

In this part of the room we must also notice the **head of a horse**, procured near Tarentum, and presented by Mr. J.

Reddie Anderson in 1882. A resemblance to the horses' heads of the Parthenon is as striking as are certain differences. We find the same simple and grand treatment of the nether jaw, but there is a closer imitation of real life. "A certain abstractness which dwells almost exclusively on the essential elements of the organism and contents itself with merely indicating all secondary features has given place to a closer imitation of nature, which copies with equal interest essential and subordinate parts, and does not even shrink from rendering the anomalies of individuals" (Michaelis in *J.H.S.* iii. 234).

The large statue (No. 432) is of **Dionysus,** and originally decorated the "choragic monument of Thrasyllus," near the Dionysiac Theatre on the south of the Acropolis at Athens—whence Lord Elgin removed it. The monument was erected to commemorate a victory gained in a dramatic contest in 320 B.C. "The figure is majestic, but the drapery is rather heavy" (A. H. Smith).

Nearer the door is a bust of **Alexander the Great.** This beautiful work is of great and various interest. It was found in the city of Alexandria, which the Macedonian founded; it is identified from its likeness to undoubted portraits as a representation, somewhat idealised, of the great conqueror; and it gives a good idea of the artistic style of the sculptor Lysippus:—

This artist, one of the most famous among the ancients, flourished about 372-316 B.C. He was a native of Sicyon. Originally employed as a bronze founder, he rose to great fame as a sculptor in that material. He is said to have produced 1500 works—the number was discovered after his death, when his strong box was opened, into which it had been his custom to put one gold coin for every work executed by him. Being in bronze, his works have all perished; no originals from his hand are preserved, and few well-authenticated copies. He established, we are told, a new system of proportions. He seems to have "exchanged the immovable dignity and repose by which the old masters suggested the possession of physical power, for new attitudes in which the exercise of physical power should be made apparent by its effect on the body and the face. The colossal frame of Hercules was a favourite study with Lysippus, for this reason especially, we presume, that of all the ancient heroes he was represented in the legends as bearing about with him always the effect of the arduousness of his labours." With Lysippus seems to have originated the type of Hercules as "a man of toil and sorrows, ever performing new labours, but wearying of his task" (cf. p. 56). One of his works most famous in antiquity was a bronze statuette of the god, which Alexander

the Great is said to have carried with him on his expeditions to be placed always on his table. A copy of this Hercules Epitrapezius, in stone, enlarged somewhat from the original, was obtained by the British Museum from Babylonia in 1881. It is signed with the name of an artist, Diogenes, otherwise unknown, and it bears clearly the evidence of having been copied from a work in bronze. Another very famous work by Lysippus was the Apoxyomenus, a figure of an athlete in the act of scraping off the sweat and dust from his body. This statue stood in front of the Baths of Agrippa at Rome, and was such a favourite with the populace that when Nero removed it to his private apartments a riot ensued, and he was forced to restore it. A marble copy of it is in the Vatican Museum, and well illustrates what ancient writers noted as characteristics of the proportions adopted by Lysippus—namely, a small head and comparatively long slim arms and legs. Other examples of the same proportions may be seen in the Bronze room here (p. 437). Lysippus was famous also for his allegorical figures. His conception of "Opportunity" as a youth standing on a rolling ball and having over his forehead a lock of hair has passed into a proverb.

The skill of Lysippus in rendering character was best shown in his portraits. He was the favourite sculptor of Alexander the Great, who gave orders, it is said, that no other artist should make portraits of him :—

"We can judge reasonably of his success from a marble head in the British Museum, with its singularly fine blending of the ideal and the real, of limitless mental power combined with ordinary passions, and of features ideally beautiful, united in one person with features nearly deformed. No doubt it must be classed as a copy, since there is no evidence of Lysippus having ever worked in marble. Nor can it be absolutely pronounced a copy after him, since there were other sculptors of eminence, such as Euphranor and Leochares, who made statues of Alexander. Yet it may reasonably be presumed to be a reproduction from a work of Lysippus. It is thoroughly Greek, and of a date not long after Alexander. The vivid animation of the face is what would be expected; we welcome, however, above all the artistic style with which the whole work is carried out, showing as it does that the sculptor was a man who retained some of the older and best traditions of his craft, adapting but not abandoning them" (Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, ii. 345).

While examining the sculptured portraits of Alexander, it will be well to bear in mind the description which Plutarch and others have given us of him :—

"His head was slightly inclined to the left, a deformity due to an inequality of the muscles of the neck. There was a liquidness about his deep-set eyes which gave a far-off look to his face. His eyebrows

were shaggy, and there was something manly, awe-inspiring, almost leonine in his glance; his hair was in curls and brushed up over his brow. These characteristics scarcely suggest to us the fearless conqueror, and seem rather to belong to the dreamer, philosopher, or poet. . . . The British Museum bust represents a youth of singularly attractive features. The head is slightly inclined towards the left; the eyes are deep-set beneath a prominent brow, and possess a far-off and *schwärmerisch* look quite in keeping with Plutarch's description; the hair falls over the neck and ears in curls, which cluster round the brow; the nostril is dilated, and the upper lip is curled as if in scorn, while there is a good deal of waywardness and sensuality in the slightly opened mouth. In fact, except in the broad, strong chin, we seem to see in this bust only the impulsive side of Alexander; here we might, indeed, recognise the murderer of Clitus, the slave of ungovernable passions, the victim of innumerable superstitions, but we look in vain for the features which should characterise the conqueror of two continents" ("Portraits of Alexander the Great," by Charles Whibley, in *Magazine of Art*, 1889, p. 265).

Partly owing to the skill of Lysippus, and partly to the commanding position of Alexander himself, whose conquests spread Hellenic art throughout the East,[1] the features of the great conqueror had a permanent effect on the sculptural type of Hellenic art—a type founded on the overhanging head, the deep-set eyes, the yearning expression which we associated with the idealised Alexander (see on this subject E. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 436). The visitor will remember in this connection the idealised head in the Second Græco-Roman Room (p. 52). Of the bust known as "The Dying Alexander," there is in the vestibule of the National Gallery a fine copy in Egyptian porphyry.

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES (CAST)

The original of which this is a cast is one of the most beautiful of extant Greek statues and one of the most important of all recent "finds." The original is still at Olympia, where it was discovered :—

[1] In the wonderful series of sarcophagi, showing splendid examples of the finest Greek sculpture, which were discovered at Sidon in 1877, and are now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople, this spread of Hellenic culture through the East finds a remarkable anticipation. On the so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus" there is a youthful warrior with the skin of a lion instead of a helmet, which probably represents Alexander himself. The style is thought to resemble that of Lysippus and his school.

"It was on the morning of May 8th, 1877, when the season was all but at its close, that the German excavators at Olympia came suddenly, all unsuspecting, on this statue. It lay face foremost on a soft heap of clay and rubbish just where it had fallen. The limbs were in part shattered, but, to the infinite joy of archæologists, face and feature were perfect. Probably the god's uplifted arm had broken the fall and saved his face. Soft moss had gathered on the cheeks, but the surface was uninjured" (J. E. Harrison's *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*, p. 251).

The legs from the knees downwards were missing; so were the greater part of Hermes's right arm, and the body and head of the child Dionysus. Afterwards the right foot of Hermes was discovered, and the body and head of the child. The fame of the discovery at once spread through the learned world, and it is now from casts and photographs one of the best known of existing works of ancient art. It is very beautiful in itself, and, moreover, it is beyond all question an original work by the famous Praxiteles; for it was found precisely where Pausanias saw "a Hermes, of marble, carrying the infant Dionysus, the work of Praxiteles." It is not a little remarkable that, out of the many thousand statues which adorned the Altis, or sacred precinct at Olympia, the only one by Praxiteles mentioned in ancient literature should thus have been preserved.

Thus slept He long, thus hath He risen so late
The Son of Maia: that the earth no more
Holds him in night sepulchral, this to him
Is nought, or eyes of gazers; his own world
He bears with him, all untoucht of Time.
Yet haply if thou gaze upon the God
In reverent silence, even to thee shall flow
From that high presence of the unconscious form
Some effluent spell, whereby thy calmëd soul
Shall be indrawn to that diviner world
Wherein his soul hath being, fair and free.
Unharmed of chance and ruin, lo, his head
Bends with half-smile benign above his charge,
The little child, the son of Semelè,
Snatched from the fierce tongues of celestial fire,
The insupportable blaze of very Zeus,
His mother's doom; but from his baby soul
The terror of that night hath passed away,
And left him blithe on his mild brother's arm,
His tender hand on that strong shoulder prest.

E. MYERS.

Before proceeding to describe the statue more minutely, a few words on the place of Praxiteles in Greek art may be useful :—

Praxiteles, second in fame, among ancient sculptors, to Phidias alone, was a native of Attica, and was in the prime of his activity about 350 B.C.—or a century later than Phidias. If art be the mirror of the age, we may find in the changes wrought by that century in the history and social life of Greece an explanation of the change between the art of Phidias and the art of Praxiteles. The Peloponnesian war had succeeded the Persian—a war among Greeks instead of a war against a common enemy; philosophy had superseded politics in the interests of men; and individual development rather than the organisation of the state was the end of life. The corresponding change in the ideals of sculptors was the substitution of what the Greeks called *pathos* for *ethos*—of individual emotion, that is, for fixed types of character. This is the distinguishing note of the school of Scopas and Praxiteles as contrasted with the school of Phidias. Greek art of the earlier period is distinguished by the absence of individual character and in the great time by the presence of "colossal calm." But Scopas was the artist of passion; Praxiteles, of moods. Praxiteles, says an ancient writer, "blended with his marble the emotions of the soul." The emotions he sought to express were such as are consonant with graceful attitudes and beautiful forms. "In daring flights of original genius he could not follow Scopas; but in the beauty, grace, and tenderness, in the exquisite refinement and winning charm with which he endows the creations of his genius, he has no equal" (Perry).

Phidias aimed at calm, dignity, majesty; Praxiteles rather at charm and grace. Phidias, we may say, represented men as gods; Praxiteles, gods as men. We may in some ways liken him to Raphael. Just as Raphael's imitators degenerated into insipidity, triviality, or attitudinarianism, so from Praxiteles the descent was easy to over-sweetness, to sensualism, to *genre*. The perversion of his Aphroditè is a case in point (see p. 43). But Praxiteles himself still moved on the ideal plane. "The beauty at which he aimed was not merely corporeal; it was the beauty of tender, loving, or pathetic emotions." One or two technical characteristics of his style will be noticed presently. The works by which he was most famous in the ancient world are known to us only by copies—*e.g.*, the Aphroditè of Cnidus (see p. 74), the Faun of the Capitol, and the Eros of the Vatican. He was employed not only throughout the mainland of Greece, but at Halicarnassus, at Cnidus, and at Ephesus. There is in the British Museum a head which is believed to be an original work by Praxiteles, the so-called "Aberdeen Head" (see p. 218).

Turning now to the Hermes, we see the god in the very spring-tide of his beauty, as Homer describes him "in the likeness of a young man, with the first down on his lip, when

youth is most graceful." The features of his oval face, under the curly hair that encircles the brow, are refined, strong, and beautiful. The profile is of the straight Greek type, and over the eyebrows is "the bar of Michael Angelo." This feature serves to throw the eyes and their sockets more into shadow, and therein to increase their expressiveness (see also under Scopas, p. 218). The form is the perfection of manly grace. It is noticeable that the child is sculptured in a rough and somewhat awkward fashion. In this respect something of the merely symbolic character of archaic art clings to the work of Praxiteles. The child is introduced not for his own sake, but only as an attribute of the god. He lays his little hand trustingly on the shoulder of Hermes. The child's left arm and the right arm of Hermes are missing, and various restorations have been proposed. Possibly Hermes held a bunch of grapes, towards which the child stretched his missing arm (see p. 692). But however this may have been, Hermes is looking not at the child, but past him into the distance. "Compared with the heads that are left to us in the Parthenon frieze, there seems to be on the face of Hermes the shadow of a nameless unrest; the mouth has lost its old proud setness. It is the same with the meditative, dreamy eyes; we seem to expect some change of expression every moment to flit across the face" (J. E. Harrison). Another characteristic difference from earlier art is in the pose. Archaic figures stand on both feet alike, planted squarely. Then Polyclitus introduced the innovation of making his figures throw their chief weight on one leg (p. 38); but they still stood erect and self-supporting. Praxiteles made his figures lean for support on some extraneous structure, and was then able to throw them into the most graceful curves. The drapery thrown over the tree-stump is very realistic. It is said that when the photograph of the Hermes was first shown to a great German critic, he exclaimed, "Why did they leave that cloth hanging there when they photographed the statue?" "But no reproductions," says Mr. Frazer, "give an adequate idea of the beauty of the original. The dead white colour and the mealy texture of casts give no conception of the soft, glowing, flesh-like, seemingly elastic surface of the original. Looking at the original, it seems impossible to conceive that Praxiteles or any man ever attained to a greater mastery over stone than is exhibited in this astonishing work." It is therefore generally assigned to

a late period in the career of the artist. "There is not in all antiquity," says Furtwängler, "a work showing more subtle finish or more intimate mastery of all the secrets of marble technique than the Hermes."

Before passing into the Elgin room, the visitor should notice on one side of the door a **head of Venus** which is exhibited in a glass case. This is of special interest because it still retains abundant traces of the flesh tints with which ancient marbles were often painted (see above, p. 107).

CHAPTER X

THE ELGIN ROOM

Not from a vain or shallow thought
His awful Jove young Phidias[1] wrought . . .
He builded better than he knew,—
The conscious stone to beauty grew . . .
Earth proudly wears the Parthenon
As the best gem upon her zone . . .
These temples grew as grows the grass;
Art might obey, but not surpass.
The passive master lent his hand
To the vast Soul that o'er him planned.

R. W. EMERSON.

"As the light streamed across the room and died away into obscurity, there was something awful and solemn in the grand forms and heads and trunks and fragments of mighty temples and columns that lay scattered about in sublime insensibility,—the remains, the only actual remains, of a mighty people. The grand back of the Theseus would come towering close to my eye, and his broad shadow spread over the place a depth of mystery and awe."

B. R. HAYDON (1810).

THE Elgin Marbles, brought to England in 1803 and purchased for the nation in 1816, are the most celebrated of all the treasures of the British Museum. "Since the opening of the 19th century," writes a German scholar, "the British Museum has advanced with rapid strides to the supreme position of having the finest collection of antiquities in the world. It was no longer Rome, or Italy generally, which filled the rooms of this institution with late copies or imitations of Greek originals; but Greek art itself, represented by a stately series of its most beautiful creations, entered the Museum in triumph, and

[1] The poet's chronology is wrong. It is based on the idea that the Zeus of Olympia belonged to the earlier period of Phidias. It is now generally believed that the Zeus was one of his latest works.

asserted a might of simple grandeur before unknown. The British Museum must in this respect remain altogether beyond the reach of rivalry" (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 3). The distinctive value of the Elgin Marbles is well explained in this passage of Michaelis. To the Greeks themselves the sculptures of the Parthenon were overshadowed by the fame of the statue within (see p. 188); and it is remarkable that these marbles, which the men of the Renaissance travelled to see, and which throughout the nineteenth century have been the object of reverential study by the whole learned world, receive in the large body of extant classical literature nothing but the most cursory allusion. But to us the sculptures of the Parthenon have a unique value, as being the only works as yet known of which it can confidently be declared that they represent the design, if not the handiwork, of the greatest of Greek sculptors, the famous Phidias, of whom it was said that either the gods had come from heaven to inspire him, or he had been caught up to heaven to see them face to face.

Yet the "triumphant entry" of these priceless relics, of which the German critic speaks, was long deferred, and met with the greatest obstacles. The story of the Elgin Marbles is indeed a most curious chapter in the history of taste, and incidentally in that of politics and diplomacy. In 1799 Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, was appointed British Ambassador to the Porte. Having for some time been interested in archæological matters, he determined to use his sojourn in the East to forward his hobby. He first proposed to Mr. Pitt to secure some of the stones of the Parthenon for the British nation. The minister, fully occupied with Napoleon, was in no mood to attend to archæology; and Lord Elgin was thus thrown back on his own resources. He found his chance when the success of the British arms in Egypt, and the expected restitution of that province to the Porte, produced a wonderful and instantaneous change in the disposition of the Turks to the British nation. Nothing was now refused which was asked. Lord Elgin, availing himself of this opportunity, obtained in the summer of 1801 access to the Acropolis, with permission to draw, model, remove, and excavate. The firman addressed in the Grand Vizier's name to the Turkish authorities at Athens in 1801 is interesting:—

"It is hereby signified to you, that our sincere Friend, his Excellency Lord Elgin, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Court of

England to the Porte of Happiness, hath represented to us that it is well known that the greater part of the Frank Courts are anxious to read and investigate the books, pictures, or figures and other works of science of the ancient Greek philosophers; and that in particular the ministers or officers of state, philosophers, primates, and other individuals of England have a remarkable taste for the drawings or figures or sculptures, remaining ever since the time of the said Greeks, and which are to be seen on the shores of the Archipelago, and in other parts; and have, in consequence, from time to time, sent men to explore and examine the ancient edifices and drawings and figures. And that some accomplished Dilettanti of the Court of England, being desirous to see the ancient buildings and curious figures in the City of Athens, and the old walls remaining since the time of the Grecians, which now subsist in the interior part of the said place; his Excellency the said Ambassador hath therefore engaged five English painters, now dwelling at Athens, to examine and view, and also to copy the figures remaining there *ab antiquo:* And he hath also at this time expressly besought us, that an official letter may be written from hence, ordering that as long as the said painters shall be employed in going in and out of the said citadel of Athens, which is the place of their occupations; and in fixing scaffolding round the ancient Temple of the Idols there; and in moulding the ornamental sculpture and visible figures thereon in plaster or gypsum; and in measuring the remains of other old ruined buildings there; and in excavating, where they find it necessary, the foundations in order to discover inscriptions which may have been covered in the rubbish; that no interruption may be given to them, nor any obstacle thrown in their way by the Commandant of the Citadel, or any other person; that no one may meddle with the scaffolding or implements that they may require in their works; and that when they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon, that no opposition be made thereto.

"We, therefore, have written this letter" (here follows the operative portion of the firman, in which the above statements are set out in the imperative mood).

In accordance with the permission thus obtained, Lord Elgin in the first instance set a staff of artists at work on copying. Their drawings are preserved in the Museum. Originally the actual removal of marbles was no part of Lord Elgin's design. The constant injuries to which the marbles were exposed caused him to enlarge its scope. The Turks occasionally fired at the temple, and travellers bribed the soldiers to have a day's shooting and bring them down a head, or a leg, or an arm, or whatever other pieces could be carried off. This explains the considerable number of fragments from the Parthenon which have at various times been discovered in the private collections of Europe (see p. 180). Lord Elgin

resolved to use his firman to prevent by wholesale removal this piecemeal destruction; he also determined to make casts of the marbles which he did not remove. It should be remembered that there were rivals in the field. The taste for antiquities was, as the Grand Vizier said, shared by "the greater part of the Frank Courts"; concessions of marbles were competed for as greedily as if they were mines. The French Ambassador in particular, the Duc de Choiseul-Gouffier, was on the same tack, and had already succeeded in removing some marbles to Paris. The alternatives which presented themselves to Lord Elgin's mind were not those which his critics assume: it was not a question between leaving the marbles uninjured in their places and carrying them off to London, but between their removal to London and their removal to Paris. The local opinion of the time is preserved in the story that the Athenians thought they heard the sculptures groaning. But the groans were not the pangs of removal; they were the laments of the stones that were removed for the fate of those that were left behind.

On looking round this room one must admit that the authorisation in the firman to remove "certain pieces of stone" —*qualche pezzi di pietra*—was liberally interpreted by Lord Elgin. It is said that Dr. P. Hunt, his agent at Athens, in explaining the elasticity of the clause to the local governor, backed his interpretation by a timely present of brilliant cut-glass lustres, fire-arms, and other articles of English manufacture. At any rate the removal was carried out publicly, and no opposition was raised. But the strange adventures of the marbles were only now beginning. The French Ambassador's spoils were carried away in a corvette which was captured by Nelson, but was afterwards allowed to go on its way. The vessel chartered by Lord Elgin to convey the British spoils was wrecked off Cerigo, and the marbles went to the bottom of the sea. It took three years and the expenditure of large sums of money to recover them.

At last the marbles of the Parthenon found rest after stormy seas in London. But they had escaped the perils of war and shipwreck only to encounter the hostility of the critics and the indifference of the Government. The great antiquarian of the day was Payne Knight, and he "beared" Lord Elgin's stock from the first. "You have lost your labour, my Lord Elgin," he said across a dinner-table; "your marbles are over-rated;

they are not Greek, they are Roman of the time of Hadrian." The artists—West, Fuseli, and Haydon—took a different view, and Haydon in particular threw himself with fiery enthusiasm into the cause. It will be remembered that Keats dedicated his sonnet on the Elgin Marbles to Haydon :—

> For, when men stared at what was most divine
> With brainless idiotism and o'erwise phlegm,
> Thou had'st beheld the full Hesperian shine
> Of their star in the east, and gone to worship them !

But the view of Payne Knight prevailed, and the Government showed no disposition to purchase the marbles.

Lord Elgin bided his time and continued to add to his collection, eighty fresh cases arriving in 1812. The collection was first housed in the courtyard of his house in Park Lane, and afterwards in Burlington House. The public were admitted to see them, and Haydon obtained leave to make drawings and casts. "I used," he says, "to go down in the evening with a little portfolio and bribe the porter to lend me a lantern, and then, locking myself in, take the candle out and make different sketches, till the cold damp would almost put the candle out." Thus, ill-appreciated by the officials and connoisseurs of England, the Athenian deities lay for many years in cellars and pent-houses with only a few enthusiasts to do them reverence. Lord Elgin himself was denounced as a tasteless thief, and the dead set against him was intensified by Byron's onslaught in the second canto of *Childe Harold.* In 1811 Byron wrote also a scathing satire on Lord Elgin, entitled *The Curse of Minerva*, but this was not published till 1828, four years after the poet's death. The removal of the marbles was described as "the last poor plunder from a bleeding land," and Lord Elgin himself was coupled with Attila and was called "a filthy jackal," a "huckster" who kept a stone shop for money, and, worse than all, a Scot ![1]

[1] Byron's satire did not spare the sightseers either. I do not know whether my readers will recognise themselves in the following lines :—

> Be all the bruisers cull'd from all St. Giles',
> That art and nature may compare their styles;
> While brawny brutes in stupid wonder stare,
> And marvel at his Lordship's "stone shop" there.
> Round the throng'd gate shall sauntering coxcombs creep,
> To lounge and lucubrate, to prate and peep;
> While many a languid maid, with longing sigh,
> On giant statues casts the curious eye;
> The room with transient glance appears to skim,
> Yet marks the mighty back and length of limb;
> Mourns o'er the difference of *now* and *then;*
> Exclaims, "These Greeks indeed were proper men !"

The feeling against Lord Elgin had also been aggravated by stories of the recklessness with which some of the work of removal had been carried out by his contractors.

In 1814, however, the tide began to turn. In that year the Crown Prince of Bavaria, who had secured the marbles of Ægina for Munich (see Ch. VII.), came to London and extolled the Elgin collection. M. Visconti, Director of the Musée National, did the same, and the British Government was now inclined to buy them. Lord Elgin accordingly made an offer, which was laid before the House of Commons on 15th June 1815. The battle of Waterloo then occurred, and the matter was adjourned. Later in the year Canova came to London, and the famous sculptor valued Lord Elgin's treasures at £100,000. "I think," he wrote to Lord Elgin, "that I can never see them often enough. . . . Oh that I were a young man and had to begin again! I should work on totally different principles, and form, I hope, an entirely new school."[1] In February 1816 Elgin presented his petition again, and a select committee was appointed to examine it. The issue was awaited with considerable excitement in the learned world. Rival experts gave evidence, and a lively battle of pamphlets raged outside the committee-room. The committee reported unanimously in favour both of Lord Elgin's conduct and of his claims, and on 7th June 1816 the House of Commons, by eighty-two votes to thirty, granted a sum of £35,000 for the purchase of the Elgin collection. Lord Elgin's total outlay, including interest, had been £74,000. The marbles were by this time well known throughout Europe from the drawings made by Haydon, and foreign authorities were cited in their praise. Of these the most famous was the aged Goethe. "For many years," he wrote, his "soul had been elevated by contemplation of the drawings." He "longed to see those works in which alone law and gospel were united," and "considered himself happy to have at least lived to see their discovery." He sketched a plan for every German sculptor in future to come and study for a time in the British Museum. The Elgin Marbles, since their removal to the Museum, have

[1] It is to Canova's eternal credit that he declined to undertake the "restoration" of the marbles suggested by Lord Elgin. "They had," he said, "never been retouched, and it would be sacrilege in him or any man to presume to touch them with a chisel" (*Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, p. 26).

indeed become the teachers of the artistic world of Europe, the study of all archæologists, and models of taste for all amateurs. Students may every day be seen copying from them, and successive generations of sculptors and painters have derived from them models of style and standards of perfection.[1] "The world of really imaginative Greek sculpture," says Mr. Pater, "is reflected with most command in the consummate fragments of the Parthenon." Yet, "not so that he who runs may read, the gifts of Greek sculpture being always delicate, and asking much of the receiver."[2]

THE PARTHENON

Many aids to the study of the Parthenon, from which the greater part of the Elgin Marbles are taken, are exhibited in this room, and the visitor will find a preliminary mastery of these add greatly to his enjoyment. A few words about the Parthenon itself may first be given. It has had a history as strange and eventful as subsequently had the marbles removed from it by Lord Elgin. The Parthenon stands on the Acropolis of Athens (see the model and the restored view of the Acropolis). It was a temple, erected in honour of the tutelary deity of the city, the *virgin* goddess Athena. The building was begun about 447 B.C., and finished about 438 B.C. It was one of the works undertaken for the adornment of the city under the administration of Pericles. The architect was Ictinos; the style was Doric. The plan of the building may best be studied from the large model. The sculptural decorations, and probably the design of the temple also, were planned and executed under the personal superintendence of

[1] A young M.P. once asked Sir Edgar Boehm what his feelings would be if a motion were carried to restore the Elgin Marbles to Greece. "What would be my feelings?" was the sculptor's encouraging response; "I would curse you with my dying breath" (Grant Duff's *Notes from a Diary*, 1889-91, ii. 62).

[2] Many spectators are probably bewildered—even as was the poet Keats—"on seeing the Elgin Marbles for the first time":—

> Such dim-conceived glories of the brain
> Bring round the heart an indescribable feud;
> So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,
> That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude
> Wasting of Old Time—with a billowy main
> A sun, a shadow of a magnitude.

Phidias. The characteristics of his style will be discussed incidentally when we make a particular examination of the sculptures. But a few general remarks may here be given :—

Of Phidias the sculptor it may be said as of Titian the painter, that "there is a strange undercurrent of everlasting murmur about his name which means the deep consent of all great men that he is greater than they." But the person of the artist was hidden in the splendour of his works, and though ancient literature abounds in references to his genius and his fame, very little is known of his life, and of his death nothing except apocryphal stories with which the rhetoricians of a later age adorned their moral of the world's ingratitude to its greatest men. He was born at Athens, and was the son of Charmidas, of whom nothing is known ; but the fact that his brother Panœnus, like Phidias himself in his earlier years, was a painter, renders it probable that he belonged to a family of artists. He was born about 500 B.C., and attained to manhood in the year of the great victories of Athens over the Persians. The times were in every way propitious for the development of artistic genius. "The long labour of preceding generations had overcome every technical difficulty and subjected the hardest and most stubborn materials to the will and fancy of man. The materials themselves—marble, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony and cypress wood—were there in inexhaustible abundance." The rebuilding of Athens opened out a vast opportunity to the sculptor and the architect. The genius of Pericles directed that opportunity to the noblest possible ends. Phidias, as we have said, was originally a painter, but afterwards studied sculpture in the studio of Ageladas, of Argos, who was the teacher also of Myron and Polyclitus. His great opportunity came when Pericles, discerning his genius, entrusted to him the entire and absolute control over the public works with which he sought to enrich and adorn the city. The Parthenon and the great statue of the goddess within were his principal works at Athens. The enormous expense of these works involved the sculptor in the discontent which was gathering round Pericles. A brother artist, named Medon, was suborned to accuse him of embezzling the gold of which the robe of the Athena Parthenos was to be made. When he had easily refuted this charge, others were trumped up against him. The story of his conviction and death in prison may safely be rejected, but it is certain that he was the victim of envy or malice and "fell into trouble" (as Aristophanes puts it) among the Athenians. He was, however, called to Olympia to undertake what proved to be the grandest work of his life, the colossal gold and ivory statue of Zeus for the newly-erected temple there. This great work is supposed to have occupied him from 438 B.C. to 432 B.C. That he died in dishonour and disgrace at Olympia on another charge of embezzlement, as one of the scholiasts relates, is improbable, for his studio was preserved down to the time of Pausanias as a precious relic, and special privileges were accorded by the Eleans to his descendants. It is upon his Olympian "Zeus" that antiquity

lavished its most enthusiastic praises. The Roman general, Paulus Æmilius, was deeply moved by the sight of it; he "felt as if in the presence of the god himself." Quintilian, speaking of the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus, declares that their beauty "added new power to the established faith, so nearly did the grandeur of the work approach to the majesty of the gods themselves." The statue was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, and to die without having seen it was deemed a misfortune. Dio Chrysostom, the rhetorician and a man of fine taste, called it "the most beautiful image on earth, and the dearest to the gods."

Wherein, it may be asked, did the greatness of Phidias consist? First, in the perfect command of all the resources of his art. His technical skill enabled him to deal successfully with the most varied materials, and many of the ancient writers praise especially his accuracy and finish. He was a consummate master of architectural effect, of form and colour, of symmetry and rhythm. Secondly, and chiefly, the art of Phidias is remarkable for its ideality, for its attainment of that ideal beauty which, as Plato says, is the highest reality:—

"What if a man had eyes to see the true beauty—the divine beauty, I mean, pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colour and vanities of human life—thither looking and holding converse with the true beauty, divine and simple, and bringing into being and educating true creatures of virtue and not idols only? Do you not see that, in that communion, only beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth not images but realities; for he has hold not of an image, but of a reality, and bringing forth and educating true virtue to become the friend of a god and immortal, if mortal man may."

It was the attainment of this ideal truth and beauty by Phidias that the ancients had in mind when they said that his figures of the gods added something to the revealed religion. The great artist, says Cicero, when speaking of the Olympian Zeus, when he was moulding his Zeus or Athena, was not looking at any form of these deities of which he might make a copy, but there dwelt in his mind a certain form of surpassing beauty, the sight and intense contemplation of which directed his art and his hand to produce a similitude. As Shelley says of the poet, Phidias did not copy the natural forms he saw around him:—

> But from these create he can
> Forms more real than living man,
> Nurslings of immortality.

The ideality of Phidias, in this Platonic sense of the term, includes all the qualities which ancient writers praised in him: his majesty, his grandeur, dignity, largeness, and beauty, his divine element; also his repose, his self-containedness, his tranquil air, the peace he brings to the troubled heart of the beholder; "for methinks," says Dio Chrysostom, "that if one who is heavy laden in mind, who has

drained the cup of misfortune or sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man,—so wondrously hast thou, Phidias, conceived and wrought it, and such grace shines upon it from thine art." The successors of Phidias attained equal skill in execution and grace of design. But in their work there is not, as we shall see, quite the same effect of majesty and repose that characterises the art of Phidias.

The works of Phidias here collected show us Greek art as it was in its brief poise of perfection. "Complete technical mastery has been acquired, and sculpture is freed from its archaic fetters. It is, however, still pervaded by a certain grave dignity and simplicity which is wanting in the more sensuous, more florid, or more conventional works of a later time." For twenty centuries the Temple of Art which enshrined these great works stood almost unscathed. But the immunity of the sculptured Olympians and Athenians was at the price of many changes of ritual. In the fifth century A.D. the great statue of Athena was removed, and Santa Sophia (or the Divine Wisdom) succeeded her Greek prototype as tutelary deity of the shrine. For two centuries, during the rule of the Frankish Dukes of Athens, the Parthenon was a Latin Church. For a few years more, it reverted to the Greek Church, but in 1460 it was transformed into a Turkish mosque. Its partial destruction was wrought, two centuries later (in 1687), not by the Turks but by Greeks in alliance with the Venetians, whose aid they had sought. Up to this time the Parthenon was still nearly perfect, so far as regarded the external architecture, and even the sculpture was little injured. But in view of the impending siege by the Venetians, the Turks had made the temple a place of arms. The Venetian General, Morosini, having failed to undermine the Parthenon, determined to blow it up. A bomb fell in it, and a terrific explosion occurred. The centre columns of the peristyle, the walls of the cella, and the immense architraves and cornices they supported, were scattered on the ground; much of the sculpture was defaced, and a part utterly destroyed. Further injury was done by Morosini, who, in endeavouring to take down the central group of the west pediment, then nearly complete, dashed the sculpture to pieces. Happily, however, many of the sculptures had been drawn before the explosion. In 1674 the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador to the

Porte, had visited Athens and seen and admired the Parthenon marbles. At the price of a quarter of a hundredweight of coffee and six yards of scarlet cloth, he got leave for his artist, Jacques Carrey, to make sketches. These are preserved at Paris. Facsimiles of Carrey's drawings of the pediments are exhibited in this room. In 1688 Athens was restored to the Turks, and the sculptures of the Parthenon were exposed to constant injury until Lord Elgin removed those now before us. Many still remain on the temple; other pieces, including some of great beauty, are preserved in the Acropolis Museum. These are represented here by casts. The large model shows the Parthenon as it was after the explosion of 1687.

The temple was of the **Doric order** of architecture. In this, the oldest, simplest, and most dignified, the massive columns have no base; they are crowned with the plainest of capitals above the column; the abaci, above the capitals, are heavy; the entablature, above the abacus, is massive and simple. A characteristic feature is the triglyphs (originally the ends of the wooden cross-beams) and between these are the metopes. The **Ionic order** is characterised by the volutes, or spiral projections at each side of the angle. In the **Corinthian order** the columns are tall and slender, the capitals highly wrought, the cornice is elaborate: the Choragic monument of Lysicrates is a typical example. Greek temples are distinguished by different names, according to the number and arrangement of their columns. The Parthenon was of the form called **peripteral** (*i.e.* it was surrounded by a colonnade), **octastyle** (*i.e.* with eight columns at each end). After an examination of the large model the reader will easily understand the position of the marbles which we now proceed to examine.

THE EAST PEDIMENT

We come first to the pediments (*i.e.* the gables at each end of the building). The sculptures of the east pediment are arranged on marble pedestals, to our left as we enter the room. Fragmentary and for the most part headless though they are, these marbles are among the most famous, and are in some respects the finest, pieces of sculpture in the world. They call, therefore, for close attention.

With regard, first, to the **subject**, we know from Pausanias

that "all the figures in the gable over the entrance relate to the birth of Athena." But already in 1674, when Carrey drew the Parthenon sculptures, the central group had totally disappeared, so that we do not know how, if at all, the birth of Athena was represented. The legend was that Hephæstus clove the skull of Zeus with his axe, from which Athena fully armed sprang forth. "This rude symbol of his cleaving the forehead of Zeus with his axe and giving birth to Athena signifies physically the thrilling power of heat in the heavens, rending the clouds and giving birth to the blue air; but far more deeply it signifies the subduing of adverse Fate by true labour; while out of the chasm, cleft by resolute and industrious fortitude, springs the Spirit of Wisdom" (Ruskin). In vase-paintings Athena is represented as a tiny figure hovering over the head of Zeus (see, *e.g.*, B 147 in Vase Room II., p. 320).

It is possible that the scene was similarly represented on the Parthenon, for what seems grotesque to us may not have so appeared to those familiar with that method of symbolising the miracle. Other authorities argue that some more dignified treatment of the subject would have been adopted by Phidias. This may be found, it is thought, in an ancient relief now at Madrid, where the scene after the miracle is depicted. Zeus is seated on a throne. In front of him Athena advances. Between them is a figure of Victory flying with a wreath to place on Athena's head. Some such composition may have occupied the centre of the pediment. The general sentiment of the pediment would in any case be the astonishment and excitement which prevailed at the miracle when (in Pindar's words) "Athena leapt to light, and cried aloud with an exceeding cry, and Heaven trembled at her coming, and Earth, the Mother." The same scene is described in the Homeric hymn to Athena, of which (says Miss Harrison) the east pediment is but a translation into stone:—

> Fear took hold of them all at the sight—
> Them, the Immortals; but she, before Zeus of the ægis-shield,
> Burst and flashed and leaped in birth before the deathless head,
> Shaking a sharp-edged spear. And high Olympus reeled
> At the wrath in the sea-gray eyes, and Earth on every side
> Rang with a terrible cry, and the deep was disquieted
> With the tumult of purple waves and outpouring of the tide.
> Suddenly, and in heaven, Hyperion's bright son stayed
> His galloping steeds for a space. . . .

The figures in the extreme angles may be identified with certainty. On the left the horses represent the chariot of the rising sun; the horse, in the other extremity, that of the setting moon. "These two figures — symbolical of the new and brighter day which dawned upon the world at the Advent of Athena—may be interpreted as marking the boundaries either of Olympus or of the universe. It has also been suggested that they indicate the hour at which the birth took place. This, according to Attic tradition, was at sunrise." With regard to the other figures, "the field of conjecture is," as Mr. Frazer says, "boundless, and archæologists have accordingly expatiated in it." Those who are interested in the discussion will find a summary of the different hypotheses in the Official Catalogue; they should consult also the appendix in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.*

Coming to the actual remains before us, we notice first the **Horses of the Sun,** which should be compared with the **Horse of the Moon** at the other extremity of the pediment. They are famous as consummate examples of the life and breath which the skill of the sculptor can impart to marble:—

"The head of Helios has been broken off and the horses are much injured, yet still, with their heads and ears thrown back and their powerful chests arched forward, they seem to rear and tug at the rein—

> The horses that guide the golden eye of heaven,
> And blow the morning from their nosterils,
> Making their fiery gait above the clouds.

In the opposite corner the moon-goddess, Selenè, is sinking below the level of the pediment. One of the four horses' heads is in the British Museum, a marvellous union of natural truth with idealisation in the grand style; the others are still on the pediment. This head, inclined downwards, forms a striking contrast with the up-springing heads of the opposite group. There the sun comes forth, 'like a giant to run his course'; here the yet panting steed seems eager to reach the goal of rest. It is marvellous that with such simple means, the heads and nothing more, the designer should be able to stimulate the imagination so powerfully" (Upcott, p. 41).

Of the Sun-god himself, who is emerging in his chariot from the waves, only some fragments remain. Notice that at the back are sculptured "small rippling waves to represent a calm sea at sunrise." The waves are traced in the conventional "wave-pattern" manner common in Greek

representations of water (see p. 295); "Phidias has represented these waves like a mass of overlapping tiles, thus generalising their rippling movement" (Newton in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21).

The next figure, the so-called "**Theseus,**" is one of the most celebrated marbles in the British Museum, "the object of wondering and despairing study to countless artists." "I prefer the Theseus," said Flaxman, "to the Apollo Belvedere. It has more ideal beauty than any male figure I know." The identification as Theseus has nothing except tradition[1] to recommend it. If it be assumed that the figures in the pediment were deities present at the birth of Athena, then this figure may be taken for Dionysus reclining on a panther's skin. If, on the other hand, the figures be taken as personifications of parts of the natural world, the "Theseus" may be interpreted as the mountain of Olympus, illumined by the first rays of the rising sun; the attitude and type are suitable for the personification of a mountain "leaning solidly on the earth." There are, however, objections to both these interpretations — to Dionysus, because the powerful form is inappropriate to that god; to Mount Olympus, because no such personification is known to Greek art or literature of the time. Furtwängler suggests that the "Theseus" is Cephalus, the beautiful hunter. "When the sun rose yonder beyond Hymettus, then the Athenians of Phidias's time, as we are shown by a beautiful painted vase (see p. 379), bethought themselves of Cephalus, who was carried off thence by Eos," goddess of the dawn. Furtwängler notes "in this strong and youthful figure who bathes his breast in the ruddiness of morning, a splendid counterpart to the deceptive beautiful Fates, at the other end of the pediment, who are akin to the darkness of night and spin the mysterious future." In any

[1] Nothing except tradition, and the pretty things written round the tradition. Thus, Ruskin: "The Ionian or Attic race express all the laws of human government, developed in the highest states of human art. These are first founded on industry and justice in the dominion of Æacus over the ant-made race at Ægina, and on earth-born sagacity and humanity in the kingship of Cecrops; fulfilled in chivalric heroism by Codrus and Theseus, whose crowning victory is over the forms of evil involved and defended by the skilfullest art; and whose statue, the central labour of that art itself, has been appointed by Fate to remain the acknowledged culmen and model of human labour, to our own days" (*Bibliotheca Pastorum*, vol. i.; *The Economist of Xenophon*, Preface, p. xx.).

case, the perfect repose of the "Theseus" is in effective contrast to the impetuous horses. It is "the very ideal of serene rest such as gods enjoy." Yet the robust form forbids any attribution of weakness or indolence; it "is the rest of reserved strength, the enjoyment of sacred calm." The ease and majesty of the attitude of this "Theseus" are as remarkable as its technical skill in the representation of the human form:—

"The Theseus presents, as it were, the sum of all that Greek sculpture had hitherto attained in the rendering of the male figure. There is nothing about him of the dry and somewhat meagre forms that characterise the athletic art of early masters, nor of that unduly square and massive build that was chosen by the sculptors of the Peloponnese. It is an absolute freedom from exaggeration of any sort that marks in him the perfection of sculptural technique. His muscles are correctly felt and closely indicated, yet not in such a way as to suggest that there is no interposing layer of flesh between them and the skin; his figure shows in every detail, as well as in its general character, the most powerful build and the height of physical condition; yet it is that of a perfectly developed man rather than that of a successful athlete. Above all, in his pose, with its combination of grace and dignity, we see that Attic art has lost none of its feeling for beauty of composition and pleasantness of effect, while acquiring the more vigorous and severe excellence of other schools" (E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 285).

The **two female figures** which come next have been interpreted, among other conjectures, as Demeter and Persephonè, and as the Horai or Seasons, warders of the gates of Olympus. The Hours, says Furtwängler, "are pre-eminently appropriate at a birth, since they bring on the due time for its accomplishment. While the Fates embodied the unknown dispensations of the powers of destiny, and are therefore represented by Phidias as resting on rocks in careless self-abandonment, the Horai personified the conception of conscious adherence to law, and Phidias therefore makes them sit on thrones and maintain a tranquil dignity." The attitude and beauty of proportion in these figures are alike admirable; and, even in the absence of the heads, the action may be clearly distinguished. The goddess on the left is in a position of rest; her arm is laid comfortably on her companion's shoulder. The other goddess must be supposed as having already heard the great tidings. Her neck is slightly turned, as if to speak to her companion, and her left arm is raised in surprise. The drapery is sculptured

in a broad style, contrasting with the more delicately wrought folds of the group on the other side.

Next comes the very graceful figure known as **Iris.** "The wind outblows her scarf into a fluttering pavilion." Every line indicates movement, as of a swift gliding through the air; the figure seems the very impersonation of a breeze. The folds indicate a descending motion through the air, and she is supposed to represent the Heavenly Messenger on the way from Olympus to the world below to bear the glad tidings of Athena's birth. But as the figure has no wings, the identification with Iris seems impossible. Moreover, the whole space enclosed within the border of the pediment represents Olympus. No one is hastening forth from it, but the gods are in astonishment and excitement. On this latter theory, the so-called "Iris" has been identified as Hebè or as Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and her movement is explained as that of one startled at what she has just witnessed.

There now comes a gap, which we must fill in imagination with some representation of the birth of Athena, as described above.

On the other side we note first a female torso, supposed to be Nikè, or **Victory,** who would be present to welcome the new-born Athena. It will be observed that on Carrey's drawing of the pediment this figure does not appear. It was found lying on the ground below the front of the temple.

The group of three female figures—popularly known as "**The Fates**"—is celebrated as the most perfect example extant of the artistic treatment of drapery. Those critics who interpret the figures of the pediment as definite mythological personages have identified the so-called "Fates" as the three daughters of Cecrops, or as Hestia and Aphroditè lying in the lap of Peitho. According to another theory, one goddess (K.) is Hestia—the personification of the hearth and home of Olympus, the dwelling-place of the gods; and the other figures are Gæa (the earth) and Thalassa (the sea) in her lap. "The one goddess (L.) sits firmly upright, secure on her seat, the whole composition dominated by vertical lines; the other (M.) is in every line an impersonation of fluid rhythm." But the old interpretation is more probable. The goddesses of Fate were at all times conceived as present at births, and they are here associated with the Moon; Hesiod calls them the daughters of Night. With regard to the attitudes of these three figures,

they repeat the "note" of rest that is struck on the other side by the "Theseus," yet variety is obtained by subtle gradations from a recumbent to a sitting posture :—

"The first (on the left of the group) sits upright on a separate rock. Her attention has just been called away from her sisters to the centre towards which she is looking. The second figure also has just made a movement towards the centre, and draws her legs under her as if preparing to rise. This change of position has slightly disturbed the recumbent figure, and obliged her to raise herself a little from her companion's lap, so that her chiton slips downwards and reveals the lovely shoulder and bosom. The artist has lavished on their attire a superabundant wealth of lovely details, which invests the majestic forms with an ineffable grace and charm. The hard marble is absolutely transformed by the skill of the artist into the soft and delicate material of the chiton which flows freely and easily round the figure, adapting itself to every movement of the glorious limbs, covering, but never altogether hiding, the exquisite proportions of the beautiful and queenly forms" (Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 268).

The French critic, Quatremère de Quincy, in a letter to Canova on the Elgin Marbles (1818), specially admired this beautiful group :—

"There is," he said, "a certain graceful indolent charm in the whole work which makes me always believe that I see a living woman *dans l'abandon du repos*. I actually believe I see a living mass of body bending under its own weight. It is not marble—at least one loses the impression that it is so—it is a living creature; the appearance of vitality destroys the impression of inanimate matter; art vanishes and truth and beauty take its place. It is this that gives a soul to stone; this delightful illusion, which few artists at any time have known how to express, appears to me to be the distinguishing characteristic of all these sculptures."

Goethe called drapery "the thousand-fold echo of the form"; these figures are a remarkable instance of the amount of expression which may exist in figures even when the head is absent.

Finally, we have to notice a cast of the **torso of Selenè**, the goddess of the Moon, and the original of **one of her horses**, whose downward inclination indicates that the Moon is about to vanish below the horizon. We have already noticed the fine "contrast between the impetuous rush with which the horses of the rising Sun burst wildly on the scene, and the gentle gliding motion of the chariot of the Moon as it slowly and quietly sinks beneath the western wave." This horse's head is in itself a very famous work :—

"In the whole range of ancient art there is, perhaps, no work in marble in which the sculptor has shown such complete mastery over his material. The nostrils 'drink the air'; the fiery expression of the eye, the bold, sharply defined outlines of the bony structure, so skilfully opposed to the sensitive flexibility of the nose, and the brawny terseness of the arched neck, are so combined in this noble work that the praise bestowed on it by Goethe is not extravagant. 'This work,' he says, 'whether created by the imagination of the artist or seen by him in nature, seems the revelation of a prototype; it combines real truth with the highest poetical conception'" (Newton's *Guide to the Elgin Room*).

"The outline of the head is beautifully drawn—full of variety, with long lines so subtly curved that they seem scarcely removed from the straight. See, too, how admirably the shapely, muscular neck is curved to express vigour and proud bearing. And the eye, too, is living; and though it may seem rather protruding, we must remember that it was to be seen from below" (W. E. Sparkes in *The Practical Teacher's Art Monthly*, Nov. 1899).

The mouth formerly held a bridle, for the drill-holes in which the supports of the harness were fixed may be seen near the ear and the jaw. From the horses of Phidias, says Haydon, we may learn the lesson that elevation of sentiment, that the great style in art, is founded upon strict adherence to the principles of nature. Shakespeare says:—

> Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
> In limning out a well-proportioned steed,
> His art with Nature's workmanship at strife,
> As if the dead the living should exceed.

In the greatest art there is no such strife. Art can surpass Nature only by obeying her. Natural forms may be perfected, but not perverted. In the works of later sculptors (such as Lysippus), an ideal horse was figured, with sunken eye and overhanging brow, and the "ideal" was often adopted by the painters. But the horses of Phidias have all the characteristics of a fine blood horse in full vigour—the full eyes, the hollow brow, the flat and decided jaw (B. R. Haydon in J. Elmes's *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1818, p. 180).

THE WEST PEDIMENT

The sculptures of the west, or back, pediment—the remains of which are arranged on the opposite side of the room—were nearly perfect at the time when Carrey made his

drawing. To understand the fragments now before us, reference should be made to the large model of the Parthenon. The general subject is known to us from Pausanias: it was "the strife of Poseidon with Athena for the possession of the land." This must have been the subject of the central group. The two deities, Athena and Poseidon, enamoured of the same small plot of ground, the rocky Acropolis of Athens, have come thither from Olympus in their chariots. Each chariot is driven by an attendant goddess. Arrived together on the Acropolis, the gods took possession, each by a token of power —Athena by making the bare rock produce an olive tree; Poseidon by striking the ground with his trident and causing a salt spring to flow forth. The interpretation of the rest of the pediment is uncertain, and has been much debated. The general supposition with regard to the figures in the angles is that they are river-gods; in that case the pediment may be taken to represent the Acropolis between the two rivers of Athens, the Cephissus and the Ilissus. With regard to the other figures, those behind Athena have been variously interpreted as (1) Attic deities, and (2) Attic heroes, Cecrops and his family, while those behind Poseidon are similarly identified as (1) marine deities, and (2) other Attic heroes, Erechtheus and his daughters. Furtwängler, who is the exponent of this latter theory, energetically contests the popular supposition with regard to the so-called "river-gods," and sees in them also Athenian heroes (*Masterpieces*, Appendix vi.).

Such discussions, however, hardly concern us here, for the actual remains of the west pediment are too broken and scanty to afford any substantial data. After taking the Acropolis in 1687 the Venetian General, Morosini, tried to lower Athena's horses, but the tackle broke and the group fell to the ground. Some fragments remain in position on the pediment; these are represented here by casts. The river-god (A.) and the torsos were found by Lord Elgin under the ground.

The **river-god**—probably the Cephissus, not the Ilissus—is the only figure from this pediment which is sufficiently intact to be of much general interest. It is one of the finest, and most generally admired, of all the Elgin Marbles. In the first place, the representation of the anatomy is perfect. "We can compare these marbles to nothing," says Hazlitt, "but human figures petrified"; and he selects this river-god as a proof of

his thesis that the ideal form is nothing but a selection of fine nature :—

"Let any one look at the leg of the Ilissus which is bent under him—let him observe the swell and undulation of the calf, the inter-texture of the muscles, the distinction and union of all the parts, and the effect of action everywhere impressed on the external form, as if the very marble were a flexible substance, and contained the various springs of life and motion within itself, and he will own that art and nature are here the same thing" (*Criticisms on Art*, p. 241).

The general motion of the figure seems to indicate the moment of sudden transition from repose to action. The river-god has suddenly raised himself from his rocky bed, startled by the contest between Athena and Poseidon. The weight of the body is about to rest on his left hand and arm. As he rises, his mantle hangs, as it were, wet and heavy. "In the undulating lines of the drapery," says Newton, "the sculptor has succeeded in suggesting the idea of flowing water without having recourse to direct or conventional imitation." In this connection Michaelis makes another point. The under side of the left leg is cut down, the effect being much as if it were still in the water. "The union of anatomical representation, which is the principle of movement, with that of the muscles and the flesh, impresses upon the whole work," says Quatremère de Quincy, "such a character at once of force and of flexibility, of strength and of suppleness, as makes the figure breathe and live and stir. One thinks every moment that the Ilissus is about to rise; one thinks that he does rise; one is surprised to see that he is still there" (*Lettres . . . à Canova*, 1818, p. 114).

The figure of the Cephissus is further of interest as the earliest example we have of a reclining river-god—a form of representation now very familiar from its adoption in Roman art. "It is probable that the necessities of pedimental composition first led the artist to place the river-god in a reclining position." An instructive comparison might be drawn between the simplicity of the original type as conceived by Phidias and the river-gods of the Roman period, loaded with symbols and accessories (see C. T. Newton in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. App. 21).

Before leaving these famous works, which have excited the admiration of so many great critics and have been the wonder and despair of successive generations of artists, a few general

remarks on some of their **distinguishing characteristics** may be made.

(1) The spirit in which the artist wrought may be inferred from the fact that the backs of the statues which were set against the wall and could never be seen by human eye are nevertheless finished hardly less carefully than the other parts.[1] Whatever were the motives of this apparent superfluity of labour —whether it were "the true love sacrifice of a genuine artistic soul,"[2] or a feeling that the truth of the visible could only be secured if the whole work were sculptured, it is an eloquent testimony to the sculptor's straining after perfection.

(2) We have seen above that Goethe described the horse's head on the east pediment as a portrayal of "the original horse," of what in the language of Plato would be called the "idea" of a horse. We have quoted on the other hand a passage from Hazlitt, in which that excellent critic praises these

[1] In this connection there seems to me some justice in a complaint made in a recent pamphlet. After describing a dirty screen placed behind the Discobolus, the writer continues: "Like screens, though not quite so squalid, are placed behind some of the Elgin Marbles with even more disastrous results, for they prevent the visitor from seeing the backs of these noble images, the only parts spared by time and weather and human imbecility. . . . It is well that much should be done for the art-student, but there are limits which should not be overpassed, nor should the interests of the plain man be altogether lost sight of" (H. Naegely, *Concerning the Royal Academy and other Reveries*, p. 62).

[2] This is the explanation of the sculptor Rietschl, who says:—"It has always filled me with a feeling of tender admiration, that the figures of the Parthenon are as carefully finished behind as before. The artist knew that when these statues had left his hands and studio, no mortal eye could ever see the charming work which his love and diligence had created and cherished. And now, after 2000 years, we are permitted, rather by a happy accident than by historical necessity, to discover the true love-sacrifices of a genuine artistic soul. Why did the artist do that, in doing which he seemed to lose so much time and labour? He did it from a truly godlike creative impulse to call his work into being in full perfection, and for its own sake, as the flower springs up on the lonely uplands to bloom in the wilderness unvisited by man or beast. It serves no animal for food, and yet it is as perfectly developed as the most sumptuous flower in an ornamental garden" (Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 271). Readers of *The Stones of Venice* will remember Mr. Ruskin's condemnation of the "utter coldness of feeling" in the Renaissance sculptor who stayed his hand, even in the portraiture of the dead, so soon as he reached the side that would be out of sight. It is interesting to reflect how much of the great art of the world was spent on places where it was never destined to be seen at all, or where it could only be seen with difficulty—on the outside cella of temples, for instance, and on the ceilings of the Ducal Palace.

statues of the pediments for their close study of nature. The fact seems to be that they present in a remarkable degree that combination of truth to nature with grandeur of effect which is the note of the Phidian ideal. These works, said the sculptor Dannecker, "seemed moulded from the life, and yet he had never had the good fortune to see in the life such perfection." "These figures," says Friederichs, "are not copied from nature, but created after nature, and, although in these mighty and majestic forms the smallest details—even to the folds of the skin—are given, yet they appear to be born easily and without trouble, like a dialogue of Plato" (*Bausteine*).

(3) The beauties of the composition in these pediments of the Parthenon require, in the fragmentary state of the remains, some effort of the imagination to appreciate. A few notes under this head may be useful. The general lines of the composition were enforced on the artist by the triangular shape of the space which he had to fill. Standing figures had of necessity to occupy the centre, and recumbent or stooping figures the ends; and a certain parallelism between the two sides was also a matter of necessity. "But, as in poetry, where the shackles of rhyme and metre, which encumber the thoughts of ordinary writers, are the very source which produces in the true poet the highest and most precious beauties of expression; so in sculpture and painting, fixed conditions seem not to injure, but to enhance and perfect, the beauty and symmetry attainable in the highest art" (Mahaffy, *Rambles in Greece*, 3rd ed., p. 90). In the present case it should be noticed, first, how successfully the artist breaks the main architectural lines by every variety of curve in the pediments. Again, though all the attendant figures are present as spectators of the central action, they do not all turn towards it with a monotonous iteration. Note, for instance, how "Theseus" is first attracted by the horses of Helios; his next action, we may suppose, will be to turn to the centre, and his bond with the central group is thus indirect (Murray). A close study of the pediments in Carrey's drawings will reveal other refinements of this kind. The reader will find it instructive to contrast the composition here with that of the pediments from Ægina (Ch. VII.), in which the uniformity and symmetry are rigid and monotonous.

It is sad that no heads are left on the figures from the pediments, except that of the so-called "Theseus," the surface

of which is too damaged to give us much idea of the expression. There is, however, a colossal head, now in Paris, which is believed to have belonged to one of the figures. A cast of this head (339) stands on the top of the frieze, on the right of the door into the Nereid Room. The head was found in a house of the San Gallo family at Venice. A member of the family was secretary to Morosini, the Venetian General who bombarded the Acropolis in 1687. The head may have been taken home as a trophy. The head opposite (340) is a cast from an original in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which also has sometimes been assigned to the pediments of the Parthenon.

THE METOPES

We may next examine the metopes which are arranged high up on the west wall of the room. Metopes were the sculptured blocks inserted in the spaces left between the triglyphs or slabs which represented the ends of the beams of the roof. The Parthenon had originally ninety-two metopes, an unusually large number, which must have taxed to the utmost the artist's power of invention. Many of the metopes still remain on the temple, but are badly decayed. The fifteen original metopes brought from Athens by Lord Elgin (Nos. 305-312, 315-321) all come from the south side of the temple. Another of the same series (No. 313) was obtained by Choiseul-Gouffier, and is now in the Louvre. A cast is exhibited here. There is also a cast of another (No. 314), of which the original is in the Acropolis Museum. No. 322 is a cast from a metope on the north side, and No. 323 from one on the west side. A comparison between the metopes as they now exist and as they appear in Carrey's drawings shows the damage to which they were exposed. In some cases our metopes have been restored from fragments now existing elsewhere. Thus the heads on No. 307 are casts from the originals in the Museum at Copenhagen.

The fifteen originals among the Elgin Marbles enable us to judge of the artistic style of the whole. In some respects the artistic treatment of the metopes was governed by the position of the slabs on the building. Thus, in the first place, notice that the sculpture of the metopes is in the highest possible relief—large portions of some of the figures being carved in the round. If we now cast our eye down to the frieze which

hangs below the metopes, we shall see that in the frieze the relief is very low. A glance at the large model of the Parthenon will make the reason for this difference obvious. The frieze could only be seen from the colonnade or by a spectator walking just outside. The metopes could be seen by spectators at a distance, and forty feet from the ground; and it was necessary, therefore, that they should stand out boldly. "Projection commands shade, and shade is necessary to make the figure conspicuous in a strong light. Flatness, on the other hand, commands light, and the flattest relief is fittest for a dark situation." Secondly, each metope was, as will be seen from the model, a kind of framed picture in stone. Hence, whereas the frieze below represented a continuous procession, the metopes represented single incidents. Thirdly, these incidents are scenes of conflict. The artistic object of the slabs would be to break upon the squareness and straightness of all the other members of the frieze and architrave. This is admirably done, as there is no conceivable design which more completely breaks the stiff rectangles of the entablature than the various and violent curves of wrestling figures (Mahaffy). The selection of attitudes is governed by another consideration. In metopes much less variety and choice is open to the sculptor than in a frieze in low relief:—

"In the *highest relief*, however decided the shadows may and must of necessity be, on the plane to which the figure is attached, the light on the figure itself is kept as unbroken as possible, and this can only be effected by a selection of open attitudes: that is, such an arrangement of the limbs as shall not cast shadows on the figure itself. In *basso-relievo*, the same general effect of the figure is given, but by very different means; the attitude is not selected to avoid shadows on the figure, because, while the extreme outline is strongly marked, the shadows within it may be in a great measure suppressed, so that the choice of attitudes is greater" (Eastlake's *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*, p. 116).

The subject selected in the metopes of the Parthenon for the display of the requisite qualities is the contest between the Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage feast of Peirithous—a legend to which the Greeks attached peculiar importance as allegorical of the first contests between civilisation and barbarism, and which was of additional interest to the Athenians as introducing their national hero. The Greeks on their national monuments did not indulge the realism which depicts

contemporary events. They went back for types and allegories to the legends of old. The battles with the Centaurs and Amazons were, as Mr. Colvin puts it, types of which Marathon and Salamis were the antitypes. Peirithous, king of the Lapiths, had summoned Theseus to celebrate his marriage with Deidameia, to which festivity came also the Centaurs from the Thessalian mountains. During the feast these wild, ungovernable creatures, half-man, half-horse, became inflamed with wine, and attempted to carry off the women. Whereupon a battle ensued; the Lapiths were victorious, and to them was attributed the invention of the bit and the bridle. We shall meet with the same subject again, in the next room, on the Phigalian frieze, and a comparison of the treatment of it in the two cases will suggest many points of artistic interest.

In studying the Parthenon metopes, we may notice that, "as becomes a marriage ceremony, the Lapiths are youthful, beardless, slim, but firmly knit." The Centaurs, on the other hand, "like rustic, half-civilised neighbours, are bearded and mature in years. Wine has inflamed the brutality of their nature, and some of them have already seized on the maidens present at the ceremony, to carry them off to the wilderness." Thus in 307 the victorious Centaur is about to hurl a large wine-cup on his prostrate foe; in 312 the Lapith is thrown down over a large wine-vessel; in 318 the Centaur is carrying off a Lapith woman. Note that in this case the Centaur's head has the pointed ears which are characteristic of the semi-bestial type. In contrast to the ferocity of the Centaurs, notice how calmly the Lapiths expire (*e.g.* 307), and with what austerity their faces are treated. The countenance of the Lapith in No. 320 is especially fine. We may read into this contrast the very spirit of the whole myth:—

"The Greeks were the first people that were born into complete humanity. All nations before them had been, and all around them still were, partly savage, bestial, clay-encumbered, inhuman; still semi-goat, or semi-ant, or semi-stone, or semi-cloud. But the power of a new spirit came upon the Greeks, and the stones were filled with breath, and the clouds clothed with flesh; and then came the great spiritual battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ; and the living creatures became 'Children of Men.' Taught, yet by the Centaur—sown, as they knew, in the fang—from the dappled skin of the brute, from the leprous scale of the serpent, their flesh came again as the flesh of a little child, and they were clean" (Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici*, § 76).

In composition, in artistic effect, and in technical skill, there is a good deal of unevenness in the slabs. That they were not the production of one hand is clear; whether they were the designs of the same artist may be doubted. Contrast, for instance, Nos. 315 and 316. In the former the actions are violent; yet they seem to lack decision. In 316, on the other hand, the idea of force and energy is conveyed in every line of the man's body, nor can anything be finer than the instinctive action with which the Centaur clutches at his wounded back in the moment of pain. In point of composition, also, No. 315 is somewhat bald and meagre. No. 316 is a masterpiece in variety and balance; the flowing lines of the Lapith's mantle form a very effective contrast to the tension of the bodily limbs. The figure is "finished as exquisitely where it is not seen as it is in front." This metope and Nos. 310 and 317 are generally accounted the finest of the series. In No. 310 the action is full of spirit, and the drapery is very happily employed to emphasise its rapidity. There is a beautiful rendering of drapery in the figure of the woman carried off by a Centaur in No. 318, but the general effect is tame. In No. 317, where the Centaur is victorious, the contrast between the expression of death in the body of the prostrate Lapith—"his knees loosened," in the Homeric phrase—and that of triumph in the Centaur, as he brandishes the lion-skin, lashes his tail, and prepares to gallop off to a new adversary, is most effective.

An interesting point to notice in these metopes is the treatment of the Centaurs. It is, as we have seen, one of the functions of Greek art to humanise barbarous conceptions and reduce them to artistic service. This process may be well seen in the Centaurs of the Parthenon. In archaic Greek art these monsters were represented with the fore-legs of a man, but with the hind-legs of a horse. The composite figure thus produced is excessively ungainly; and later Greek artists, feeling this, gave their Centaurs the fore-legs, as well as the hind-legs, of a horse. The gain in artistic effect was immense (Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. 619). But, even so, the human body joined at the waist to the horse's neck is one of the worst of the mixed forms devised by fancy, since it implies a duplication of so many of the essential organs. The sculptor of the Parthenon produces a more consistent and harmonious effect by "the adoption of a familiar device of archaic art, by which the beast is seen facing, the lower part of the body in profile.

So in these metopes the human upper part of the Centaurs is always seen either from the front or three-quarter face; while the equine body is seen in profile; the breadth thus gained for the upper part, and the subtle curves of the transition from the one form to the other, seen only in front, and implied at the back, help to justify and almost to make credible the monstrous combination" (E. Gardner, p. 273). It has been pointed out, further, that in these metopes the equine body of the Centaurs is never exhibited in death or agony; it is at the human part of the Centaurs that the Lapiths level their weapons. The sculptor has adopted in many of the Centaurs the movements of a high-bred horse under management (Murray, ii. 57). In this way he elevates his subject, by securing a simple, natural, and dignified action, and rationalises the legend, so as to make the otherwise strange subject acceptable to ordinary spectators. To the Lapiths, as we have seen, was attributed the invention of the bit and bridle, and this is one aspect of the legend which seems to be seized by the sculptor. A comparison with the Phigalian frieze will show how rare was the perfect poise of Attic art at its best.

THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

"It would be vain to point out the truly immeasurable wealth of beauty that is displayed in these most splendid of frieze compositions. But if we reflect how monotonously such processions were depicted by Oriental art, and if we compare with them the inexhaustible power of imagination, the variety, the charming animation, the attraction of quiet grace, of solemn dignity, of vigorous life, and of sparkling and spirited action, which meet us in the countless figures of this frieze, we perceive that such a work could alone have proceeded from the great master of a perfectly untrammelled art, and could only have proceeded from him when a people exuberant in beauty, nurtured in freedom, and conspicuous for nobility of manners and cultivation, such as the Athenians of that period, presented the most beautiful models to the eye of the artist" (Lübke, *History of Sculpture*, i. 155).

The marbles which we have next to examine are from the frieze of the Parthenon, and are arranged all round the room on the level of the eye. More than half of the slabs here exhibited are the original marbles, removed by Lord Elgin from the temple. The remainder (generally distinguishable at a glance by their brighter colour) are casts from marbles which still remain on the temple, or are preserved in the Museum at

Athens and elsewhere. The double interest in these bas-reliefs is well suggested by Lübke in the passage quoted above. The frieze of the Parthenon is at once a beautiful work of art and an important historical document. Artistically, it is full of varied beauty; historically, it gives us a picture of the Athenian people[1]:—

"These reliefs set before us in a way which no mere words can do the very form and spirit of Periclean Athens. It is the very epitome of Attic history, and teaches us more than a thousand treatises. From the Gods of Olympus with their priests to the poor dumb victims which bled upon their altars; from the Archon and Eupatrid to the charioteer and the slave groom, all are there. In long array we behold the stately magistrates and the venerable seers of Athens, the sacred envoys of dependent states, the victors in their chariots drawn by the steeds which had won for them the cheap but priceless garland, the full-armed warriors, the splendid cavalry, and the noble youths of 'horse-loving' Athens on their favourite steeds, in the flush and pride of their young life; and last, not least, the train of high-born Athenian maidens, marching with bowed heads and quiet gaits, for they are engaged in holy work, with modest mien, and gentle dignity and grace. All that was sacred, powerful, and grand, all that was beautiful, graceful, and joyous in Athenian life, is represented here, in ideal form, of course, but in strict conformity with the realities of life" (Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 299).

From both points of view—the historical and the artistic—these marbles call for long and attentive study.

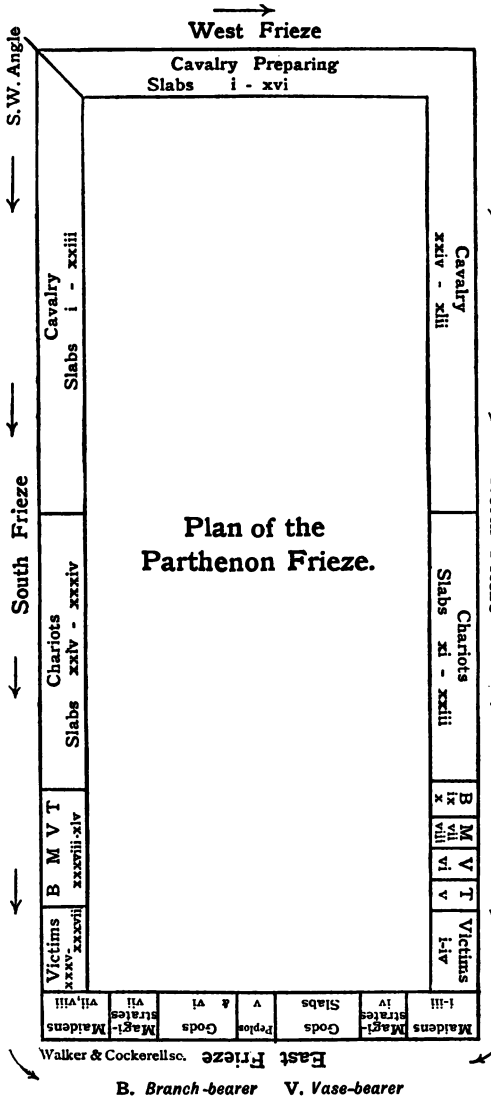
The **position of the frieze** will be understood at once by a glance at the large model of the Parthenon. It ran all round the temple, on the outside wall of the cella (or interior chamber). It could thus only be seen by persons standing within the colonnades and looking up, or by persons outside looking up between the columns of the peristyle. This position explains why the sculpture is in very low relief. Unlike the

[1] In this way the frieze of the Parthenon is historical art in the best sense of the term. There is a reproduction of it on the Athenæum Club, in Pall Mall, and Mr. Ruskin draws the distinction: "Admired beyond all other marble shapes in the world; for which reason, the gentlemen of my literary club here in London, professing devotion to the same goddess, decorate their very comfortable corner house in Pall Mall with a copy of this Attic sculpture. Being therein, themselves, Attic in no wise, but essentially barbarous, pilfering what they cannot imitate; for a truly Attic mind would have induced them to portray *themselves*, as they appear in their own Pan-Christian procession, whenever and wherever it may be—presumably to Epsom Downs on the Derby day" (*Fors Clavigera*, xxiii. 5).

metopes, the frieze could only be seen from near, and received such light only as penetrated between the columns or was reflected upwards from the marble floor. Being thus scantily lighted, it was necessarily kept flat, so as to avoid the deep shadows of high relief. No doubt it derived much of its effect from the colour employed to set off the figures from the background; bronze seems also to have been freely used in the trappings, etc. (see p. 187). It may be noted, lastly, with regard to the work in low relief, that it tends to become indistinct and formless, unless the outlines are conspicuous at the first glance. "The contrivance by which this is effected is by abruptly sinking the edges of the form to the plane on which they are raised, instead of gradually rounding and losing them" (Eastlake).

The **subject of the frieze** was to some extent governed by its position. It decorated a temple of Athena, and it occupied a place where continuity was the effect aimed at. Nothing was so well calculated to give this as a procession. Seen from outside, "the advance of the moving procession, as seen between the columns by a spectator walking outside, would give a peculiarly lifelike appearance as its scenes opened themselves one after another to the view" (Gardner, p. 293). The visitor to the British Museum may perceive this effect by walking slowly round the large model. The procession chosen for representation is that which was formed in connection with the Panathenaic Festival, held every fourth year in honour of Athena Polias, the tutelary deity of the Acropolis. A procession, solemn sacrifices and the offering of a new robe (peplos) to the goddess, were among the chief ceremonies. The procession, which was ordered by marshals, assembled in the outer Ceramicus (or potters' quarter), and after passing through the lower city, ascended the Acropolis. In the procession the whole body of Athenian citizens were represented. Each of the Athenian colonies contributed sacrificial victims, and sent special envoys. We may therefore liken the subject represented on the frieze in some sort to a cattle-show, but more fully to our own "Jubilee" or Coronation processions.

The **arrangement of the frieze.**—The sculptures representing this Athenian "Jubilee" were conceived by the artist as a whole, culminating on the east side of the temple, where, in the centre above the principal entrance to the temple, is represented


West Frieze
Cavalry Preparing
Slabs i - xvi
S.W. Angle
South Frieze
North Frieze
East Frieze
Cavalry
Slabs i - xxiii
Cavalry
xxiv - xlii
Chariots
Slabs xxiv - xxxiv
Chariots
Slabs xi - xxiii
Plan of the
Parthenon Frieze.
Victims xxxv-xxxvii
B M V T xxxviii-xlv
B ix x
M vii viii
V vi
T v
Victims i-iv
Maidens vii,viii
Magi-strates vii
Gods & vi
Peplos v
Gods Slabs
Magi-strates iv
Maidens i-iii
Walker & Cockerell sc.
B. Branch-bearer V. Vase-bearer
M. Musicians T. Tray-bearer

the delivery of the **peplos** (Figs. 30-34 on the east side of this room). Towards this central group the whole procession moves. The accompanying plan will help the visitor to understand the scheme. The procession is represented as starting at the south-west angle. One part moves along the west and north sides; the other in the opposite direction, along the south side. The figures on the west side, which a visitor to the Acropolis would first see, show the procession in preparation; Dr. Murray suggests that the artist's idea was to show the two sides of a procession as seen at the same moment from two sides of the road. It will be observed from our plan that there is an exact correspondence between the two sides; to a spectator stationed at the east end the arrangement of the frieze might well suggest the idea thus indicated. The spectator in the British Museum must remember that the slabs are here turned, as it were, inside out. They are necessarily arranged as an internal decoration: on the temple they were an external decoration.

THE WEST FRIEZE

We will begin our examination with the marbles from the south-west angle (behind the large model) and follow the procession round the west and north sides. Slabs I. and II. of the west side (*numbers of the slabs* are below in Roman numerals) are originals brought by Lord Elgin; the remainder are casts from the originals which are still in position on the temple. Two sets of casts of this side of the frieze are exhibited in parallel lines. The lower series was taken from moulds made by Lord Elgin in 1801; the upper, in 1872. The exhibition may be taken as a kind of justification of Lord Elgin's action. For a comparison of the two sets of casts shows how much the frieze has suffered from exposure to weather, in the ruined state of the temple, during seventy years. Notice, for instance, in Figure 15 (the *numbers of the figures* are above in Arabic numerals) how the head had disappeared between 1801 and 1872.

The subject of the west frieze is the preparation of the procession. Some of the cavalry are just mounted; others are quieting their restless steeds, or preparing to mount. In accordance with this nature of the subject, the slabs are independent of each other, the west frieze differing in this

respect from the north and south. But though there is a number of isolated groups exhibiting great variety of attitude, the prevailing movement is harmonious and uniform. As we pass along, we note some of the more remarkable figures :—

30. One of the marshals who occur at frequent intervals throughout the procession. The supply of the men for this duty was, we read, the privilege of a particular family, the Euneidæ.

29. A youth stoops down to fasten his boot, resting his foot on a stone ; such stones may have been placed for assistance in mounting. The same attitude occurs, though with differences of detail, in No. 12 farther on ; and it became a favourite motive in Greek art. The graceful pose afforded a good opportunity for displaying the elasticity of youthful forms.

17. The rider wears the broad-brimmed "Thessalian hat."

14. The youth has a characteristically grave expression.

11. This figure is unique upon the frieze for the richly-adorned armour which the rider wears. On the front of the cuirass is a Gorgon's head in relief. The variety which pervades the costumes throughout the frieze is remarkable. Some of the figures are clothed from head to feet, others have naked feet, and others have boots of various kinds; some have no garment but the chlamys. Some have hats, or helmets ; others are uncovered. "But it is from this seeming confusion," says Dodwell, "this variety of attitudes, of dress and preparation, of precipitancy and care, of busy movement and relaxed effort, that the composition derives so much of its effect."

8. The other horsemen are young men of a uniform type. But Nos. 8 and 15 are of middle age and bearded. "Their position seems to be that of guides or instructors accompanying the procession, and probably riding alone at its side, while the others rode in ranks of two or more deep."

2. This is one of the most beautiful figures on the frieze. The young rider turns round, and his cloak flies in the wind. In the *Æthiopica* (third book) of Heliodorus (the earliest novel which has come down to us) there is an account of another Greek procession which is aptly cited in the Official Catalogue as a vivid commentary on the Parthenon frieze. When we look at beautiful figures such as the one before us, we are reminded of Heliodorus's description of his hero : "He rode bareheaded and wore a purple cloak. A gentle breeze gave him further grace, spreading his hair about his neck, and parting the locks on his forehead, and blowing the ends of his cloak about the back and flanks of his horse. And the horse itself seemed conscious of the exceeding beauty of its master, as it arched its neck, and pricked up its ears, and frowned its brows, and advanced proudly, giving ready obedience to the rein."

1 (North-west angle). Here we have another herald, marshalling the procession : "In like manner Hippias was in the outer Ceramicus

'arranging how each part of the Panathenaic procession ought to go forward,' when he was attacked by Harmodios and Aristogeiton" (Thuc. vi. 57).

THE NORTH FRIEZE

We must now imagine ourselves to turn the north-west angle, and continue our examination of the frieze on the north side of the Parthenon. The slabs from this north frieze are hung round the room in a continuous line, past the door into the Ephesus Room and on until we reach the door into the Nereid Room. Most of the slabs are the originals, removed by Lord Elgin, but several are casts from the originals now at Athens. Many are still in fine condition, especially the long cavalcade of horsemen, and these are generally accounted the most beautiful examples in the world of sculpture in low relief. It may be useful to remind the spectator of one or two of the laws which the nature of bas-relief imposes upon the sculptor. In the first place, he cannot have any middle distance and background, and hence he must as far as possible fill his whole space. Secondly, he has to adopt the principle of *isocephalism*, *i.e.* all the heads in this frieze are on the same level, whether the figures are standing or mounted. Thirdly, the sculptor has to abandon the strict laws of perspective. These would require a diminution in the size of figures seen one behind the other. This requirement is often violated in the frankest and most daring manner. Another necessary characteristic of bas-relief as distinguished from sculpture in the round is the greater sketchiness of the former. This will be appreciated in a moment by comparing the treatment of the draperies in the frieze and in the pediment respectively. Readers who desire to follow out these technical points further will find much that is suggestive in Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, ch. v., and Eastlake's *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*. We must now pass on to examine the slabs in detail:—

110-53. Athenian cavalry.

109, 110. The west frieze, as we have seen, represented preparations for the procession. The continuity is preserved by a gradual transition to the procession itself. Here, therefore, we have the first rider still not quite ready. He is pulling his chiton down in front, while a boy attendant (110) pulls it down from under the girdle behind.

107. A beautiful figure.

97. A lovely head very well preserved. The head was formerly in

the Pourtalès collection, at the sale of which, in 1865, it was purchased for the British Museum, and inserted in its place on the frieze. It is interesting to notice from how many different quarters the piecing together of the frieze has come. Thus the head of 85 was in the possession of the Society of Dilettanti, from whom it passed to the Royal Academy, who presented it to the Museum in 1817. No. 75 was discovered in 1850 in the collection of sculptures at Marbury Hall in Cheshire, and was presented to the Museum by Mr. Smith Barry, the owner of that collection. It is clear that the Parthenon was at one time a kind of quarry from which the collections of the dilettanti were enriched. Many of the slabs, now preserved in the Museum at Athens, have been unearthed at various times in excavations at the base of the temple.

Figure 53 is the last of the Athenian cavalry, and before we pass on we may glance back for a moment at this part of the procession as a whole, and make a few general observations. These observations are applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the frieze as a whole, but are perhaps peculiarly applicable here, when we are examining the best preserved portion. The procession of Athenian cavalry is famous first for the extraordinary skill with which the artist combines variety with unity, order with freedom.

The spectator will derive at once from the contemplation of these slabs "an impression of *uniformity* in the types of the youths selected for the cavalcade — selected, doubtless, in a spirit of solemnity which sees in the uniformity of outward appearance a symbol of oneness of mind, just as an irregular or motley crowd is associated with diverse amusements and gaiety" (Murray, ii. 35). The particular type selected by the sculptor is very characteristic of the *Greek ideal.* The nature of this has been well defined by Ruskin. It is sometimes supposed that a distinguishing characteristic of Greek art is its search for personal beauty—rare, subtle, and haunting. But this is hardly so. Rather is Greek art, of the Phidian ideal, distinguished by "everlasting calm in the presence of all fate; and joy such as they could win, not indeed in a perfect beauty, but in beauty at perfect rest" (*The Queen of the Air*, § 175). Clear-cut, calm, collected, such are pre-eminently the characteristics which we find in the faces of the Athenian cavalry, as designed by Phidias. But now note, in the next place, how skilfully elements of *diversity* are introduced to relieve the uniformity of which we have spoken. In the first place, great variety is

introduced in the costumes and accoutrements of the horsemen. Details of this variety are collected in the Official Catalogue, p. 175, and the visitor will find it interesting to trace them for himself. In the next place, notice the contrast between the calm faces, the even hand and well-armed seat of the riders, and the irregular movements and fiery impatience of the *horses*. The effect has been compared to that of "a fine stream with an infinite play of light on its surface, which makes you almost insensible of its steady onward flow" (see Murray, ii. 34, 37). The contrast between the movements is carried out also in the expressions. The calm of the young men's faces contrasts strongly with the intensity of expression often put into those of the horses. They are like the horse in the "Rhyme of the Duchess May":—

> And a look of human woe from his staring eyes did go.

The horses throughout the frieze are wrought with the utmost skill. Of a hundred and ten which are introduced no two are in the same attitude, but all are instinct with life. "We possess in England," said Flaxman, "the most precious examples of Grecian power in the sculpture of animals. The horses of the frieze in the Elgin collection appear to live and move, to roll their eyes, to gallop, prance and curvet. The veins of their faces and legs seem distended with circulation; in them are distinguished the hardness and decision of bony forms, from the elasticity of tendon and the softness of flesh. The beholder is charmed with the deer-like lightness and elegance of their make; and although the relief is not above an inch from the background, and they are so much smaller than nature, we can scarcely suffer reason to persuade us that they are not alive" (*Lectures on Sculpture*, ed. 1865, p. 124).[1]

[1] The praise bestowed by the learned critics upon the horses and riders of the Parthenon frieze was on one occasion confirmed by a professional gentleman in another walk of life. Shortly after the Elgin Marbles were first exhibited, a visitor was observed to enter the gallery attended by a dozen young gentlemen. To them he made the following observations: "See, gentlemen, look at the riders all round the room; see how they sit; see with what ease and elegance they ride; they have no saddles, no stirrups, they must have leaped upon their horses in grand style. You will do well to study the position of those noble fellows; stay here this morning, and I am sure you will seat yourselves better to-morrow." The speaker was a riding-master who had brought his pupils for a lesson in the Elgin room instead of in the riding-school (*Nollekens and his Times*, i. 316).

52-31. We may now leave the cavalry and pass on to the procession of four-horsed CHARIOTS, accompanied by apobatæ (or warriors on foot) and marshals. This portion of the frieze is much mutilated, but some of the remaining figures are of great beauty. Some of the fragments, now at Athens, were only discovered during the excavations in 1889.

49, 41. Especially noticeable are the figures numbered 49 and 41. No. 49—an apobate armed with helmet and buckler—is stepping into the chariot—a very fine figure. No. 41 is about to step off from the chariot: "a figure of such beauty as goes beyond description. The shield is thrown back in the natural action of stepping down, and, while in this way allowing all the beauty of the form to be clearly seen, it at the same time forms a frame in which the conspicuous part of the figure is encircled and detached from the lines of the surrounding figures. So unobtrusively is this accomplished, and so natural is the action, that the very decided emphasis thus given to the figure escapes notice, and all thought of the artist's skill is apt to disappear in instinctive admiration of his ever lovely creation" (Murray, ii. 39).

30-24. Next come the Thallophori or branch-bearers. The carrying of branches of Athena's olive in the Panathenaic procession was a privilege assigned to elderly citizens, and the artist is able to obtain a marked contrast between the sedate march of the Thallophori and the vigorous animation of the chariots and their youthful warriors. "The transition from the rapid motion of the chariot to the quietude of the Thallophori is skilfully effected by a chariot seen in rapid motion, but in the act of being suddenly checked by the marshal (31), who is represented eagerly pressing back the plunging horses of the chariot which follows on the next slab. In the haste of his movement he has nearly thrown off his mantle, holding it from slipping further with his right hand on his right thigh" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. 169).

24-16. In contrast with the elderly branch-bearers, who keep close together, is the open order of the musicians—players on the lyre and flute—who come next, wearing long chitons and "stepping to a slow and stately tune."

15-12. The next slab (VI.) is one of the most beautiful in the frieze. The original slab (from which this is a cast) was found among the ruins in 1833, and is now in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The group is that of bearers of wine-vessels for the sacrifices. Three carry the vases, with exquisite grace, upon their shoulders; the fourth stoops to raise his vase from the ground. "Here it should be observed how skilfully the artist has perceived that this action of stooping low down is beautiful only in the front aspect, and has hid the rest of the form behind the next figure following, thus at the same time intensifying the beautiful eagerness of youth" (Murray, ii. 40).

11, 10. The next figure (11) is that of a tray-bearer. Other figures of the same kind are lost. The trays contained offerings of cake. After the tray-bearer is another marshal (10).

9-1. Next come the victims for the sacrifice. Each cow is led by ropes held by two youths, one on each side; each sheep by one boy.

THE EAST FRIEZE

We have now reached the end of the slabs on the north frieze of the temple. On the other side of the door into the Nereid Room commence the slabs of the east frieze :—

60-49. Maidens, with occasional marshals as before. On Slab VIII. the maidens carry sacrificial vessels ; they are very graceful. The original of Slab VII. was removed from the Acropolis by Choiseul-Gouffier in 1787, and is now in the Louvre. Two of the maidens (50, 49) stand with empty hands. "Perhaps one has given up the dish which is held by the officer (48). In that case these would be Canephori, maidens of noble birth, whose privilege it was to carry in the procession the dishes in which sacrificial instruments were usually brought to the altar" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. 164).

48-42. Next come a group of men, most of them elderly—usually called magistrates. They are partly engaged in marshalling the procession (48-46) ; the rest are leaning on their staffs, and waiting for the procession to arrive.

At this point, while we also rest, we may break off for a moment and listen to a further passage from Heliodorus :—

"The bulls were followed by a crowd of other victims, each kind being led separately and in order. Meanwhile flute and pipe were playing a melody which was, as it were, an introduction to the sacrifice. The cattle and their escort were followed by maidens with flowing hair. They were in two troops : the first carried baskets of fruits and flowers ; the second troop carried flat baskets with sweetmeats and incense, and filled the place with sweet smells. They bore their burdens on their heads, leaving their hands free, and kept their ranks true both from front to rear and from side to side, that they might march and dance while the first troop gave the time, singing a hymn in honour of Thetis. The troops were so harmonious, and the sound of marching was so accurately timed to the song, that hearing seemed better than seeing, and the spectators followed the maidens as they passed, as if they were drawn by the melody."

An interesting discovery has recently been made which throws fuller light on the procession of maidens in this frieze. An Attic decree, of 98 B.C., shows that the selected maidens who prepared the sacred robe took part also in the procession. The decree records that these maidens had performed all their duties, and "had walked in the procession in the manner ordained with the utmost beauty and grace."

The procession which we have traced along the west and north sides of the frieze has now, as we have seen, turned the

corner on to the east side. A similar procession (which we shall trace presently in the reverse order) is advancing along the south side. Between the two processions are the central groups of the frieze. There has been much discussion and there is much difference of opinion with regard to the precise signification of these central groups. We shall here take for granted the more commonly accepted theory. In the centre, then, of the east frieze was a representation of the ceremony in which the festival culminated, viz. the presentation of the Peplos (35-31). On either side of this central group is a group of seven deities (41-36 and 30-24). The gods and goddesses have assembled to honour the festival of Athena by their presence, and they must be conceived by the spectator as being only ideally present, awaiting the commencement of the ceremony. In a picture they would doubtless have been represented in a semicircle in the background. The sculptor is deprived of this resource, and has to adopt various little devices to explain his meaning. Thus, the heads of the gods are on a higher level than those of the mortals; the prevailing lines in the divine groups are vertical instead of horizontal; and the nearest mortals turn their backs on the gods: this of course would not be the case if the gods were to be understood as actually present (cf. the sculptures from the Theseum, p. 198) Probably the distinction was originally enforced by a difference in colour—red instead of blue.

We may now continue our examination of the figures in detail:—

41. A lovely figure of the god of love, Eros.

40. Beside him sits his mother, Aphroditè, extending her forefinger as if to point out some object in the procession to the boy.

39-37. Demeter, Dionysus, Poseidon. The original marble, from which this is a cast, is in very good condition, was dug up in 1836, and is now in the Acropolis Museum. As a rule, the faces of the gods on the frieze have suffered very badly; perhaps from being recognised as such by Christian iconoclasts. But here the faces are nearly perfect:—"Two gods and a goddess; the goddess of a beauty mature but still young, one of the gods bearded and in the prime of life, the other a beardless youth. This is all we know. Each face is of a proud, impersonal beauty . . . of unexampled grace. . . . The attitude of each figure is perfectly simple, and yet pervaded by a sort of delicate restraint which is almost a mannerism and yet never affected. It is natural, and yet something a little beyond nature. Always in looking at this frieze we are haunted by a sense of something away—

a far-off undertone of unearthly serenity" (J. E. Harrison, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*, p. 214).

36. Hephæstus. 35. Athena.

34-30. The central group of the whole frieze; and the great scene of the ceremony, conceived as being performed in the interior of the temple. A youth (34)—an acolyte, we may say—is handing to the priest (33) the embroidered robe for presentation to the goddess. "The action is represented in the most natural and life-like way; we see how the man has lifted the heavy piece of stuff with both hands to bring it near his face and examine it critically; the attitude of his right hand, too, is just that of feeling a piece of stuff with a view of testing it." Beside the priest is a priestess (33), to whom female attendants (31 and 30) are bringing stools, which they carry on their heads. The heads are protected by pads. (There is a figure carrying a stool in similar fashion on a vase, E 169, see p. 198.) These figures also represent one of the most sacred acts of the ceremonial. The seats are being brought in for the divine guests expected at the feast. What faith thus conceived as the invisible sequel, the artist has represented as actually taking place. He shows us the real presence of the gods. On either side the gods have already arrived and have taken their places on the seats made ready for them in the temple.[1]

29-23. We now come to a second group of deities, corresponding to those we have passed on the other side of the Peplos group. First comes Zeus (29). There is much dignity in his mien, and it should be observed that he is distinguished from the rest of the company of the gods by the ornamental chair on which he sits.

Then follow Hera (28), who displays her beautiful arms, and turning to her lord lifts the veil from her face; and Iris (27). The original of the head of Iris, in exquisite preservation, is at Athens. It was discovered in 1889 in the course of excavations on the Acropolis; it is supposed to have been removed before the conversion of the Parthenon into a church and, by being built into a wall, to have escaped the mutilation which befell other pieces of the marble.

The next god (26) sits in a negligent attitude, clasping his knee with his hands as a relief from the fatigue of sitting on a stool without a back. He is supposed to be Ares. The remaining deities may be Artemis (25), Apollo (24), and Hermes (23).

22-19. This group of magistrates corresponds with one on the other side (45-42). They stand conversing in the same easy attitudes.

18, 17. Marshals.

16, 15. Maidens.

14-11. Maidens carrying some kind of sacrificial instruments.

[1] This is Furtwängler's interpretation: see Appendix iii. of his *Masterpieces*. Other authorities suppose the seats to be intended for the officiating priests, and the robe to be either the priest's robe or the old robe of the goddess being carried away. Apart from other objections, such theories reduce the culminating point of Phidias's design to bathos.

10-6. Maidens carrying wine jugs, etc.

5-2. Maidens carrying bowls.

1. A marshal. He looks back as if to make a signal to the procession advancing along the south side, and thus assists to preserve the continuity.

THE SOUTH FRIEZE

We continue our tour of the room, and thus inspect the south frieze in a reverse order to that followed in the case of the north frieze. The arrangement is closely parallel, and the south side is on the whole not so well preserved as on the north; but there are some fragments of great beauty:—

91-80. Victims for the sacrifice. Here they are only cows; on the north side they were cows and sheep. The cows are very finely rendered. Notice in 81 the folds of hanging skin on the animal's neck; the marble is wrought into the very resemblance of softness.

66. (Slab XXX.) "The horses' heads, which are treated with more freedom on this slab than elsewhere on the frieze, are of extraordinary beauty" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. 187). Ruskin gives a drawing of this slab to illustrate what is meant by the virtue of handling in sculpture: "A great sculptor uses his tool exactly as a painter his pencil, and you may recognise the decision of his thought and glow of his temper, no less in the workmanship than in the design. . . . The projection of the heads of the four horses, one behind the other, is certainly not more, altogether, than three-quarters of an inch from the flat ground, and the one in front does not in reality project more than the one behind it, yet, by mere drawing, you see the sculptor has got them to appear to recede in due order, and by the soft rounding of the flesh surfaces, and modulation of the veins, he has taken away all look of flatness from the necks. He has drawn the eyes and nostrils with dark incision, careful as the finest touches of a painter's pencil; and then, at last, when he comes to the manes, he has let fly hand and chisel with their full force; and where a base workman (above all, if he had modelled the thing in clay first) would have lost himself in laborious imitation of hair, the Greek has struck the tresses out with angular incisions, deep driven, every one in appointed place and deliberate curve, yet flowing so free under his noble hand that you cannot alter, without harm, the bending of any single ridge, nor contract, nor extend, a point of them" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 179). It has been well said of "the incomparably beautiful low relief of the Parthenon frieze," that "there are many parts which can only be compared to the impression of a contemporary Athenian gem. In some of the groups the nearest plane of the relief is reduced to a thinness which seems almost to require the translucency of a precious stone to show up the exquisite beauty of the work, instead of the coarse opaque marble" (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1901).

35. Notice the very conspicuous holes on the crown of the head. They must have been for the attachment of a metal wreath. There are on some of the slabs similar holes on the horses' crests, showing that the reins were also of metal. In the Mausoleum Room (Ch. XII.) we may see actual remains of such metal adornments. One must mentally supply these accessories to get a correct idea of the design. The passage from Heliodorus, already quoted, may help us to supply the colour: "At length the appearance of the youthful cavalry and of its leader proved that a noble sight was better than any music. There were fifty youths, in two troops of five-and-twenty, acting as body-guard. Their boots were laced with purple thongs and tied above the ankle. Their cloaks were white with dark-blue borders, and were fastened on their breasts with golden brooches. The horses were all Thessalian, and breathed the freedom of their native plains. They tried to spue out their bits and covered them with foam, as if rebellious, yet submitted to the will of the riders. It seemed as if there had been a rivalry among their masters in adorning their horses with frontlets and cheek-pieces, silver or gilded."

29. Very beautiful.

26. Another beautiful figure. The faces of some of these young knights recall that of the (so-called) young Malatesta in Paolo Uccello's picture at the National Gallery (No. 583): "Erect he sits, and quiet; calm as if he were at a hawking party, only more grave; his golden hair wreathed about his proud white brow, as about a statue's." Some of us, in examining these sculptures of young Athenian cavalry, will recall another passage in which Ruskin likens the horses of the Parthenon to the wild white horses of the sea. It occurs in a note on Hook's "Luff, boy!" exhibited in 1859: "A glorious picture—most glorious—'Hempen bridle, and horse of tree.' Nay, rather, backs of blue horses, foam-fetlocked, rearing beside us as we ride, tossing their tameless crests, with deep-drawn thunder in their overtaking tread. I wonder if Mr. Hook when he drew that boy thought of the Elgin Marbles[1]; the helmetless, unsworded, unarmoured men of Marathon. I think not: the likeness is too lovely to be conscious: it is all the more touching. They also, the men of Marathon, horsemen riding upon horses given them of the sea-god. The earth struck by the

[1] As a matter of fact Mr. Hook did carefully study the Elgin Marbles. In the second volume of my *Popular Handbook to the National Gallery* many references will be found to English artists who have derived inspiration from the Elgin Marbles. M. de la Sizeranne says on this point: "Publicists like Mr. Frederic Harrison, who would restore the Elgin Marbles to Greece and who delight in describing all that Europe loses in not acquiring them, forget to mention all that their compatriots have gained by the possession of them. Many artists copy them, a large number draw inspiration from them, and one finds reproductions of them in all the studios. It is before these marbles that most of the great artists of to-day formed their style."

trident takes such shape—a white wave, with its foaming mane and its crested head, made living for them."

We follow the frieze round until we come to Figure No. 1—a marshal. Here we find ourselves again at the south-west angle from which we started, and our examination of the outside of the Parthenon is complete.

THE STATUE OF ATHENA PARTHENOS

We must now in imagination enter the temple itself. Against one of the walls of this room will be seen some statuettes of a goddess. These are rough copies in miniature of the colossal statue of Athena Parthenos by Phidias, which stood inside the temple itself and met the gaze of the worshipper as he entered. The statue, one of the two most celebrated in the ancient world, stood for many centuries in its place; but disappeared in the fifth century of the Christian era. To us, who can never look upon the face of the goddess herself, the external sculptures of the Parthenon are the object of study and admiration. But among the ancients these were but minor decorations of a shrine principally famous for the great statue within. Classical literature, which has nothing to tell us of the sculptures of the temple, contains many references to the statue. Pausanias, for instance, passes the pediments of the temple with the barest reference and does not notice the frieze at all, but devotes several paragraphs of his guide-book to the statue :—

"The image itself is made of ivory and gold. Its helmet is surmounted in the middle by a figure of a sphinx, and on either side of the helmet are griffins wrought in relief. The image of Athena stands upright, clad in a garment that reaches to her feet; on her breast is the head of Medusa wrought in ivory. She holds a Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear. At her feet lies a shield, and near the spear is a serpent" (I. xxiv. 5-7).

The statuettes before us enable us to realise many of these details. No. 300 (a cast, original at Athens) is known as the Varvakion statuette. It was found in 1880, in a shrine in a private house near a school established by Mr. Varvakis. Next to it is the cast of a marble statuette, on a somewhat larger scale, found at Patras.[1] This is probably the earliest

[1] The story of the rescue of this statuette from obscurity and a discussion of various points raised by it will be found in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. III.

and most faithful of all the copies. The head is wanting, but the pose, etc., is the same as in 300. No. 301 (a cast, original at Athens) was found in 1889 near the Pnyx: it is rough and unfinished, but gives many details not found on the others. No. 302, fragment of a shield, is a copy from the shield of the Athena Parthenos.[1] Notice the figure of an elderly man raising both hands above his head to strike. This is the supposed portrait of Phidias himself, referred to by Plutarch in his life of Pericles. A former assistant of the sculptor brought a charge against him, so the story runs, of having appropriated part of the gold and ivory allowed him for the statue. Being acquitted on this charge he was next denounced for introducing portraits of himself and Pericles on the shield of the goddess. Phidias represented himself, we read, as an old bald-headed man raising a stone with both hands; while in another figure, who was represented fighting against an Amazon with one hand, holding out a spear in such a way as to conceal the face, the sculptor introduced the likeness of Pericles. It would be pleasant to think that a portrait of the great sculptor had survived even on this small scale, but there is little doubt that the story of Plutarch was mythical.

The statuettes which we have been examining are on too small a scale and of too little artistic merit to give us any idea of the style of the great statue. It was, with its base, 40 feet high (five times as high as the Caryatid on the other side of this room (407). The value of the gold was £12,500—an artistic form, as Pericles told the Athenians, of banking their gold reserve; and the whole statue—which showed the goddess in her full majesty and splendour, as of a queen giving audience in her throne-room—must have been a personification of the greatness and brilliance of the Athenian State. Least of all do these statuettes enable us to realise the ideal of beauty and majesty which, as we have seen, Phidias put into his Athena, as also into his famous Zeus at Olympia. "The original breadth and simplicity of treatment degenerates in the small copies into ignoble baldness, and majestic calm into a wooden mask."

[1] This shield was obtained by Lord Strangford from Athens, and is usually known by his name. On the interior are remains of colour agreeing with what Pliny says of the shield of the Athena Parthenos, that on the concave part Phidias *caelavit deorum et gigantum dimicationes* (see Cecil Smith in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, iii. 137).

THE PORTRAIT OF PERICLES

We are fortunate in the British Museum in being able to pass from the contemplation of the sculptures of the Parthenon to a portrait of the great Athenian statesman under whose administration the temple was built, and who employed the genius of Phidias to adorn it. The portrait bust of Pericles, inscribed with his name (549), stands near the door leading into the Ephesus Room. This bust was found in 1781 in the Villa of Cassius at Tivoli, together with another and similar but inferior bust now in the Vatican. Both were copies of a contemporary portrait bust, of which the base has recently been found on the Acropolis. It is supposed to be the work of Cresilas (of Crete, a follower of Myron), of whom Pliny says that he made an Olympian Pericles which was worthy of the title, and was an example of the art that "makes illustrious men still more illustrious." In person the great statesman was graceful and well-made, save for an unusual height of skull, which suggested the nickname of "onion-headed" to an Athenian comic poet. Plutarch says that the helmet was put on to mask this physical defect. But more probably it is employed to denote his military rank as a general. For Pericles was a man of deeds as well as of words, a commander as well as a politician. The famous phrase in which he expressed the Athenian ideal of his time will be remembered: "We are refined without display, and learned without effeminacy." The portrait before us represents Pericles in full maturity:—

"This portrait of Pericles is a vivid commentary on what Thucydides wrote concerning the temper and manner of the great statesman. Artist and historian alike show us a man raised far above his fellow-citizens by the superiority of his mind and the distinction of his character. Although we possess numerous contemporary portraits, it would be difficult to match the tranquil dignity of this bust of Pericles. The pose of the head, which is inclined a little to one side and slightly thrown back, is so personal that it must have been studied from the life. In this pose lies the secret of that gentleness which is a distinguishing characteristic of the head—a gentleness arising, not from weakness, but from an innate nobility of soul. The artist, though confined to a bust, has yet contrived to suggest the whole personage. We can almost fancy that we see Pericles before us raising his head in dignified unconcern, however loud the voice of his accusers and slanderers might rise about him. This outer security well expressed the inner purity of that incorruptible nature to which Cresilas and

Thucydides bear equal witness. The mouth, which almost borders on ugliness, is specially distinctive. Broader than is customary with voluptuous lips—the under lip is especially full—it is not the mouth of a man accustomed to impose his will on others with an arbitrary and iron determination, but its mobile and sensuous curves accord admirably with the eloquent manner and persuasive grace of Pericles, and are not without a suggestion of the tender and faithful lover of Aspasia, and of the patron and protector of artists. The external mien of Pericles was conspicuous not only for mildness and tranquillity, but for the seriousness of its expression; he had 'a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter' (Plutarch). Should any one interpret this to mean starched and formal dignity—a quality, for the rest, quite foreign to the Greek genius—the portrait would promptly undeceive him. A profound seriousness pervades the features, but there is no trace of self-importance. Rather do we seem to be looking upon the ideal portrait of the ruler of a democracy, on whom it is incumbent to be first in intrinsic merit as in mental distinction" (*Masterpieces*, p. 118).

Furtwängler, in fixing the probable date of the portrait, invests it with additional interest :—

"The inscription from the Acropolis is approximately dated B.C. 440-430. Within this period there is no event so likely to have occasioned the dedication of the portrait in the sanctuary of Athena Polias as the return of the victorious general from the most difficult and glorious of his campaigns—the one undertaken against Samos in B.C. 439. Gratitude for his successful return would afford a specially suitable occasion for his friends to dedicate his portrait to the goddess who had lent him her aid. The work would thus have been executed at a time when Pericles had roused immense popular enthusiasm by his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the war, an occasion on which the women adorned him with crowns and chaplets. May be that the image of Pericles, as he stood there before the people on that day, inspired the artist at his work" (*ibid.* p. 119).

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

We may now make a fresh tour of the Elgin Room in order to inspect, though more cursorily, such objects of general interest as we have not already described. Mere fragments of architecture or sculpture we do not notice. On either side of the doorway into the Ephesus Room are casts of two **marble chairs** that are still in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The one on the right as we enter the doorway—an arm-chair with lion's-claw feet—is very interesting. In front is inscribed the name of the owner. It was the official seat of

the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus, and is delicately carved in low relief. On each arm is a beautiful figure of a winged boy :—

"This kneeling Angel of Victory is late Greek art, but nobly systematic flat bas-relief. His attitude is an ancient and grandly conventional one among the Egyptians ; and I was tracing it back to a kneeling goddess of the greatest dynasty of the Pharaohs—a goddess of evening or death, laying down the sun out of her right hand, when, one bright day, the shadows came out clear on the Athenian throne, and I saw that my Angel of Victory was only backing a cock at a cock-fight" (Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, § 133).

In the south-west corner of the room we may notice a large bronze urn found in a tomb on the road to Eleusis.

Passing the bust of Pericles, we come to a majestic **head of Hera** (504), found at Girgenti.[1] It is thought that this head reproduces more or less freely that of the statue in ivory and gold at Argos, by Polyclitus :—

"The head has suffered considerably, first, from a polishing down of the lips, which have not only lost their finer and necessary lines, but now appear almost to gape ; and, secondly, from a cutting down of the crown at both sides, which destroys the comparison of the head with the coins, if it does not materially injure the effect. This reduction of the crown, and especially the want of ornament on it, tend to exaggerate the demureness of the expression, while the destruction of the lips gives a heaviness to the lower part of the face, at variance with her character as a bride. It may be also that something of the matronly type was imported into the face by the copyist. Yet, when seen in three-quarter view, where the injuries and defects are less appreciable, the face has a charm of natural beauty, not free and rejoicing in its own loveliness, but controlled by a fascinating reserve ; in fact, uniting the more than mortal grace of Polykleitos with his unrivalled power of deducing a characteristic type from elaborate observation and thought, tending always in the direction of reserve in expression" (Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, i. 309).

In the collection of coins there is a head of Hera which is also supposed to be copied from the statue of Polyclitus (see p. 38)—a statue which is described by Pausanias, and was hardly less famous in antiquity than the masterpieces of

[1] Furtwängler denies that this head is an antique. It is, he says, one of a series of heads with exaggerated straightness of nose and with weak chins which betray an insipid imitation of the antique, but which have been treated by acids and otherwise so as to suggest an antique origin (see *Neuere Fälschungen von Antiquen*, 1899, p. 9).

Phidias. Strabo says that the works of Polyclitus at Argos were the most beautiful in the world, though in size and costliness they were surpassed by those of Phidias; and Martial says (x. 89) that Phidias would have been glad to claim the image of Hera as his own.

Head of Æsculapius (550).—This noble head was found in 1828 in a shrine in the island of Melos. With it was found a votive tablet on which a leg is sculptured, with an inscription dedicating it as a thank-offering from Tyche to Asklepios and Hygieia (see 809 in the wall case behind the model of the Parthenon, and cf. p. 194). The numerous rivets which will be observed on the top of the head once fastened a heavy metal wreath of laurel, worn by the god as the son of Apollo the Healer (as in Poynter's picture, Tate Gallery, No. 1586):—

"A very noble specimen of Greek sculpture. The countenance is majestic, as befits a god, but with this majesty the sculptor has blended a human tenderness of expression which affects our sympathies more nearly than the ordinary types of divinities in Greek art, and which seems singularly appropriate to the conception of Æsculapius as the friend of man, whose special attribute it was to mitigate human suffering"[1] (Newton, *Guide to the Blacas Collection*, 1867).

We now pass the Parthenon sculptures, and turn to the wall behind the large model. The wall case here contains several very interesting **votive reliefs.** Every traveller in Italy is familiar with the *ex votos*, or votive offerings (generally in the form of pictures), which are hung up in churches or sanctuaries, in thanksgiving for miraculous escapes or cures.[2] This is a Christian survival of a Pagan custom, of which the marbles in this case are a memorial. These votive tablets were discovered by Lord Aberdeen in 1803 in the course of excavations at Athens. They are representations of portions of the human body, with inscriptions (of Roman times) dedicating them to Highest Zeus—in thanksgiving, no doubt, for

[1] "In the story which makes Æsculapius incur the wrath of Zeus in order to recall to life one who was dead, and further, in the minds of all worshippers, this god—standing before Zeus as divine, yet also human—is, like Prometheus, a loving and indulgent friend of man, even when other deities frown. . . . He was worshipped and besought not always under the name of a god, but most frequently under the designation, familiar to Christian ears, of the Son of God" (Dyer's *Gods in Greece*, p. 240).

[2] There is a particularly interesting collection at the Sanctuary of Oropa in Piedmont. These free health-resorts in Italy assist one in many respects to realise the character and office of ancient shrines of healing.

recovery from illness. Among them are breasts (799, 800, 807), eyes (801), feet (803), arms (806), ears (810). The relief of a leg (809) comes from the shrine of Æsculapius in Melos. No. 798, from Thessaly, shows two plaits of formally twisted hair, dedicated by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus. It was the custom of youths reaching manhood thus to dedicate hair. See, further, on the subject of votive reliefs, Ch. XIII.

Passing on along the wall, we may notice a **fragment of a colossal head** (460). This was found in 1820 on the site of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and is supposed to belong to the famous statue of Nemesis by Agoracritus, a favourite pupil of Phidias. The statue was rightly named Nemesis, for it was made out of a block of marble which was brought by the Persians, before the battle of Marathon, to be erected as a trophy after the capture of Athens. Note also a cast from a fine marble head discovered in the Heræum of Argos by the American School of Archæology.

Against the wall, and also in a case in this part of the room, are various fragments of architecture and sculpture which are of interest only to experts and students. From time to time discoveries are made which invest even the smallest fragments with significance, and many of the dry stones here preserved may one day be made to live. We may notice the **cast of a lion's head** (353), from one of the angles of the pediment of the Parthenon (see model). In the next case, a head from a relief, and the cast of a relief showing a trireme, may be noticed. The statue near the door is the so-called **Eros** of the Elgin collection :—

"With quiver-band ; of course Apollo, not Eros, who is excluded by the absence of wings. An original work from the Acropolis, unfortunately only a torso, bears witness to the influence of Euphranor on contemporary Attic artists. The artist has, in Attic fashion, replaced the squareness and flatness affected by Euphranor by more softly rounded flesh, and he has obviously been influenced not only by this master, but by Praxiteles. He was, however, one of the lesser artists ; his work must be dated at about B.C. 360" (Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 356).

Turning now to the other side of the room, we notice several **architectural fragments from the Erechtheum**—a temple of the Ionic order which stands near the north side of the Acropolis of Athens (see model of the Acropolis), sacred, among other deities, to Erechtheus, the ward of Athena, and

legendary king of Athens. This temple was erected about thirty years later than the Parthenon. Lord Elgin carried off the marbles now in this room, and in the subsequent war of Greek liberation the temple suffered serious injuries. Of Lord Elgin's spoils the most important are the column and the Caryatid. The **Column** (408), on the other side of the room, came from the north corner of the eastern portico of the temple. It is 21 feet high. The Erechtheum belongs to the *Ionic* order of Greek architecture (in which style the British Museum itself is built). The Ionic order may be recognised at once by its volutes, or spiral projections at each side or angle of the capital. The column before us, being placed at a corner, has volutes on two adjacent sides, so as to show both to the east and north view. Another feature distinguishing the Ionic from the Doric order is the presence of a base to the column. Contrast this with the model of the Doric Parthenon.[1]

The **Caryatid** (407) is of great interest and beauty. It is one of six female figures which served as columns in the southern portico of the temple. The portico has been reproduced in St. Pancras Church, London. "Poor antique architecture!" exclaims M. Taine, "what is it doing in such a climate?" Our Caryatid is now replaced by a copy in terra-cotta. The other five remain in their original position, but suffered severely in the War of Liberation. The substitution of human figures for pillars forms an interesting chapter in architectural history. Female figures in the same attitude and position had previously been used on a small scale for the supports of

[1] Ruskin has some interesting (if in part fanciful) remarks on this feature of Doric architecture in connection with the similarly baseless pillars of the Ducal Palace at Venice: "In the best form of Greek architecture the columns have no independent base; they stand on the even floor of their foundation. Such a structure is not only admirable, but when the column is of great thickness in proportion to its height, and the sufficient firmness, either of the ground or prepared floor, is evident, it is the best of all, having a strange dignity in its excessive simplicity. It is, or ought to be, connected in our minds with the deep meaning of primeval memorial. 'And Jacob took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar.' I do not fancy that he put a base for it first. If you try to put a base to the rock-piers of Stonehenge, you will hardly find them improved; and two of the most perfect buildings in the world, the Parthenon and the Ducal Palace of Venice, have no bases to their pillars. . . . They were meant to be walked beside without stumbling" (*Stones of Venice*, I. vii. 8; *St. Mark's Rest*, ch. ii.).

bronze mirrors: see the specimens in the Bronze Room. The idea of thus employing them for architectural purposes may have been connected originally with the use of servile labour —as, for instance, in the case of the Atlantes, the giants who supported painfully the roof of the Temple of Zeus, at Girgenti, in Sicily.[1] The term Caryatids, which is commonly applied to these figures from the Erechtheum, connotes the same idea; for Vitruvius, the Roman writer on architecture, explains that women of Carya, a town of Arcadia, were represented as architectural supports by way of punishment for betraying the Greeks to the Persians. It should, however, be noted that in a specification of the Erechtheum which has been found on an inscription preserved in the British Museum the figures are called *Korœ*, the maidens. They closely resemble the *Canephori*, or basket-bearers, represented on the Parthenon frieze, and it is possible that these statues illustrate a curious ritual connected with the temple:—

"Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias; the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. They are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes round they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged and others are brought up to the Acropolis in their stead" (Pausanias, i. 26. 3).

This rite may well have suggested to the sculptor the employment of "Caryatids" as appropriate. Probably, however, Greek architects originally derived the idea from Egypt, where the use of human and other figures for columns was common. If so, the history of "Caryatids" furnishes another illustration of the way in which the Greeks refined and made artistically acceptable ideas derived from other races. Is it really fitting to substitute a human figure for an architectural support? This question of æsthetics has been much debated. Ruskin, for instance, agreeing therein with Fergusson, con-

[1] One of these gigantic figures, restored from numerous fragments found in various parts of the buildings, now lies prostrate in the middle of the cella—an object of wonder and curiosity to every visitor.

siders the Caryatid to be "one of the chief errors of the Greek School" (see *Stones of Venice*, I. xxvi. § 18). But in these figures from the Erechtheum, the architectural fancy is treated with great skill and taste :—

"Their rich dress, stately bearing, and erect heads banish all idea of meanness and servility. The massive strength of their frames, compared with the light weight they bear, establishes the harmony between the bearer and the borne, which accords with the fundamental principle of Greek architecture—that every member of a building must not only rest securely on its support, but *appear* to do so. They bear their burden easily, as we see from the fact that their hands are unemployed, except in slightly lifting the robe. The knee of one leg is a little bent, so as to give some life and grace to the human pillar, without interfering too much with its architectural character. On their heads is a soft pad, on which the basket-like architectural decoration takes the place of the customary Ionic capital. The long tresses at the back of the head fill up the curve, and give the necessary appearance of strength to the neck" (Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 317).

The use of these columnar figures became common afterwards, especially in the Renaissance architecture. It is very instructive to compare the Attic Caryatids with other examples —ancient, mediæval, and modern—of the same experiment. Some sculptors striving after additional grace miss the strength of the Attic design; others, emphasising the strain in various forms of laboured tortuousness, miss the grace. The Greeks of the great time make their human column at once graceful and strong :—

> Calm as a grand, far-looking Caryatid
> Holding the roof that covers in a world.

The remaining marbles from the Erechtheum are capitals, friezes, and ceilings. They are of some architectural and decorative interest, as being good examples of various **Greek mouldings**. Among them is the curiously-named "egg-and-tongue" pattern. Its origin is obscure. Some see in the "eggs" a modification of the lotus buds which were a favourite ornament in Egyptian architecture. Others have seen in it "the bursting of the prickly rind of the chestnut fruit, and then the egg-form stands for the chestnut itself. The parallel lines are the thickness of the rind, and the sharp points on either side are the characteristic spines" ("The Lost Soul of Patterns," in *Good Words*, Sept. 1896).

In the same part of the room stands a male torso, supposed to be a figure of Æsculapius (551). Farther on is a cast of a marble owl (560). The original, found near the Parthenon, is at Athens. The owl is supposed to have surmounted a column found near it. This bird, it will be remembered, was sacred to Athena, as the goddess of wisdom—typical of light in darkness, of wisdom showing through obscurity.

CASTS FROM THE THESEUM

Passing up the room, we must next notice, high up on the wall (above the Parthenon frieze), a series of casts from the Theseum at Athens. This temple, the best preserved of all the architectural relics of antiquity, stands about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the Acropolis, and was dedicated to Theseus by the Athenians in the time of Cimon, about the year 469 B.C. The sculptures of this temple are supposed to be somewhat earlier than those of the Parthenon. The casts in the British Museum are (1) three of the eighteen metopes (Nos. 400, 401, 402). The subjects record various legendary exploits of the Athenian hero. In 400 he is slaying the robber Periphetes. In 401 he is overthrowing Cercyon, an Arcadian wrestler, who challenged all travellers to wrestle and slew the vanquished. In 402 Theseus is engaged with a sow; "in the thickets of Crommyon he slew the huge sow that ravaged the cornfields." (2) Casts of the west frieze, where the subject was the battle, in which Theseus assisted, of the Centaurs and Lapiths (403). Notice in 403 (2) the conflict with the invulnerable Lapith, Caeneus—an incident which occurs also on the Phigalian frieze. (3) Casts of the east frieze, where the subject is obscure: it seems to represent some battle of the Athenians under Theseus (404). The battle takes place in the presence of two groups of seated deities (404 (2) and (6)). The deities—as in the case of the Parthenon frieze—must be deemed invisible: "else one combatant is in the act of rushing in among them without producing any concern." With regard to the style of these sculptures, they resemble generally the metopes of the Parthenon. They aim at broad effect, rather than delicacy of detail. The human form is displayed in distorted and complicated attitudes; the sculptures are generally attributed to the School of Myron.

THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES

Underneath the Parthenon frieze are casts from the choragic monument of Lysicrates. This well-known and elegant monument stands at the foot of the Acropolis, a little to the north-east of the Theatre of Dionysus. It is one of the earliest authenticated examples of the Corinthian order. For some centuries the monument was encrusted in a Capuchin convent, a place where English travellers at Athens often stayed. Among these visitors was Lord Byron, who is said to have used the interior of the monument as his study. It was the custom of choragi, or choir-masters, to dedicate to Dionysus the tripods which they had gained in dramatic contests. The tripod in this case was erected on a shrine. An inscription on the monument records among other particulars that Lysicrates was the choragus who dedicated it. The sculptures of the frieze have suffered considerably from exposure during the last ninety years, and the casts before us, made for Lord Elgin, are the best record of them. The subject is the story of Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian pirates. The pirates sought to kidnap the god, who revenged himself by converting them into dolphins,[1] a story which forms the subject of the Homeric hymn to Dionysus :—

"How once he appeared upon the shore of the sea unharvested, in form like a man in the bloom of youth, with his beautiful dark hair waving around him, and on his shoulders a purple robe. Anon came in sight certain men that were pirates ; in a well-wrought ship sailing swiftly on the dark seas : Tyrsanians were they, and Ill Fate was their leader, for they beholding him nodded each to other, and swiftly leaped forth, and hastily seized him, and set him aboard their ship rejoicing in heart, for they deemed that he was the son of kings, the fosterlings of Zeus, and they were minded to bind him with grievous rods. . . . But anon strange matters appeared to them : first there flowed through all the swift black ship a sweet and fragrant wine, and ambrosial fragrance arose, and fear fell upon all the mariners that beheld it. And straightway a vine stretched hither and thither along the sail, hanging with many a cluster, and dark ivy twined round the mast

[1] Those who are interested in the moralisation of myths may like to be reminded of the pretty interpretation which Ruskin reads into the contest of Dionysus with the Tyrrhenian pirates : "Dionysus, who teaches the cheerful music which is to be the wine of old age, has for adversary the commercial pirate, who would sell the god for gain, and drink no wine but gold" (*Fors Clavigera*, 1877, p. 364).

blossoming with flowers, and gracious fruit and garlands grew on all the thole-pins; and they that saw it bade the steersman drive straight to land. Meanwhile, within the ship the God changed into the shape of a lion at the bow; and loudly he roared, and in midship he made a shaggy bear: such marvels he showed forth: there stood it raging, and on the deck glared the lion terribly. Then the men fled in terror to the stern, and there stood in fear round the honest pilot. But suddenly sprang forth the lion and seized the captain, and the men all at once leapt overboard into the strong sea, shunning dread doom, and there were changed into dolphins" (Andrew Lang's translation).

The sculptor does not closely follow the poet, but represents the scene as taking place on the rocky shore of Naxos, where the pirates found Dionysus. In the centre of the composition the god himself (1) reclines, fondling his panther. He is represented larger in size than any of the other figures. "In direct contrast with this central god-like calm, to right and left the scene of the punishment and final transformation takes place. Satyrs, young and old, are beating, binding, and burning the miscreants, and in despair those half-metamorphosed already leap into the sea" (Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 247). The mention of a magistrate's name on the inscription fixes the date of the monument to 335-334 B.C. It is thus one hundred years later than the other sculptures in this room—belonging to the time of the Hermes of Praxiteles, the Demeter of Cnidus, and the Mausoleum. Comparing the casts before him with the marbles of the Parthenon, the visitor will note many differences marking the later style. The form of Dionysus is softer, and there is more humour in the whole treatment:—

"The attendant satyrs, with sticks hastily torn from the trees (5), or with the torches used in their revels (3), pursue and chastise the robbers with a boyish, boisterous delight. For the latter there is no escape. Even those whom the satyrs cannot overtake are subject to the magic influence of the god, and we see them, in the process of transformation into dolphins (5), leaping with desperate eagerness into the new element which is to be their future home. The inevitable serpent, too, the constant attendant at Dionysiac festivals, is biting a terrified pirate in the shoulder (10)" (Perry, p. 475).

The composition of the frieze is admirable as an example of variety combined with symmetry.

☞ *The side door in the Elgin Room leads into the Nereid Room, which is described in the next chapter.*

CHAPTER XI

THE NEREID ROOM

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;
And ye that on the sands with printless foot,
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him,
When he comes back.

SHAKESPEARE'S *Tempest.*

"In respect of natural beauty, and the general excellence of its climate, New Zealand may be compared with Lycia in Asia Minor. The engravings in Fellows' *Asia Minor* of the wooded mountains round the city of Xanthus might pass for the beautiful heights behind Otaki, or some of the hills round Nelson. But how different the civilisation of the two places! Science thrives in New Zealand; art flourished in Lycia. Two centuries hence, should English civilisation and power be overthrown, a few ruined embankments, bridges, fragments of locomotives and dynamos, and ugly buildings of all sorts, would alone testify that here the English empire had been planted. But two thousand years ago Xanthus, with its Boulé and its Gerusia, presided over the Lycian cities, and her citizens had such a passion for the beautiful, and such a reverence for her divinities, that the immortal sculptures in which their feelings were expressed have defied the lapse of time, and the Briton from the distant isle, "which the imperial Roman shivered when he named," can present his capital city with no more precious gift than the exquisite tombs and bas-reliefs of Xanthus—if not for imitation, at least for wondering love" (THOMAS ARNOLD, *Passages in a Wandering Life*, p. 121).

THE sculptures and architectural fragments in this room come from the Nereid Monument, an Ionic Trophy Tomb found by Sir Charles Fellows at Xanthus in Lycia. The monument derives its name from the graceful figures which stood in the intervals between the columns, and which were supposed to represent the Nereids, daughters of the sea, as described by

Apollonius: "At once raising their draperies on their white knees, high as the very rocks and the breach of the waves, they rushed on either side at intervals from each other." The Nereid Marbles were found by Fellows on the occasion of his third expedition in 1841-42—an expedition made with the primary object, as we have seen (p. 100), of removing the tombs discovered by him on his former visits. In 1842 he found a lofty stone basis, and near it a large quantity of reliefs and fragments of architecture. These he brought to England, leaving the basis where it stood. The fragments, reconstructed as far as possible, are now around us.

"The 9th of January [1842] was Sunday, when all the men after service generally rambled about, and it often happened that it was the most prolific day for discoveries. In endeavouring to catch a scorpion, I crept into a hole among a pile of large blocks of white marble, and to my great joy saw above me, upon the under side of a stone, an Amazon on horseback, and a fine naked figure with a shield, the whole as white and perfect as when first sculptured. . . . On the east of the foundation I found four pieces of frieze and a keystone of the cornice or border of a pediment; on the apex of this was a square cutting to receive a statue. Another piece of this cornice, forming one of the extreme angles, was also cut to receive a statue about 9 inches distant from the end. These made me hope to discover some statues, and on the following day we dug up two figures lying close together, and one a few feet apart; these were of about the same scale, and had probably surmounted the pediment of a temple. Each of these statues displayed the emblems of Venus beneath their feet; one had a dove, another a dolphin, and the third a tortoise. The pleasure and excitement of these discoveries were entered into even by the sailors, who often forgot the dinner-hour or worked after dusk to finish the getting out of a statue; indeed, great care was needed to prevent their being in too much haste to raise up the figures, for while the marble was saturated with the moisture of the earth the slightest blow chipped off the light folds of the drapery; these hardened as they dried in the air. . . . These stones I found pell-mell, one over the other; and yet from the metal ties remaining, and the fragments of heads or arms broken off in their fall still lying close to the stone from which they had been separated, I feel sure that all are as when first shaken down by an earthquake" (*Asia Minor and Lycia*, pp. 438, 443, 444).

The building, of which the fragments were thus discovered, was in all probability a trophy tomb. The trophy was supposed by Fellows to have been in memory of the conquest of Lycia by the Persians under Harpagus as described by Herodotus (i. 176) in 545 B.C. But the style of the architec-

ture and sculpture show that the monument must be ascribed to a much later date, and the theory now suggested by many archæologists is that it was erected to commemorate the capture of Telmessus by the Lycian prince, Pericles, in 375 B.C. This is the theory which we shall accept in the following description.

The sculptures when discovered were in a confused mass; the visitor should study the model of the monument as reconstructed by Fellows.[1] Remains of nearly every portion of the building as thus shown surround us in this room.

Taking our stand in front of the model, we observe first, on the south side of the room, a **reproduction of one of the short sides** of the building, the height of the base being, however, considerably reduced. Below are some coffers from the ceiling.

Examining the model again, we shall see that on the summits of the pediments were groups sculptured in the round. Fragments of these are exhibited. One (926) is on the top of the restored pediment (923). The other is on the floor. Each group represents a male figure carrying off a female. Fragments were also found of four draped female figures. Fellows placed these, one on each angle of the pediment (as shown on the restoration, 922, 923). Dr. Murray proposes to "bring these female figures close to the two central groups, and thus form on the apex of each pediment a compact composition consisting of Castor or Pollux carrying off one of the daughters of Leukippos, flanked on each side by a female companion rushing away in fear" (*History of Greek Sculpture*, ii. 213). In that case the lionesses (see below) may have stood at the four angles of the pediments.

The **pediments** themselves were filled, as we see in the model, by sculptures. Those from the east pediment (924) are placed over the doorway to the Mausoleum Room. According to the theory stated above, these sculptures give us the clue to the monument[2]:—

"The hero of whom the tomb is a memorial is seated in state, sceptre in hand; his wife sits opposite, and the children are grouped

[1] This reconstruction should be corrected, according to the views now generally held, so as to show six columns at the sides, instead of five.

[2] According to another theory, these sculptures represent divinities, seated, like Hades and Persephone, at the entrance to another world, and approached by worshippers.

about them. Farther to the right are attendants on a smaller scale. One dog is asleep under the master's chair, another lies in the corner of the pediment" (P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 217).

A fragment from the west pediment is placed high up in the south-west corner of the room (925). The relief represents a battle between cavalry and infantry, and the motive may be thus reconstructed:—

"The midmost figure, doubtless the hero again, is on horseback charging an overthrown foe, to whose aid his companions, clad as Greek hoplites, hurry forward. The representation here is no doubt of some notable feat of arms of the owner of the tomb. To the warlike scene the peaceful scene first described corresponds. At first sight it seems merely a picture out of daily life; but if we bear in mind the ordinary symbolism of the Greek tomb we may fairly find in it some sepulchral significance. The grouping of the children about their parents reminds us of many Attic sepulchral reliefs, and the train of attendants bears a decided resemblance to the group of votaries usual on heroizing reliefs. The Asiatic custom of regarding a tomb as a monument of the fame and a record of the exploits of some great ruler or leader of men is penetrated by the genius of Attic sepulchral art, and takes new and more beautiful forms" (Gardner, *ibid.* pp. 217-218).

Returning next to the model, we notice that underneath the pediments, and above the columns, a frieze ran round the building—**"the frieze of the order,"** as it is called. The remains of this frieze are the four lower rows of slabs on the north walls of the rooms. The sculptures represent a battle of horsemen and warriors on foot, and hunting scenes (885-897).

A similar narrow frieze encircled the **cella,** or inside chamber of the monument, as shown on the model. The slabs of this frieze are placed low down on the south-west, south, and west sides of the room. The sculptures represent a banquet, with a sacrifice of rams, bulls, and goats (898-908). This and the preceding frieze are of indifferent workmanship.

On the floor of the room, and also between the restored columns, are placed the **statues of the Nereids,** from which the monument takes its name (909-923). They originally stood between the columns in the manner shown on the restored end of the building and in the model. They represent young maidens in airy garments sailing by the aid of their mantles over sea and shore, indicated by a fish, a dolphin,

a waterfowl, a crab, and a shell. These figures are remarkable for their lightness and grace. A general resemblance to the flying figure of Nikè at Olympia (see p. 114) will be noticed. The Nereid numbered 909 is the finest of the series. The thin drapery seems to cling to her body, and reveals carefully sculptured forms. With regard to the idea of these Nereids, vases in the Museum show several of them in very similar attitudes. They are seen hastening in alarm towards Nereus and Triton, and the cause of their alarm is the seizure of Thetis by Peleus, which is painted on the centre of the composition. The same subject may be that of the groups on the pediment of this monument also, the Nereids being represented as flying in panic at the sound of battle. According to another theory, these beautiful figures are spirits, not of the waves, but of the breezes. They hover over the water, it is pointed out, but do not touch it, as is seen by the swimming waterfowl beneath one of them. This representation is not suitable, it is urged, to the Nereids, who, as the spirits of the waves, form part of the sea, and are figured either as playing on the shore or as riding across the deep. If this objection be accepted, the so-called "Nereids" may symbolise the Breezes that blow over the water. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi. 29) describes two marble statues of Breezes, as sailing by aid of their garments. Pindar (*Ol.* ii. 70) says that "round the Islands of the Blest the Ocean-breezes blow." The idea may therefore have been to represent the Breezes that blow round the abode of the occupants of the tomb. "In the burning clime of Xanthus none of the felicities of the Isles of the Blest would be more readily understood" (J. Six in *J.H.S.* xiii. 131).

We can derive no aid in the interpretation of the statues from the expression of their faces, for none of the heads were found; they had probably been destroyed by Christian iconoclasts. Whatever may be the interpretation, the artistic interest of the statues is the same. They are among the most graceful monuments of Greek sculpture, and are beautiful examples of the artistic treatment of drapery. This is indeed the most valuable means of expressing past as well as present motion in the figure. Hence the Greeks, though they so often avoided it, "availed themselves of it gladly in all representation of action, exaggerating the arrangements of it which express lightness in the material and follow gesture in the

person."[1] As one gazes at these light and airy figures, they seem to realise Shelley's vision :—

> The marble shapes do seem to quiver,
> And their fair limbs to float in motion.

Reverting to the model, we observe next that the base of the monument was ornamented by **two friezes.** The slabs of the uppermost and narrower frieze are fixed as the top row along the south-east, south, west, north, and north-east walls of the room (866-884).

"Here are unfolded to us the successive scenes of the siege and capture of a hostile city, the battle before the walls, the attempt to storm the defence, the parleying and surrender, the escape of some of the inhabitants, and the leading into captivity of others. In the scene of capitulation (879), the central figure is an eastern king or ruler in Persian cap; behind him an attendant bears a sunshade; around him stand his guards. This potentate is approached by two elderly men, staid and dignified, who are clearly the representatives of the city, and come asking for terms. In other scenes we find a bold but a necessarily unsuccessful attempt to represent, without due perspective, the city walls with the heads of the defenders showing above them, the women wailing (868-870), the attacking force adjusting the ladders for scaling, or repulsing sorties of the besieged (871-872). The sculptural history of the siege is too detailed and precise to be a rendering of a merely typical or ideal siege. The two emissaries of the besieged must have had prototypes, and recent prototypes, in real life; and the king before whom they stand is no mythical chief, but the ruler for whom the tomb was made" (Gardner, *ibid.* pp. 218-220).

[1] *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ch. iv. Ruskin goes on to draw an interesting contrast in this respect between Greek and Christian sculpture :—"The Christian sculptors, caring little for the body, or disliking it, and depending exclusively on the countenance, received drapery at first contentedly as a veil, but soon perceived a capacity of expression in it which the Greek had not seen or had despised. The principal element of this expression was the entire removal of agitation from that which was so pre-eminently capable of being agitated. It fell from their human forms plump down, sweeping the ground heavily, and concealing the feet; while the Greek drapery was often blown away from the thigh. The thick and coarse stuffs of the monkish dresses, so absolutely opposed to the thin and gauzy web of antique material, suggested simplicity of division as well as weight of fall. There was no crushing nor subdividing them. And thus the drapery gradually came to represent the spirit of repose as it before had of motion—repose, saintly and severe. The wind had no power upon the garment, as the passion none upon the soul; and the motion of the figure only bent into a softer line the stillness of the falling veil, followed by it like a slow cloud by drooping rain; only in links of lighter undulation it followed the dances of the angels."

Last, we have to examine the sculptures from the **lower and broader frieze** on the base of the monument. These form the second row of slabs along the south-east, south, and west walls of the rooms (850-865). These represent a battle between Asiatic warriors, some of whom are mounted, and Greeks. Dr. Murray, in discussing this frieze, calls attention to the excellence of its composition. Note, for instance, the slab (863) with two Greeks following hard on a mounted Persian; the slab (864) in which, with clashing shields, a Greek meets two Persians, who defend one of their comrades fallen on his knees; and the slab (861) with a Persian trying to step down from his fallen steed. There is also a certain pictorial method of treatment discernible which may have been due to the influence of the Athenian painter Polygnotus (see on these points Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, ii. pp. 208-210).

We have now called attention to all the marbles in this Room, except a few miscellaneous fragments and the two **crouching lions**, which now flank the doorway of the Mausoleum Room (929-930). These were found by Fellows at the base of the monument, and were conjectured by him to have stood (as shown in the model) within the colonnade (but see p. 203 above). The lionesses have the manes of lions, and are curiously archaic in workmanship.

☞ *From the Nereid Room steps descend into the Mausoleum Room, which should next be visited.*

CHAPTER XII

THE MAUSOLEUM ROOM

I. Marbles from Halicarnassus. II. Marbles from Priene. III. Lycian Tombs. IV. The Lion of Cnidus. V. Miscellaneous Sculptures.

I. MARBLES FROM HALICARNASSUS

"The sepulchre called the Mausoleum was erected by Artemisia to her husband Mausolus. That this work is reckoned one of the seven wonders is due mainly to these artists:—Scopas wrought the sculptures on the eastern side, Bryaxis on the north, Timotheus on the south, and Leochares on the west. The queen died before they finished, but they did not abandon the work until it was completed, thinking it was a memorial of their own fame and artistic skill, and even to-day their handiwork still contends for the mastery. There was a fifth artist besides; for on the top of the colonnade is a pyramid equal in height to the one below, with twenty-four steps running up into the form of a cone; and on the top of this is a marble chariot, made by Pythis" (PLINY, *Natural History*, xxxvi. 30).

"(*Diogenes*)—Why art thou so scornful, man, as if one was not worthy to look at thee?

"(*Mausolus*)—Because I have been a king, Diogenes, and have ruled over a large country, not to make mention of my beauty, nor my valour. Moreover I have a noble tomb in Halicarnassus, adorned with marble figures insomuch that there are few churches that equal my grave; after all this, is it without reason that I am proud?

"(*Diogenes*)—What! for thy Beauty, Valour, Kingdom, and Grave? Why, friend, here thou hast nothing of all that; and if thou'lt pitch upon a judge, he'll tell thee that thy carcass differs in nothing from mine; as for thy sepulchre, it belongs to those of Halicarnassus to brag of that, and show it to strangers as a wonder of the world, and a masterpiece in architecture; but I don't see what use it can be to thee, unless it be to crush thee with its weight" (LUCIAN, *Dialogues of the Dead*, xxv.).

THE tomb of Mausolus, the fame of which is recorded in the passages quoted above, and the remains of which are now one of the chief glories of the British Museum, has given the name of Mausoleum to great sepulchral monuments in all subsequent ages. Mausolus, son of Hekatomnus, was a Prince of Caria, the province adjoining Lycia. He figures in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* as a type of regal magnificence. According to Carian custom, he was married to his sister Artemisia, who, upon his death, set herself to enshrine his memory in a building of unequalled splendour. It was commenced in 352 B.C., the year after his death, and the most eminent sculptors of the day were summoned from Athens to adorn it. It was erected in the city of Halicarnassus (the modern Budrum), which Mausolus had made the capital of his province. Pliny, as we have seen, referred to it as still exciting the admiration of the learned world in his day (died 79 A.D.), and it is believed to have stood intact till it was thrown down by an earthquake in the twelfth century. Two centuries later the Knights of St. John occupied the promontory of Budrum and used some of the fragments of the Mausoleum for building the Castle of St. Peter. In 1522, when the Sultan Suleyman I. was preparing to attack Rhodes, the Grand Master sent some knights to repair the castle :—

"After four or five days these knight-builders having laid bare a great space, one afternoon saw an opening as into a cellar. Taking a candle, they let themselves down through this opening, and found that it led into a fine large square apartment, ornamented all round with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornices, engraved with sculptures in half-relief. Having at first admired these works, and entertained their fancy with the singularity of the sculpture, they pulled it to pieces, and broke up the whole of it, applying it to the same purpose as the rest" (Guichard (1581), quoted in Newton's *Travels*, ii. 126).

Some slabs of the principal frieze were thus built into the castle walls, and the history of the recovery of the Mausoleum begins in 1846, when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British Ambassador at Constantinople, obtained a firman from the Sultan authorising him to remove the slabs to the British Museum. Sir Charles Newton took much interest in these relics, and in 1847 wrote a monograph on the Mausoleum. In 1855 he visited the castle of Budrum and made some further discoveries there of ancient marbles. On the strength of these,

permission was obtained from the Sultan for excavations on the site of the Mausoleum, and Newton was placed at the head of an expedition—one of H.M. ships with a lieutenant of engineers, four sappers, and a crew of 150 men being held at his disposal.[1] The lieutenant of engineers was Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General Sir) Robert Murdoch Smith, to whose subsequent explorations in the Cyrenaica we have already referred (p. 44). Excavations were begun in November 1856; the site of the Mausoleum was explored, and the remains of this wonder of the world were safely deposited in the British Museum. It is worth noticing that the remains were discovered on the precise spot which, in a memoir written ten years previously, Newton had arrived at by a process of reasoning as the site of the building.[2] His account of his first striking the site is very interesting:—

"It was on the 1st of January (1857) that I first broke ground on this memorable site. After a few spadefuls had been thrown up, I examined the character of the soil. It was a loose black mould, full of small splinters of fine white marble and rubble. The whole appearance of this soil, and the absence of stratification in it, suggested the notion that it was a recent accumulation, such as might have taken place in the 400 years which have elapsed since the building of the Castle of Budrum by the Knights. The fragments of marble were evidently from some Ionic building. After a short time a mutilated leg turned up; this was evidently from a frieze. I began to have vague hopes. More bits of sculpture appeared,—always legs and

[1] The bluejackets entered with good humour into their strange work. The following letter was picked up:—"Dear father and mother, with god's help i now take up my pen to right these few lines to you, hopeing to find you in good health and sperits as thank god it leaves me at present. Dear father of all the drill that a seaman was put to i think the *Supply's* company have got the worst, for here we are at Boderumm a using the pike, madock, and shovel. Never was there such a change from a seaman to a navy; yes by george we are all turned naveys, sumetimes a diging it up and sometimes a draging it down to the water's edge and then embarking it. Dear father this is the finest marble that ever i saw; we get on so very slow that i fear we shall be hear a long time; the city of Ninevea as has been sunk such a long time that we find nothing but marble; everything els is compleatley roled away. What is most to be seen is the crockery ware that they used in those days" (Newton's *Travels*, ii. 211).

[2] It appears that it was Lieutenant Smith who hit upon the real site of the Mausoleum, and discovered the key to Pullan's restoration (see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857-58, lx. 694-709; Sir C. Wilson's memoir of Smith in the *Royal Engineers' Journal*, 1st September 1900; and W. K. Dickson's *Life of Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, 1901, pp. 22, 33).

scraps of frieze, till at last I got a piece of foot with the moulding of the frieze still remaining. I at once recognised this to be the moulding of the frieze from the castle, which Lord Stratford obtained for the British Museum in 1846. About the same time that I made this discovery, I happened to be examining a wall near where I was digging, and found that a battered fragment of a marble lion formed one of the foundation stones. From that day I had no doubt that the site of the Mausoleum was found. Strange as it may seem to you, the moment of making this great discovery was not at all one of great joy and exultation. I cast a wistful eye on the site covered with houses and plots of garden land, each belonging to a different proprietor, and asked myself how will it be possible to buy all these people out" (*Travels and Discoveries*, ii. pp. 86-87).

It required great patience, much diplomacy, and liberal expenditure on Newton's part to proceed with his diggings. "They tell me," said one Turkish proprietor, "you are a man who, when once you get your foot into a field, contrive to get your whole body in after it."

Before examining the remains of the Mausoleum, the visitor will do well to study the conjectural restorations of the building, exhibited at the south-west corner of the room, and including a very pretty water-colour drawing by C. R. Cockerell, R.A. A knowledge of these restorations will add greatly to the interest and appreciation of the remains. All restorations are, however, merely conjectural. In the official *Catalogue of Sculpture* (vol. ii. pp. 76, 77), illustrations are given of eight restorations; no two of them are alike. In all probability much of the original marble still remains in the Castle of Budrum; if that Turkish fortress should ever be razed to the ground and made to disclose all its secrets, the mystery of the Mausoleum will perhaps be solved.[1] The building, which, according to Pliny, was 140 feet high, appears to have consisted of (1) a lofty basement, on which stood (2)

[1] Visitors to Rome may be interested in Fergusson's conjecture that the famous horses of the Monte Cavallo once adorned an angle of the base of the Mausoleum (see *Antiquities of Ionia*, part iv. p. 18); but this is not probable. One of the more recent restorations of the Mausoleum is that made by the late Mr. Edmund Oldfield (an assistant in the Museum at the time when these marbles were brought over) in *Archæologia*, liv. 273 and lv. 343. Martial, in one of his epigrams, speaks of the Mausoleum as "hanging in empty air." Mr. Oldfield's conjectural restoration meets this description. Mr. Pullan's, which Sir C. Newton adopted, is, on the other hand, remarkable for its heaviness.

an oblong edifice, surrounded by an Ionic colonnade, and encircled by a frieze, and surmounted by (3) a pyramid of twenty-four steps; which was crowned by (4) a chariot group. We shall examine the remains of the last three portions of the edifice in the reverse order.

In the centre of the room are the remains, partially reconstructed, of **The Chariot Group** (1000-1004). It is not explicitly stated by Pliny that statues stood in the chariot, but when excavated by Newton, the remains of the chariot and horses, and of the two figures, were found together, lying in a confused heap as they had fallen. The reconstruction has a very grand effect.[1] The visitor will find it grow upon him the more he looks; it is best seen from the steps leading from the Nereid Room.

The colossal **statue of Mausolus** himself, which has been put together out of sixty-five fragments, is evidently a portrait, though treated in an ideal manner:—

"The cast of the features resembles (says Newton), so far as I know, no other type to be met with in Hellenic art. The hair springing upwards from the forehead, falls in thick waves on each side of the face; the beard is short and close; the face square and massive, with proportions somewhat shorter and broader than those usually observed in Greek art; the eyes, deep-set under overhanging brows, have a full and majestic gaze; the mouth is well formed, with a set calm about the lips, indicating decision of character and the habit of command. The drapery is grandly composed, and the majestic aspect of the figure accords very well with the description which Mausolus is made to give of himself in Lucian's Dialogue. 'I was,' he says, 'a tall handsome man, and formidable in war'" (*Travels*, ii. 114, 115).

The **female figure** was formerly supposed to have been a goddess standing by the side of Mausolus in the chariot, and acting as his charioteer—the group being thus typical of his translation to heaven. But more probably the lady also is a

[1] It should, however, be remembered that this restoration, like everything else connected with the Mausoleum, is conjectural. It cannot conclusively be proved that the magnificent statues of Mausolus and Artemisia belonged to the chariot on the top of the monument. Reasons to the contrary have been urged, *e.g.* that statues at such a height in a chariot, and behind gigantic horses, would have been almost invisible from below. Both the horses and wheel of the chariot are on a far larger scale than the two statues. An empty chariot would have been very appropriate to the tomb. These are some of the arguments adduced by Professor P. Gardner (*J.H.S.* xiii. 188, and *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, ch. xiv.) For Mr. Oldfield's powerful reply, see *Archæologia*, lv. 365-372.

portrait figure, in which case she must be Artemisia herself. Newton calls special attention to the drapery and the foot in this figure :—

"Each fold is traced home to its origin and wrought to its full depth; a master hand has passed over the whole surface, leaving no sign of that slurred and careless treatment which characterises the specious and meretricious art of a later period. One foot of this statue has been preserved, and is an exquisite specimen of sculpture, and more valuable because, in the few statues from the best Greek schools which we possess, the extremities are generally wanting" (*ibid.* ii. 116).

The **colossal horse** was discovered early in the course of the diggings :—

"After being duly hauled out, he was placed on a sledge and dragged to the shore by eighty Turkish workmen. On the walls and house-tops, as we went along, sat the veiled ladies of Budrum. They had never seen anything so big before, and the sight overcame the reserve imposed upon them by Turkish etiquette. The ladies of Troy, gazing at the wooden horse as he entered the breach, could not have been more astonished" (*ibid.* ii. 110).

The original bronze bit is still in the horse's mouth. The wheel has been restored from a few fragments, which have been of value in determining the height of the chariot; the diameter of the wheel was found to be 7 feet 7 inches.

At the north end of the room (east corner) are several of the **marble steps** of the pyramidal roof which was surmounted by the chariot (987). A fragment with a hoof of one of the horses has been inserted into the upper step to show the arrangement. Here too is placed an **alabaster jar** (1099), found near a great stone, which probably had closed the entrance to the sepulchral chamber. (This stone, by the way, showed signs of not having been securely fastened; and Newton suggests that this may have been a case of fraud on the part of the workmen, with the same motive as actuated the builder of the treasury of the Egyptian king Rhampsinitus, about which Herodotus tells one of his most amusing anecdotes.—Herod. ii. 121.) Jars were often deposited at the entrance to tombs by mourners, after libations to the dead had been made from them. This jar is inscribed in Persian, Median, Assyrian, and Egyptian, with the words, "Xerxes the great king," and may have been an heirloom preserved from the time of Xerxes and offered as a precious gift by Artemisia to the *manes* of her departed lord.

We now come to the slabs and fragments of the **principal frieze**, which are attached to the east wall of the room. The history of the recovery of these is interesting. Twelve of them were obtained, as we have seen, from the Castle of Budrum in 1846. Four more were discovered in 1856-59 on the site of the Mausoleum. In 1865 another slab (1022) was purchased from a palace at Genoa, to which place it had probably been taken from Budrum by one of the Knights of St. John, some time in the fifteenth, or early in the sixteenth, century. In 1876 two fragments of another slab (1023) were obtained from a Turkish house in the town of Rhodes. Finally, in 1879 the present Sultan, Abdul Hamid, presented a fragment (1017) which was formerly in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. Fragments found by Newton on the site have since been fitted to the slabs thus collected from so many quarters.

The subject of the frieze is a series of combats between Greeks and Amazons, of whom the legend was that these women-warriors of Scythia had founded an empire in Asia Minor. In examining the sculptures as works of art, it should be remembered that the frieze was designed to be seen from below at a considerable height:—

"The composition is distinguished by the wonderful animation and energy which pervade the whole. A happy boldness of invention is shown in the incidents which represent the varied fortunes of a combat in which neither side can claim a decisive victory. A consummate technical knowledge is applied throughout to render the expression of each group and figure as emphatic as possible, and proportions are boldly exaggerated to produce more telling effects. Tried by the standard of the school of Phidias, and viewed simply as a composition in relief, without regard to its original architectonic purpose, the frieze may perhaps be considered a little strained and overwrought in style; it may be thought that such intensity in the action needs the contrast of forms expressive of repose, such as we see introduced in the metopes of the Parthenon and in the Phigaleian frieze. We seem to miss, too, in the whole treatment of the subject, that grand ethical spirit which pervades the art of Phidias, and which is especially noticeable in the groups where a mortal struggle is represented. We have not, as in the metopes of the Parthenon, the highest human heroism contrasted with mere brute passion; but the combatants on both sides seem, in some groups, to be animated by a rage which weakens rather than develops the nobler part of their nature. In short, the composition, if compared with similar subjects as treated by Phidias, seems less Ethical and more Pathetic. Moreover, in the representations of the Amazons, forms occur which seem rather too

voluptuous for such an heroic type, and we may here detect the first germs of that sensual element which gained so powerful an ascendency in the later schools of art, but of which we have no trace in the works of Phidias" (Newton, *Guide to the Mausoleum Room*, p. 7).

The whole frieze was originally coloured. The ground of the relief was ultramarine blue; the flesh, a dun red; the drapery and armour were picked out with colour. In 1007 there were traces of red on the sleeve of the Amazon; in 1015 on the shield of the Greek; and in 1017 on the right arm of the Greek. The bridles of the horses were of metal. Several of the horses' heads are pierced for the attachment of metal, and in 1015 the end of the leaden fastening still remains in the jaw of the horse.

We may now examine the slabs more in detail:—

Slabs 1006-1012 (from the Castle of St. Peter). "The artist transports us into the thickest of the battle at its hottest moment. On the whole the Greeks are prevailing, but they have no easy task. A Hercules is needed (1008) to ensure a victory. . . . The Greeks are all on foot, and for the most part nude. They are armed with sword or javelin and buckler, and some wear a Corinthian helmet. The Amazons are on foot or horseback, and most of them wear the sleeveless chiton alone, in such a manner as to leave part of the person exposed." Some wear closely-fitting trousers. "The tendency of the age to sacrifice everything to beauty is shown in the treatment of the Amazons. The female warrior, who in earlier art had thrown off the characteristic softness and weakness of the sex, becomes the lovely, charming woman, against whom we wonder to see the manly warrior raise his sword" (Perry, p. 412). The first Amazon in Slab No. 1006 is an example. Two Greeks are about to despatch her. She is disarmed, and supports herself on one arm and knee in a very beautiful attitude. Slab 1012 is the finest in this series (see Murray, ii. 289).

Slabs 1013-1016 were found by Newton on the east side of the Mausoleum, which, according to Pliny, was wrought by Scopas, and they may be the work of that master. They are certainly superior to most of the other slabs in spirit of composition and mastery of execution. The warrior in 1013, who, already wounded, looks up at his adversary with undaunted gaze, is a very noble figure. In 1014 both groups are very fine. In the group on the left the attitude of the Amazon is remarkable for the boldness and novelty of the conception. In the group on the right, where a Greek warrior is bending over an Amazon whom he is about to despatch, there is a fine contrast. The ruthless intent expressed in his face, and the calm upward look with which the heroine awaits the deadly stroke, are inimitably given. The expression of the bearded Greek—one of the best-preserved heads in the whole frieze—is very like that of one of the warriors in the

bronzes of Siris (see p. 443). In 1015 an Amazon sits upon her horse with her face to his tail, and seems to be drawing her bow, after the Parthian fashion, at an enemy behind her. On the right a helmeted Greek is shrinking back from the suspended blow of an Amazon, who has grasped the rim of his shield and thrusts it aside to get a fair stroke. The Amazons, it has been remarked by a German critic, are veritable furies in attack, but in defeat (as we see in other slabs) their woman-nature prevails, and they beg piteously for their lives (Upcott's *Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 82).

Slab 1016 has a most beautiful figure of a mounted Amazon, which resembles the equestrian group in the round. The beauty of the modelling is increased by the preservation of the surface, and this is the finest representation of a horse on the frieze. This was the first slab which Newton discovered in his excavations. "One general expression of wonder and admiration burst forth," he says, "from the lips of my Turkish workmen when they beheld the 'kiz,' or girl, as they called this figure. It was the first time that they had fairly recognised likeness in anything which I had discovered" (*Travels*, ii. 95).

Slab 1017. This figure of an Amazon rushing forward with her battle-axe is very fine. Newton in 1853 recognised it in the Imperial Museum in Constantinople as a fragment of the Mausoleum frieze. "Its connection with the Mausoleum is proved by the fact that the fragment which contains the left knee and lower part of the left thigh was found in the course of the excavations on the site of the Mausoleum in 1856-59, and has been fitted into its place since the larger fragment was presented by the Sultan" (Newton's *Travels*, i. 44; and *Guide to the Mausoleum Room*, p. 21).

Slabs 1018-1021 (from the Castle of St. Peter).

The original Slab 1021 has been placed in the restored order of the Mausoleum; its place in the frieze is here represented by a cast.

Slab 1022 (from Genoa) is one of the finest of the series. It is better preserved than any of those from the Castle, and it was probably selected at the time when the Knights of St. John were at Budrum as worthy to be sent to Genoa. The Serra family, from whose palace it comes, are unable to trace back its possession beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. It was purchased for the Museum in 1865.

Nos. 1023-1030 are fragments of the same frieze. The history of the fragments in 1023 is a curious example of the way in which the *disjecta membra* of ancient sculptures are sometimes reunited. "The lower part of both figures was found on the site of the Mausoleum, but the upper half both of the Greek and of the Amazon was discovered in the courtyard of a Turkish house in the town of Rhodes, and purchased from the owner by the Museum in 1876. On comparing the fractured edges of both fragments with the fragments found on the site of the Mausoleum in 1856-59, it was found that they could be perfectly adjusted. The house at Rhodes, in the courtyard of which the two upper parts of the figures were found, was certainly one of the old

houses of the Knights of St. John. It is, therefore, to be presumed that these two fragments had been conveyed from Budrum to Rhodes while the knights still held the Castle of St. Peter. The surface of both the Rhodian fragments has been damaged by fire" (Newton's *Guide to the Mausoleum Room*, p. 30).

In addition to the principal frieze, fragments of two others were found. The fragments of the **chariot frieze** are arranged above the slabs which we have been examining. One figure from this frieze is of great beauty. It is exhibited "on the line" elsewhere in the room (see p. 219), and is represented in its place here by a cast. The remains of the **Centaur frieze** are arranged in continuation of the principal frieze. Above the first slabs of the principal frieze are some well-preserved remains of a **cornice** richly decorated with projecting lions' heads.

Turning now to the opposite (west) side of the room, and commencing at the far end, we come to a restored **sample of the colonnade** (980), represented by one of the Ionic columns, surmounted by original pieces of the architrave, frieze, and cornice, and showing part of a coffered casting (stretching back to the wall of the room); the sunk panels, or coffers, are richly ornamented. The ground of all the architectural ornaments was painted blue; the mouldings were picked out with red. All the ornaments, adds Newton, "are finished with an exquisite delicacy. This is particularly seen in the cornice, where every leaf in the floral ornaments is wrought with that labour of love which distinguishes Greek architecture in its best age, but which ceases to be its characteristic after the time of Alexander the Great."

We have next to examine (*a*) various isolated pieces of sculpture found at the Mausoleum or of interest in connection therewith; and (*b*) several sculptured lions from the Mausoleum.

(*a*) We begin our examination of the sculptures in the recess, to the right of the stairs leading from the Nereid Room. Here we must notice first casts of two **heads from Tegea** (now in the Athens Museum), which have been identified as works of **Scopas**, and are commonly taken as standards of his style:—

Scopas is one of the most individual of all the Greek sculptors. Like the marble in which he preferred to work, he came from Paros; but he lived at Athens. The years of his activity were about

395-349 B.C. He was somewhat older than Praxiteles. Praxiteles, it has been said, excelled in the representation of moods; Scopas, in that of passions. Among works attributed to him was a group representing three phases of Love—Passion, that inspires the lover; Desire, that breathes from the presence of the beloved; and Yearning, in absence. This group may be taken as typical of the kind of effects which the fiery genius of Scopas sought to breathe into the marble. Subtle shades of strong feeling, passionate and excited motion, overmastering impulse were the effects he aimed at. In the heads before us we can catch, even from the casts, an impression of extraordinary life and intensity. The eyes gaze outwards and upwards, with an intense expression. The mouth is half open; the upper lip is drawn up in excitement. A Greek epigram said of a Bacchante by Scopas that the sculptor mingled frenzy with stone. This is the note of Scopas—an expression of impatience, restlessness, intensity. There are in the British Museum no original sculptures which can certainly be identified with Scopas. But he worked, as we have seen, on the Mausoleum, and many of the sculptures may be attributed to his school. The characteristics noticed above as distinguishing the frieze are in keeping with what we know of his style; so also is the figure of the charioteer, which we shall presently see. We know too that Scopas sculptured one of the columns at Ephesus, and the Hermes (p. 131) has by some been attributed to him. The bronze head of Sleep (p. 433) has also been referred to his inspiration.

Among the other marbles in this recess we may notice the **head of a satrap** (1057), probably some member of the family of Mausolus, wearing the Persian conical cap; and an **heroic head** (1056), much defaced, but remarkable for the pensive expression and deep-set eyes.

Passing down the long wall we come to the so-called **"Aberdeen Head."** This head was obtained direct from Greece by the Earl of Aberdeen, and is believed to be an original work by Praxiteles, probably representing a youthful Hercules. Its technical similarity to the Hermes of Praxiteles is the basis of the attribution:—

"Though the hair in the Aberdeen head is conceived as a lighter, less abundant mass than in the Hermes, the form of the curls that play about the forehead, especially in the region of the temples, is identical in both heads, while on the top it is treated in the same broad masses calculated to produce impression, rather than to render formal detail. One point, however, should be noted to which, at present, I can instance no parallel: it is the deeply-scooped-out grooves which separate the masses of hair, and which are doubtless intended to help out the effects of light and shade. In both heads the structure and modelling of the forehead correspond in their every

part; further, the nose, with the great width between the eyes, the form of the eyeball, and the modelling of both upper and lower lids, are precisely similar, even the little furrow indicated between the eyebrow and the eyelid being rendered in both heads with identical personal touch. . . . The Aberdeen head has fuller and more sensuous lips than the Hermes, but their form is the same. The chin has the same full rounded character as the lips; it is shorter, and has a more marked dimple than that of the Hermes. Finally, the close correspondence in the measurements of the two heads cannot be without significance" (Eugénie Sellers in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 346).

Next we must notice the beautiful slab representing a **charioteer standing** in a quadriga, of which half the wheel only has been preserved (1037). "His body is thrown forward, and his countenance and attitude express the eagerness of the contest. The features are finished almost with the delicacy of a gem" (Newton's *Travels*, ii. 133):—

"Perhaps the finest of the relics of the Mausoleum. The charioteer is represented as leaning forward in his car, while the long chiton, which reaches to his feet, curves to the wind in sweeping folds. But it is, above all, the expression of the face, with its intense and eager straining towards the distant goal, that gives this figure its unique character. The forehead is deeply furrowed, and there is a heavy bar of flesh on the brow, overshadowing the deep-set eyes, which gaze upwards into the distance. It is difficult to image a finer rendering of the ideal charioteer, as described by Shelley:—

> Others, with burning eyes, lean forth and drink
> With eager eyes the wind of their own speed,
> As if the thing they loved fled on before,
> And now, even now, they clasped it."

(E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 390).

"The workmanship of the whole body," says Mr. Farnell, in ascribing this work to Scopas, "the forms and expression of the face are worthy of the great sculptor's hand; no other part of the Mausoleum sculptures can be compared to it for the warm and soft treatment of the surface; and it has been noticed that the arrangement of the drapery, the simplicity of the lines, recall an older style, of which traces would seem to have been found in Scopas. . . . The expression is in kind the same (as in the Tegean heads), an expression of fresh and buoyant vitality, of the ardour of action upon which the mind is set" (*J.H.S.* vii. 121).

Near the Aberdeen head is a **bearded head** (1054), of which the greater part of the right side has been split off, with

a mild and dignified expression—not unlike Alcibiades, but more probably the portrait of some ancestor of Mausolus.

Not far off is a colossal **equestrian torso** (1045), the position of which on the monument has not been determined. The rider wears the close-fitting trousers (anaxyrides), a dress characteristic of Asiatics in ancient art. The rearing movement of the horse and the firm seat of the rider are admirably rendered. From the marks of many bullets on the shoulder, Newton concluded that the torso had at some time served as a target for the muskets of the residents at Budrum.

Continuing along the west wall, we come to a **torso** (1047) of a ruler, seated: "The drapery is a little heavy in treatment, and is certainly not so delicately wrought as that of Mausolus and his companion" (Newton); and, lastly, to an **Apollo** (1058), in which the style is rich and flowing. This completes our survey of the busts and statues from the Mausoleum.

(*b*) Next, we see on this same west wall, and also in the south corner of the room, a series of **lions** (1075-1086), which probably served as emblematic guardians of the tomb. These lions were built into the Castle of the Knights, where Newton first saw them in 1855, and their discovery had important results:—

"It was with a feeling of eager curiosity that I passed over the old drawbridges, once so jealously guarded. Very few travellers had ever enjoyed this privilege before,—indeed, there is a story that an adventurous Englishman once obtained a firman at Constantinople authorising him to visit the castle, but that on presenting it at Budrum to the commandant, he got a hint that the firman only authorised his entry into the castle, but said nothing about his exit.[1] On walking round the ramparts on the side overlooking the harbour, I made a sudden halt. What I saw was so surprising that I could

[1] On another occasion some "Franks" had obtained an order from Constantinople to go "round the fortifications at Budrum." The governor of the castle received them with every mark of respect and offered the usual hospitality of the East; after which he told them that the mandate could not admit them *within* the castle, but that they were at perfect liberty to walk *round* it. Another traveller obtained permission to "take down" some sculpture from a gateway at Ephesus. This he accomplished without difficulty; whereupon the Turkish Aga interposed, stating that the authority did not extend to taking the stones away (Fellows, *Asia Minor and Lycia*, p. 432). Such anecdotes serve to remind us how much persistence, ingenuity and, perhaps, more material resources have been required in order to enrich the Museum with antiquities from Turkish lands.

hardly believe the evidence of my own eyes. In the embattled wall, between the embrasures, was the head and forehead of a colossal lion, in white marble, built into the masonry and looking towards the interior of the castle. I saw at a glance that this lion was the work of a Greek chisel, and that it belonged to the finest period of ancient art. There could be but one mode of accounting for its presence in the castle,—the supposition that it originally formed part of the Mausoleum. On looking over the battlements, I saw in the face of the wall below five other lions, inserted at intervals as ornaments, all of the finest white marble; and in another part of the castle two more, placed on each side of an escutcheon as supporters" (*Travels*, i. 334).

Newton at once communicated his interesting discovery to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who set about obtaining the necessary firman for the removal of the lions. Two years later Newton returned to Budrum to remove them, but a hitch at the last moment almost deprived the Museum of its prize. There was some delay in the arrival of the firman, and the Turkish Commandant proceeded to steal a march on the Giaour by removing the lions and embarking them on board a caique. Newton, who meanwhile had sent swift messengers to the English Ambassador, gulped down his mortification as best he could as he saw the caique under sail. In the very nick of time a despatch-boat arrived from Constantinople with the firman on board; but the Commandant had another card up his sleeve. "The firman," quoth he, "makes mention of lions, but the animals in the walls of the castle are leopards." A little strong language and baksheesh, however, overcame these verbal subtleties, and the Commandant ultimately threw in a leopard's head not specified in the firman. Portions of the bodies belonging to the lion's heads were discovered in the course of excavations; as also another beast, nearly whole. The tongue, when first discovered, was painted bright red. There were also traces of blue and red on the slabs of the frieze, but on exposure to the air the colour disappeared.

Of these lions there must in all have been at least twenty, and they must have formed a marked feature in the sculptural decoration of the tomb, though their place on it is still matter of conjecture.[1] The sculpture is of very unequal merit. The

[1] In one of the latest restorations of the monument (by Dr. Adler) the lions are placed in a row on a platform above the columns of the pteron. "In a plan now in my possession," says Professor P. Gardner, "Newton had placed these lions on the steps of the pyramid; Dr. Adler's disposition of them seems certainly happier, if it is consistent with existing remains" (*Classical Review*, March 1902, p. 139).

Pentelic marble of which they were cut must have been of the choicest quality, for in some of them the surface is as fresh to-day as it was when it left the chisel, 2250 years ago. Newton supposes that they were represented standing on some wall as sentinels. Their heads, which seem to have been all placed nearly on the same level, are turned with a vigilant look in different directions, "as if they were guarding the approaches to the tomb. Their expressions and attitudes are beautifully varied. In some the countenance has an angry look, in others the natural savageness of the animal seems tempered with a certain earnestness and pathos in the expression which is very peculiar" (*Travels*, ii. 135-136).

II. MARBLES FROM PRIENÈ

The next group of marbles to be examined in this room comes from the Temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè (Samsun) —another Ionic settlement in Asia Minor, south of Ephesus and over against the island of Samos. At Prienè excavations carried on for the Berlin Museum since 1895 have revealed another Pompeii. The remains of the temple were excavated, not without danger from fever and brigands, by Mr. R. P. Pullan for the Society of Dilettanti in 1869, the cost of conveying the heavier marbles to England being borne by Mr. Ruskin. An inscription found on the site, and now in the Museum (see p. 2), fixes the date of the temple, and shows that it must have been erected about fifteen years later than the Mausoleum. The architect was Pythios, who was also the builder of the Mausoleum.

A plan and conjectural restoration of the temple are placed on a screen. The marbles include (1) capitals and other architectural fragments; (2) reliefs from a frieze; (3) some portrait heads; and (4) fragments of a colossal statue.

The subject of the reliefs is a battle of gods and giants; the frieze perhaps decorated a balustrade in front of the statue of the goddess within the temple.

Among the sculptures, a female head (1151) closely resembles one from the Mausoleum, now on the balcony (1051). The same set of curls, the same sort of coif, and apparently the same face, seem at first sight to suggest the same school, if not the same artists as the Mausoleum. But the Prienè head is wanting in the combination of refinement with largeness

of style which characterises the Mausoleum head (see *Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 34; Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, ii. 302). The man's head (1152) is also remarkable:—

"The features are finely modelled, and the work belongs to a good period. The portrait may represent one of the Diadochi, and bears some resemblance to one of the kings of Bithynia as represented on coins, but there is no trace of a diadem. The portrait is remarkable for simplicity of treatment and for realistic force. It is probably one of the very few original portraits by a Greek sculptor anterior to the Augustan age which has come down to us" (C. T. Newton in the *Portfolio*, 1874, p. 105).

Notice against the wall the foot and arm of a **colossal statue** (1150), which must have been 20 feet high. These probably belonged to the statue of the goddess, which the traveller Pausanius mentions as one of the things most to be admired in that part of the world (vii. 5. 5). Under its pedestal, found in the temple by Mr. Pullan, an interesting discovery was made by another visitor a year later. Greek temples, as we know, were frequently used as banks of deposits; and the historians tell us of a deposit of 400 talents made as a resource in time of need at Prienè by the King Orophernes (possibly the original of the Holofernes in the Apocrypha), who usurped the throne of Cappadocia in 158 B.C. His rival Ariarethes was subsequently established as sole king, and demanded these 400 talents from the people of Prienè. They, however, restored the money to Orophernes, as the depositor. Inscriptions found on the temple confirm these statements of the historians, and under the pedestal of the statue of the goddess six coins were found in 1870, bearing the hitherto unknown portrait of King Orophernes (*Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 25). One of these coins, now in the Museum, is included in the exhibition of electrotypes (vi. A. 23, see p. 535). Orophernes may have dedicated the statue in gratitude for the fidelity of the people of Prienè.

III. LYCIAN TOMBS

At one end of the Mausoleum Room, on either side of the staircase, are two Lycian tombs, brought from Xanthus by Sir Charles Fellows—very beautiful specimens of the kind, which have Gothic-formed tops:—

"The structure generally consists of a base or pedestal, which has contained bodies, the *Platas*, surmounted by a plinth or solid mass of stone, which is often sculptured; above this is a sarcophagus, generally imitative of a wood-formed cabinet, the principal receptacle for the bodies, the *Soros;* upon this is placed a Gothic lid, sometimes highly ornamented with sculpture, which also served as a place of sepulture" (Sir Charles Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 497).

The tombs in this room are later in date than the Harpy tomb (p. 101).

On the right, as one faces the staircase, is the "Tomb of Merehi," or the "**Chimæra Tomb**" (951):—

"The lid of this, which I found," says Fellows, "in 1840, is perfect, but had been thrown to the ground by the effect of earthquakes; the chamber from off which it had slidden was inclining towards the lid; beneath the chamber a few stones forming the foundation and step in the same block are alone to be found. There is here no trace of the two first stories, and from the rock approaching the surface of the ground I found no depth of earth for research. Upon the chamber of this tomb is a Lycian inscription, of which I have casts" (*Travels and Researches*, p. 497).

The tomb has here been reconstructed, with the cast of the Lycian inscription; the lid alone is part of the original structure.

On the side of the ridge, facing the wall, is a battle scene; on the side facing the staircase, a banquet, a figure crowning an athlete, and a group of aged figures conversing. Below these reliefs, on each side of the roof, is Bellerophon in a chariot, accompanied by a charioteer, attacking the Chimæra, a fabulous monster of Lycia, part lion, part goat, and part serpent. The inscription states that the tomb was built by Merehi, "a captain of Caricas," for his household.

On the left, as one faces the staircase, is the "Tomb of Payava," called by Fellows the "Horse" or "**Winged Chariot Tomb**" (950). This tomb consists entirely of the original stones. The removal (by a naval expedition sent for the purpose in 1842) was, as may be imagined, no light matter, and was not unattended with some accidents:—

"The means adopted appeared to me to be more sailor-like than scientific; the men placed slings and cords over the top, which probably weighed 10 tons, and, making blocks fast to the neighbouring rocks, *hauled* them off. As I anticipated, the centre fell in pieces, but

the sculptured parts did not receive more injury than they probably would have done from a more scientific operation. The whole may be easily restored, and will again form one of the most elegant and interesting monuments I have ever seen" (*Travels and Researches*, p. 448).

The tomb was discovered by Fellows on his first visit to Xanthus, and greatly excited his admiration. It stood "on the side of a hill rich with wild shrubs,—the distant mountains, of the silvery gray peculiar to marble rocks, forming the background" (*An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, p. 228. A plate in the Museum *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. ii., gives a reproduction of Scharf's view of the tomb in its surroundings).

On the side of the ridge facing us is a combat of warriors on horse and on foot; on either side, a hunting scene. On each side of the roof is an armed figure in a chariot, which is of the early simple form, with wheels of four spokes only, and is driven by a man leaning forward, with his arms stretched out, holding the reins and a whip or goad; four beautifully formed horses, prancing in various attitudes, are drawing the car. On each of these sloping sides of the roof are two stones projecting about a foot, as found on all these Lycian tombs, carved in this case into lions' heads crouching on their paws. In the gable at the far end is a small door for introducing the body of the person buried in the tomb. On the lower part of the tomb, on the side facing the staircase, is a relief of warriors on foot attacking cavalry; the horse of the principal character is ornamented with a plume. On the opposite side is a satrap seated, apparently receiving a deputation; one of these is in the attitude of a counsellor pleading for the others. On the far end is a relief which Fellows thus describes: "One figure, clothed in a loose robe, stands in a commanding attitude fronting the spectator, with an arm raised over the head of a naked figure, also standing. Were this marble found elsewhere, the group might be taken to represent the baptism of our Saviour." (In all probability it was a representation of a judge placing a wreath on the head of a victorious athlete.) On the opposite end are two figures, armed with cuirasses, one of whom appears to be crowning the other.

The inscriptions, in the Lycian character, state that this tomb was built by Payava. They mention also the name of a Persian satrap who authorised the tomb, and who may perhaps be identified with a satrap called by the Greeks Autophradates;

he may have held power at Xanthus, between about 380 and 362 B.C.

"In general form this monument, like its companion, and like many of the Lycian tombs, is remarkable for its frank, and probably conscious, imitation of a wooden building, the frame of which is morticed together, according to a simple system of carpentry. The ends of the beams are left projecting, and the mortices are in some cases made firm with wedges" (*Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, ii. 46). Many other similar tombs were described by Fellows. They were used, he found, by the peasants as barns.

IV. THE LION OF CNIDUS

This colossal lion (1350) was discovered near Cnidus on the coast of Asia Minor in 1858 by Mr. R. P. Pullan, the architect who accompanied Sir Charles Newton's expedition. The task of removing the marble devolved on Lieut. Murdoch Smith, who has given an interesting account of his adventures and difficulties in transporting this weighty prize.[1]

Describing the lion when first discovered, Newton says:—

"He is truly a magnificent beast, measuring 10 feet in length and 6 feet in height, and cut out of one block of Pentelic marble. He lay on his side, his nose buried in the ground. The side which has been exposed to the weather is much worn and has assimilated so much in colour to the surrounding rock, that when I showed him to inhabitants of the district and asked why they had never pointed out to me where he lay, they told me that they had often seen a great rock lying there, but had never perceived that it represented a lion till I told them so. . . . While he had been lying grovelling on the earth we had never seen his face at all; so that, when we had set him on his base, and our eyes met for the first time his calm, majestic gaze, it seemed as if we had suddenly roused him from his sleep of ages. I should mention that he has no eyeballs, only deeply-cut sockets, of which the solemn chiaroscuro, contrasting with the broad sunlight around, produces the effect of real eyes so completely as to suggest the notion that the artist here, as in many instances in ancient sculpture, preferred representation by *equivalents* to the more direct imitation of nature. But, on the other hand, we have abundant evidence to show that coloured eyes, composed of vitreous paste, were sometimes combined with marble in

[1] In W. K. Dickson's *Life of Sir Robert Murdoch Smith*, pp. 119-133. See also Newton's *Travels*, vol. ii. ch. xlvi. The weight of the lion is over 9 tons.

ancient statuary.[1] . . . The contemplation of the Cnidian lion in the bright and delicate atmosphere for which he was originally designed, taught me much as to the causes why modern artists fail so generally when they attempt public monuments on a colossal scale. Their work is designed, executed, and criticised in small studios, where they can form no true judgment as to distant open-air effects. The genial climate in which Greek artists lived must have enabled them to finish their colossal sculptures in the open air, and on the very site for which they were designed. When I stood very near the lion, many things in the treatment appeared harsh and singular; but on retiring to the distance of about thirty yards, all that seemed exaggerated blended into one harmonious whole, which, lit up by an Asiatic sun, exhibited a breadth of chiaroscuro such as I have never seen in sculpture; nor was the effect of this colossal production of human genius at all impaired by the bold forms and desolate grandeur of the surrounding landscape. The lion seemed made for the scenery, and the scenery for the lion" (*Travels*, ii. 215-217).

The lion originally surmounted a Doric tomb, which had been constructed to receive a number of bodies. The monument, 40 feet high, overlooked a headland with a sheer depth of 200 feet. It has been suggested that the tomb was built to commemorate the naval victory gained off this coast by the Athenians under Conon over the Lacedæmonians in 394 B.C. —a victory which deprived the latter of the empire of the sea :—

"The majestic repose of the lion seems the fit expression of the calm and conscious strength of victory. The summit of the pyramid commands an extensive panoramic view over the archipelago. No nobler trophy could have been chosen than this lion, planted on his lofty pedestal as a conspicuous sea-mark, to remind the passing mariners for centuries to come of the supremacy of Athens on the sea" (*ibid.* 226, 227).

This lion is "singularly like in style and proportions to one of the four carried off from Athens in 1687 by Morosini, and now in the Arsenal at Venice" (*Portfolio*, 1874, p. 102).

V. MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

On the landing or raised gallery are placed various marble heads :—

[1] The eyes, now wanting, were probably of glass or vitreous paste, or perhaps of precious stones. "Pliny tells us (*N.H.* xxxvii. 6) of a marble lion, on the tomb of a prince in Cyprus, with emerald eyes so bright that the fish were terrified until the stones were changed" (*Guide to the Department*, 1899, p. 62).

Youthful Bacchus, "wearing long hair and a wreath of ivy, is a beautiful head, sensuous and dreamy" (*Guide to the Department*, 1899, p. 64).

Aphroditè, from the Pourtalès collection, of a broad, ideal type.

Colossal Female Head (1051).—This very fine head was found at the Mausoleum. It is remarkable for the largeness and simplicity of treatment, in the manner of Scopas. The hair is arranged in the manner of the Artemisia :—

"Round the face is a triple row of curls symmetrically arranged, each curl forming a perfect volute [a survival of an archaic custom]. The head is remarkable for the largeness and simplicity of treatment, and the pathos of expression. The cast of features, though ideal, does not recall any of the known types of goddesses" (Newton's *Travels*, ii. 112).

Head in Asiatic Attire.—A similar head-dress occurs on the Nereid monument.

A Portrait Bust of Sir Charles Newton, K.C.B.—the discoverer of the Mausoleum—is very appropriately placed in the centre of this platform, from which he looks down, as it were, on some of his principal triumphs. To him, says Mr. Ruskin, "we owe the finding of more treasure in mines of marble than, were it rightly understood, all California could buy" :—

Newton (born 1816, died 1894) was connected for the greater part of his life with the British Museum. In 1840 he was appointed a junior assistant in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. From 1852 to 1861 he was engaged in travel and discovery, having been appointed Vice-Consul at Mitylene : in reality, though not in form, an archæological mission. His book of travels, from which we have often quoted, is, as Mr. Jebb says, a charming Odyssey lit up with all the colour and humour of Anatolia, such as it was half a century ago. The third section of his life was devoted to administration ; from 1861 to 1885 he was keeper of the department. His social and diplomatic abilities greatly enabled him to increase the national collections. Special grants of £100,000 were entrusted to him, and these enabled him to secure the pick of the Farnese, Pourtalès, Blacas, and Castellani collections. Among research expeditions which he sent out may be mentioned those of Smith and Porcher (Cyrenè), Wood (Ephesus), Pullan (Prienè), Dennis (vases), and Salzmann and Biliotti (Cyprus, etc.). To the work of arrangement and cataloguing of the collections, and to that of fostering the study of archæology, Newton brought an admirable taste and width of range. He was never a specialist in the limited modern sense. "It was classical antiquity as a whole that

had a spell for him. It was in the intense desire to reconstruct and revivify this antiquity that he so closely and indefatigably scanned every monument of any kind that could tell him anything about it." Mr. Jebb, from whom we have been quoting, calls him the English Winckelmann. "In both the mainspring of a devotion which ended only with life was a native instinct, intensely strong and lucid, for the spirit and charm of classical antiquity" (*J.H.S.* xiv. 1).

☞ *Turning to the left as we face the sculptures last described, we enter the Phigalian Room.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE PHIGALIAN ROOM

I. The "Frieze of Phigalia." II. The Temple of Wingless Victory. III. Sepulchral Reliefs. IV. Votive Reliefs.

I. THE PHIGALIAN MARBLES

"Of all the temples in Peloponnese, next to the one at Tegea, this may be placed first for the beauty of the stone and the symmetry of its proportions. Apollo got the name of Succourer for the succour he gave in time of plague, just as at Athens he received the surname of Averter of Evil for delivering Athens also from the plague. It was at the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians that he delivered the Phigalians also, and at no other time; this is proved by his two surnames, which mean much the same thing, as well as by the fact that Ictinus, the architect of the Temple of Phigalia, was a contemporary of Pericles, and built for the Athenians the Parthenon as it is called" (Pausanias, viii. 41. 5, Frazer's translation).

THE most important of the marbles in this room are those discovered in 1812 among the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Epicurius (the helper) at Bassæ, in the territory of Phigalia in Arcadia. The temple, built 430 B.C., was, as we have seen, highly praised by Pausanias, and is by far the best preserved of any in the Peloponnese. It remained, however, unknown in modern times, except to the shepherds of the country, until discovered in 1765 by a French architect in the employ of the Venetians at Zantè. Even then the inaccessibility of the place and its evil repute on account of the prevalence of brigandage led to no further excavations until the party of explorers who had discovered the Æginetan marbles turned their attention to it. After depositing those marbles they set out, in July 1811, with arms and a strong guard. Their excavations had

not proceeded far when the local men objected to the continuance of the work until the consent of the Vizier at Trepolizza had been obtained. This he granted in the following year on condition that he received half the value of the spoils —a fact which was doubtless taken into account in fixing the prices of the marbles ultimately removed. The excavations, on which eighty labourers were employed, were very successful, and the spoils now adorn the walls of this room. Cockerell's account of the work is interesting :—

"The pastimes, the bivouac, the bonfires of aromatic shrubs, the lambs and kids roasted entire, the generous contributions of Bacchus, proffered to us, as is still the custom, in the primitive goat's skin, added to the enjoyment of hourly discovery of the noblest productions of Grecian art, and constituted a memorable adventure of rare interest and enjoyment. Apollo himself might have been roused from his long repose by these carousals, and have thought that the glorious days of old were about to return."

It is curious to know that the explorers were guided to the discovery of one of the slabs of the frieze by a fox which crawled into cover under the confused ruins of the temple. The marbles were "conveyed to the coast over the rugged ground which separates Bassæ from the sea on the backs of 150 Arcadian shepherds. They were then shipped to Zantè, and thence to England, the British Government having purchased them for £19,000. The difficulties which the enterprising discoverers encountered on the way, by land from greedy and treacherous Archons, mutinous workmen, and the terrible Arcadian flies, and by sea from storms and the presence of French cruisers, were enough to daunt the most resolute, and ought to be remembered by us with gratitude" (Perry, p. 307). Views and plans of the temple which these marbles decorated are exhibited in a table-case. Nearly all the pillars are still standing, 2332 years after their erection, in their original places. The temple is situated on a mountain slope at a height of 3700 feet above the sea, in the midst of beautiful scenery. "Nothing can be stranger," says Mahaffy, "than the remains of a beautiful temple in this Alpine solitude. Greek life is a sort of protest for cities and plains and human culture against picturesque Alps and romantic scenery. Yet here we have a building of the purest age and type set up far from the cities and haunts of men, and in the midst of such a scene as might be chosen by the most romantic and sentimental modern" (*Rambles in*

Greece, p. 318). "That which forms, on reflection," says Leake, "the most striking circumstance of all is the nature of the surrounding country, capable of producing little else than pasture for cattle, and offering no conveniences for the display of commercial industry either by sea or land. If it excites our astonishment that the inhabitants of such a district should have had the refinement to delight in works of this kind, it is still more wonderful that they should have had the means to execute them" (*Travels in the Morea*, 1830, ii. 9).

The most important of the marbles removed from the temple in 1812 are the twenty-three slabs, arranged round the walls of this room, which formed the *frieze of the cella*. This frieze was placed inside the cella (where it would be well seen), and not, as usual, outside (where, owing to the narrow space between the cella and the outer columns, it could not be well seen, and could not all be seen from any one point). "I cannot but fancy," says Mahaffy, "that this transference of the friezes to the inner side of the wall was caused by the feeling that the Parthenon friezes, upon which such great labour and such exquisite art had been employed, were after all badly seen, and in a place not worthy of them. Any one who will look up at the remaining band on the west front of the Parthenon will, I think, agree with me" (*Rambles in Greece*, p. 319). There is a restoration of the frieze on a small scale in the Taylorian at Oxford—the beautiful classical building designed by one of the discoverers of this temple, the architect Cockerell.

The subjects represented on the slabs are (1) Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, eleven slabs, beginning on the west wall of the room; (2) Battle of Greeks and Amazons, twelve slabs on the north-east and south walls.

Comparing these sculptures with the work of nearly the same date on the Parthenon, we shall be struck, from the artistic point of view, with two main differences—(1) First, the subjects are broken up into a series of groups representing simultaneous scenes, instead of giving a continuous procession. The artists have utilised the freedom thus obtained to display an inexhaustible *variety* in the composition of the groups. "If," says Overbeck, "we leave out of consideration style in the strict sense—that is, the design and modelling of the figures—and consider simply the contents of the frieze, we shall find that in sheer power of inventive imagination it

surpasses most of its possible rivals, and that hardly anywhere can we point to a composition which in respect of variety of theme and wealth of thrilling interest can vie with the frieze of Phigalia." (2) Combined, however, with this variety we may notice great *violence* in the treatment of the themes:—

"Short as is the distance of time," says Mr. Perry, "which separates the frieze of the Parthenon from the one before us, we seem to have passed into a different moral and artistic world. Instead of the disciplined freedom which prevails even in the liveliest representations of the former, we are introduced in the latter to a scene of uncontrolled savagery, in which the wildest passions rage unchecked. There is scarcely a composition in the whole range of ancient art in which the wild excesses of wine and lust are more vividly depicted than in the Phigaleian *Centauromachia*" (*Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 311).

It should be noted, however, that in the battle of the Amazons many touches of humanity are introduced. It is only in the fight between men and monsters that all is ferocity, fury, and lust. There is therefore a certain artistic appropriateness in the violence of style referred to above. Critics have noticed other points which seem to differentiate the Phigalian frieze from Athenian work. "The individual figures," says Mr. Upcott, "are thick-set and the faces are devoid of expression. Generally the impression made on the beholder is one of force rather than of beauty and grace" (*An Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 63).

These considerations have led to the supposition that the frieze, though designed by an Attic artist, was executed by local artists in Phigalia itself. The subject of the frieze, like the style of the building which it adorned, is distinctly Attic. The treatment, as we have seen, diverges from the Attic mode. "The Phigalian marbles arrived," writes B. R. Haydon in his diary (i. 329); "I saw them. Though full of gross disproportions they are beautifully composed, and were evidently the design of a great genius, executed provincially." The marble has been identified by some as Peloponnesian, from quarries near Tegea (see Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 322 *n.* Others dispute this. See Frazer's *Pausanias*, iv. 400).

We may now illustrate the general points above noticed by some detailed examination of the slabs. Beginning on the west wall, we may notice in 520 the curl of the woman's foot, very expressively rendered. In 521 notice, in contrast to other slabs, that the fallen man's face is almost expressionless. In

522 the Lapith woman has a child on her left arm. Children are introduced into several of the groups in order to heighten the horror of the scene. In 523 we see Apollo and Artemis coming to the aid of the Lapiths against the Centaurs. Apollo has dismounted and is drawing his bow. Artemis grasps the reins of the chariot, which is drawn by two stags. Pausanias tells us that at the annual festival in honour of Artemis at Patras one of the sights was "a virgin priestess riding on a car drawn by deer" (vii. 1. 87). Their introduction here is "a happy device, not only to indicate the god, but as a contrast to the equine forms so abundant in this part of the frieze" (Murray, ii. 172). In 524 we see that the sanctity of religion no less than the laws of humanity is defied in this monstrous combat. Two women have taken refuge at a statue of the goddess (note the stiff archaic type of this image). One stretches out her arms in despair, the other clings to the statue, while a brutal Centaur is tearing her mantle from her body. In 526 notice the characteristic violence of the scene. The Centaur bites a Lapith in the neck with his human face, while he kicks out at another foe with his horse's heels. In 528 a Centaur has been thrown down by two Lapiths, one of whom drags the Centaur by the hair, while the other, placing his knee upon the Centaur's back, prepares to strike a blow as if with a sword, but is prevented by a second Centaur. "The Lapiths, whose right hands are represented in the act of grasping weapons, are presumed to have been armed with swords, the blades of which were, in many cases, of bronze. The holes into which these blades were fastened are still visible in the marble" (*Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, ii. 188). The subject of 530 is the attempt of two Centaurs to crush the invulnerable Caeneus under a mighty stone; the same subject occurs on the frieze of the Theseum at Athens (403, 2).

With 531 the battle of the Greeks and Amazons begins and the treatment becomes more restrained. The expression of the wounded Amazon on the right is fine. As in several other slabs, the Amazon wears the "split chiton," or, as we should say, the divided skirt. In 532 a wounded Amazon is defended by a companion. In 533—as also in 534 and 535—we may notice a point in which the sculptor has sacrificed grace to force. The skirt is tightly stretched. The effect is in itself unpleasing, but it adds to the sense of rapid movement. In 539 a Greek who has been killed in battle is borne off the field

on a companion's back. Another, badly wounded, is led away by a companion. 541—the central slab of this series and one of the best preserved—is very fine alike in treatment and in subject. Note first the symmetry of the composition. The centre of the slab is occupied with a single combat between Hercules (with the lion's skin on his left arm). He raises his club against a mounted Amazon (the greater part of whose figure is lost). Between the two is another Amazon on foot; her attitude is an exact counterpart of the Greek's, and the lines of the two figures form a diagonal cross. The central group is bounded at either end by the figure of a horse; exact symmetry is here modified by the horse on the left being upright, while that on the right has fallen on its knees. This group on the right is perhaps the most interesting of the series. The Amazon has received her death wound, and the Greek, with gesture and expression of pity, lifts her tenderly from the fallen horse. The scene, as Mr. Upcott reminds us, recalls the legend of Achilles, who slew Penthesilea, and was smitten with remorse when he beheld the beautiful face of the Amazon queen. In the next slab, 542, a similar feeling of pity is expressed. One Amazon seems to be begging the life of a young Greek from her sister warrior. Mercy towards a fallen foe is very unusual in the ancient world. "In the market-place of Athens," says Pausanias, "there is an altar of Mercy, to whom, though he is of all gods the most helpful in human life and in the vicissitudes of fortune, the Athenians are the only Greeks who pay honour" (i. 17. 1).

Some other marbles were removed at the same time with the frieze, and are now in this room. Some are architectural fragments (505-509); others are from the metopes (510-519); and there are also pieces of a colossal temple image (543, 544). But these are all too fragmentary to be of any general interest.

II. THE TEMPLE OF WINGLESS VICTORY

The next set of sculptured marbles to be examined in this room hang on the west wall, and come from the beautiful Temple of Wingless Victory. This little temple—"the pearl of Ionic architecture," as it has been called—originally stood, and now again stands, on a lofty projecting buttress of the *south wall of the* Acropolis at Athens (see the model in the

Elgin Room), the spot from which the unhappy Ægeus is said to have thrown himself in despair at seeing the black sails still hoisted on the ship of Theseus when he returned from the slaughter of the Minotaur. In 1685 the Turks took down the temple in order to construct a battery on the site, and for nearly a century and a half its disjointed stones lay hidden and unheeded. Four slabs from the frieze were, however, discovered in Lord Elgin's excavations, and were removed by him (421-424). A few years later, in 1835, some German antiquaries succeeded in discovering nearly all the fragments, and the temple was reconstructed in its original form, minus the four slabs removed with the Elgin Marbles. No. 425 is a cast of another slab. The lofty bastion on which the temple stood was originally surrounded for safety with a balustrade consisting of a frieze of sculpture, facing outwards. Several fragments of this frieze were discovered in 1835 and subsequently. The originals are preserved in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. Nos. 426-429 here are casts. The temple was dedicated to "Victory Athena," *i.e.* Athena in the character and with the attributes of Victory. In Greek art the regular personification of Victory was a woman with wings, for victory comes suddenly and with overpowering force, just as sometimes, too, it has wings and flies away. (In the Room of Archaic Sculpture we have already seen the beautiful Flying Victory from Olympia, 192.) Here, however, "as the goddess of this temple was not a mere personification of victory but the goddess Athena herself, who was always wingless, it was perfectly natural that she should be represented without wings" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. p. 257). The theory of Pausanias himself (ii. 15. 5) is interesting. "The Athenians," he says, "have a notion about the Victory called Wingless, that she will always stay where she is because she has no wings."

There is much difference of opinion among the learned about the date of the temple and the subject of the *frieze*. The slabs before us are, however, so mutilated that a discussion of these matters would here be out of place. The better opinion seems to be that the temple was built about 432 B.C., a few years after the completion of the Parthenon, and that the frieze represents not any historical battle or battles, but a generalised victory of Athenians over Greeks and Barbarians. In slabs 421 and 422 we see Greek meeting Greek; in 423, 424, and 425 (this latter a cast) Greeks fighting with Persians.

The sculptures of the *balustrade* consisted of figures of Victories, in various attitudes, and are among the most celebrated works of Greek art. Mr. A. H. Smith points out that they "seem to reveal a combination of different schools and methods." No. 426 is severely draped, and shows the stiff dignity of an earlier style. "In 427 and 428 the artist dwells on and emphasises the nude form, displaying it through transparent drapery in a manner that may well be supposed to have been that of the transition from Pheidias to Praxiteles. Finally, in the figure leading the cow (429) there is a florid wealth of drapery which, among early works, only finds a partial analogy in the frieze of Phigaleia. This want of uniformity in style suggests a time of transition in which the traditions of the school of Pheidias were still to some extent operative, while newer tendencies were beginning to make themselves felt" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. p. 247). From the artistic point of view, slab No. 427 deserves particular attention. The original from which it is taken is one of the most beautiful creations of Attic art:—

"It is a miracle of art, an astonishing proof of the power which the human hand can attain of moulding dead matter so as to embody human thought. There is no high idealism in the conception, but the easy grace of the figure and of the flowing drapery, which half hides and half reveals the form beneath, is beyond praise" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. 260).

No. 429 is also very fine. Two Victories are leading a cow to be sacrificed; one holds it back by a rope attached to the horns, while the other moves swiftly forward to avoid them. "The latter figure," says Mr. Upcott, "is a perfect study of the swirl of loose drapery in quick movement" (*Introduction to Greek Sculpture*, p. 53).

III. SEPULCHRAL RELIEFS

No longer caring to embalm
In dying songs a dead regret,
But like a statue solid-set,
And moulded in colossal calm.
TENNYSON.

There is nothing more characteristic of the genius of Greek art than the Athenian tombstones. Of these there is a small but representative collection in this room. What is specially

noticeable in them is their *simplicity* and *reserve*. There is no trace of ostentation such as we are all familiar with in the tombs of the Renaissance period, in our own Westminster Abbey, or in modern cemeteries. On many of the Greek monuments there is no inscription beyond the mere name. When anything else was added the commonest epitaph was a simple χαῖρε, "farewell." This reserve is very characteristic of Greek art. On Christian tombs of the Renaissance and later periods the grief of the survivors is represented by violent attitudes or dramatic conceits: cherubs weep Gargantuan tears, and sprawling angels bear the dead man aloft. But on the Greek tombstones there is no violence, no despair, no extravagance. The direct allusion to death is generally very slight, and the grief of the survivors is indicated only by some quiet hint. A favourite attitude is that of hand-clasping[1] (see, *e.g.*, 702, 692, 687, 690, 691, 689). Sometimes one of the figures is standing and one seated; sometimes both are standing. The sculptured figures are as simple and reserved as the inscriptions, and represent merely a scene of farewell. One of the most interesting monuments under this head is to be seen in the Ephesus Room, No. 710—a circular pedestal on a square plinth, on one side of which is a sepulchral relief. A man clasps the right hand of a seated woman. Behind her stands Hermes, about to conduct her shade to Hades. On the extreme left, behind Hermes, is a sun-dial, to which his hand is pointing; the hour has come when she must go "from sunshine to the sunless land." By such quiet hints as this the pathos of the scene is implied rather than expressed. The grief of the bystanders is subdued. Thus in 694, in this room, the man leans on his staff and looks downwards. In 695 the woman stands in an attitude of grief, with bowed head. This chastened and modest expression of sorrow is characteristic of Greek art.[2] The spirit of the Athenian tombstones is that of

[1] The meaning of these "Scenes of Parting" has been much disputed among archæologists. Do they refer to the past? to the moment of death? or to the future? Do they mark a mere family group in an attitude of daily life? or express the idea of parting? or the reception of the dead in Hades by those who have gone before? In the text I have adopted the second theory, which accords with the inscribed "farewell." The English reader will find an interesting discussion of the whole question in Professor Percy Gardner's *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*.

[2] Miss Harrison combats the views adopted above. She maintains that the Attic monument was derived from an earlier type which repre-

Tennyson's lines quoted above from the end of *In Memoriam*, or of Milton's in *Samson Agonistes*:—

> Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
> Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
> Disgrace, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
> And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

In their simplicity and reserve the sculptured tombs of Hellas resemble the Christian monuments of the early period of mediæval art. But in another respect the Greek tombs are very different. The Christian tombs represent the dead man as dead; the Greek tombs for the most part represent him *in life*.

"The manner in which men adorn the sepulchre confesses the difference in their manner of regarding death. To the devout Christian death came as the comforter and the friend, rest in his right hand, hope in his left; and therefore we find the early tombs at once simple and lovely in adornment, severe and solemn in their expression, confessing the power and accepting the peace of death openly and joyfully, and in all their symbols marking that the hope of resurrection lay only in Christ's righteousness; signed always with this simple utterance of the dead: 'I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest; for it is thou, Lord, only that makest me dwell in safety'" (Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. ch. ii. § 46).

Thus in the Christian tombs of the best period the dead are represented as resting peacefully in the sure and certain hope of the resurrection. The Greek had no such assured hope. To him death was the final parting, when all the good and pleasant things are remembered; and he sculptured, therefore, on his tombs not the present or the future, but the past. Sometimes, as we have seen, these tombstones show the simple grief of parting; others show the recollection of pleasant days of love and friendship:—

"A well-known monument in the Street of the Tombs at Athens shows us Dexileos of the Athenian cavalry riding down and transfixing an overthrown foe, who vainly strives to strike back. The inscription proves that the relief was executed in memory of a horseman

sented a worshipper approaching a seated deity with an offering. "The real main reason" for the calm of the monuments is because "the scene of actual human sorrow was cast in the type already fixed of divine worship" (*Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 592). But why was the type found acceptable? May we not say because it responded to some instinct of reserve in the Greek genius?

who fell in the Corinthian war of 394 B.C. History records that in the battle the Athenians were defeated, and one is tempted to pause for a moment to consider how a modern sculptor would have represented Dexileos. An artist such as those who have modelled the tombs at St. Paul's and Westminster would probably have sculptured him smitten to death, falling back in the arms of a grateful country; perhaps would have added above an angel crowning him with a wreath of celestial reward. But the Greek artists of the good period could not find in defeat and death any elements worthy of their art; they must represent those whom they portrayed in the moment of success and victory, not in that of overthrow. The difference is very suggestive. Infinitely inferior to Greek art in charm, in simplicity, and dignity, modern art introduces higher elements than were usually taken into account in Hellas. From the artistic point of view the ancients were right, but from the ethical point of view there may be more to be said for the moderns. . . . Religious hope and consolation are among us; a chill resignation was the national attitude of the Greeks in the presence of death; and yet we counterbalance the superiority of our religion by the inferiority of our taste and perception"[1] (P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 147, 163).

The Greek tombs, then, show us Greek men and women in their daily life. And there is no other series of monuments which so readily makes us feel that the Greeks were men and women of like nature with ourselves, no longer cold and classic, but full of the warm blood and the gentle affections of ordinary humanity.

Of the reliefs of **domestic scenes** we have several interesting examples in this room. On the end wall (north) are casts from two of the most beautiful tombs at Athens. In 619 "Hegeso, daughter of Proxenus," is seated on a chair (admirably shaped for comfort and steadiness), and is taking some article from a jewel-box which is held by the servant standing in front. The girl's simple dress contrasts with the more sumptuous apparel of her mistress. In 620 Ameinocleia, daughter of Andromenes, steadies herself by resting a hand on the girl's head, while the latter ties her mistress's sandal. On the ground below these casts is the monument of Glykylla,

[1] Can good taste be enforced by Act of Parliament? Successful attempts seem to have been made at Athens. When a tendency towards magnificent tombs was observed, a law was passed forbidding the erection of any monument more elaborate than could be made by ten men in three days, and severely restricting the use of laudatory inscriptions. Subsequently, when the luxury of tombs again increased, a further law was passed restricting funeral monuments to pillars not more than three cubits in height or flat slabs or vases (Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 26).

from Thebes; she is putting on a bracelet which she has taken from the box held by her maid. This stone was sold to the Museum in 1894 by a sailor trading in the Levant. In 620 Ameinocleia is clearly setting out on a journey; there is no actual suggestion of death, but there is a reference to the last long journey from which there is no return. In the scenes of personal adornment there may be a similar reference, for the Greek lady especially adorned herself when she was preparing to go abroad.

Farther along on the same wall are two curious reliefs with references to **disease**. In 628, the monument of Xanthippus, we see a group of a father with his children—very dignified and charming in style. In one hand Xanthippus holds the model of a foot, intended perhaps to represent a shoemaker's last as a trade mark, or more probably a votive offering, a memorial of a cure wrought on his feet. His other hand rests on the neck of his little daughter. This bas-relief, from Athens, was bought by Mr. Townley for six and a half guineas. Close by is the curious monument of Jason, a physician, 629. He is examining a patient, whose swollen belly and wasted limbs show that he is suffering. On the right is a vessel resembling a cupping-glass, but on a scale out of all proportion. In many of these reliefs there is a similar want of proportion; the subordinate figures, for instance, are often made very diminutive, as in the case of the doctor's patient here. Round the corner on the east wall is the monument of a woman leaving an infant to the care of a nurse, one of many monuments to women who died in childbirth. This stone (acquired by the Museum in 1894) has a curious history. It was found face downwards serving as a flagstone in the cellar of an old farmhouse in Jersey. Probably it had at some time been brought over as ballast by a sailor from the East.

It is worthy of note that a very large proportion of the monuments seem to have been set up **in memory of the young**. They come not from the tombs of parents dedicated by children, but from those of children dedicated by their sorrowing parents. It would appear that at Athens ordinary citizens who died in due course of nature were buried in family vaults. Separate tombs with sculptural ornaments were reserved for special cases of untimely death and poignant grief.

No. 626 in the middle of the east wall is typical of the monuments of young men. It is inscribed "Tryphon, son of

Eutychus," and shows an athlete holding in his right hand the strigil, an instrument used for scraping off the oil and sweat of the gymnasium. These memorials of the dead are, as Mr. Pater puts it, "selected pages from daily domestic life":—

"See, for instance, at the British Museum, Trypho, 'the son of Eutychus,' one of the very pleasantest human likenesses there, though it came from a cemetery—a son it was hard to leave in it at nineteen or twenty. With all the suppleness, the delicate muscularity of the flower of his youth, his handsome face sweetened by a kind and simple heart, in motion, surely, he steps forth from some shadowy chamber, strigil in hand, as of old, and with his coarse towel or cloak of monumental drapery over one shoulder. But whither precisely, you may ask, and as what, is he moving there in the doorway? Well! in effect, certainly, it is the memory of the dead lad, emerging thus from his tomb —the still active soul, a permanent thought of him as he most liked to be" (*Greek Studies*, p. 286).

Of singular beauty is the fragment of a relief with the figure of a youth leaning on a staff (acquired in 1901).

Farther along on this side is the figure of a man on a prancing horse, 638. The inscription is: "After many pleasant sports with my comrades, I who sprang from the dust, am dust once more. I am Aristocles, of the Piræus, son of Menon."

By way of exception from these monuments of the young, we may take note of 656 on the east wall. Here an old woman is seated wrapped in her mantle, with a pomegranate in her left hand, while a girl at her side holds a box and a purse. The inscription shows that the woman's age was eighty. This monument comes not from Athens, but from Kertch (the ancient Panticapæon) in the Crimea, a Greek colony which has yielded a rich harvest to modern excavators.

Another type of sepulchral relief is the **Banquet Scene**. The meaning of these scenes as decorations of actual tombs or as commemorative reliefs has been much discussed. Formerly it was thought that they commemorated familiar scenes of daily life on earth, or that they described the pleasures of the dead in Hades. The belief, now more commonly accepted, traces these representations back to the offerings of food and drink made by primitive peoples at the tombs of the dead. The Greeks refined and de-materialised these beliefs, and their periodical offerings assumed a symbolic and ritualistic character. The sculptures may thus be taken

as representing by substitution the offerings of actual food. On the north and west walls of this room are casts from the *rock-cut tombs* discovered by Sir Charles Fellows *in Lycia*. No. 766, from a tomb at Cadyanda, is interesting in our present connection. It appears to represent a banquet scene, with four couches, on each of which two persons recline. There are several attendants, and at the end on our right is a nude dancer. These sculptures represent scenes from daily life, and resemble some of the vase paintings. The habit of reclining at meals had long been customary in the East. In the famous sculptures from Nineveh (in the Assyrian Saloon of the Museum) we see King Ashur-bani-pal and his queen feasting in their palace in the seventh century B.C. From the East the custom spread to the Ionians of Asia Minor, and was thence introduced to Greece itself with other traits of Ionian luxury (Gardner, p. 89). A later sepulchral relief, in which the motive is of the more symbolic character, described above, may be seen in the Ephesus Room, No. 724. A man reclines on a couch with a table of food before him. He holds a bowl in his left hand, and clasps with his right hand the hand of a woman who is seated at the foot of the couch. A boy stands on the left. There is a wreath on the pilaster to the right. This was a tablet in memory of Hellanion of Tarsus.

The next group of monuments we have to consider consists of what are called **Heroic Reliefs**. In these the deceased person is heroified, and represented as receiving libations or worship. No. 750, on the floor, standing against the east wall of this room, is a good specimen of this class. In the centre is a warrior in armour standing near a trophy. Beside this stands a female figure pouring a libation. A serpent, coiled about the trophy, drinks from the cup. The snake, from its rapid, mysterious movements and from living in caves and holes, is naturally associated with the grave.

We may next consider the **historical development of the sepulchral monuments**. The earliest form was a plain *stelè* or pillar, surmounted by an acanthus, and inscribed with the name of the deceased and with two rosettes below. These rosettes perhaps represented the two breasts, and we may see here a hint that the stelè takes the place of a portrait figure (Gardner, p. 110). No. 599 on the west side of the room is an example of this early form ; it is inscribed " Smikylion, son of Eualkides, of the deme of the Cerameicos " ; other specimens

of this earliest type are 600, 605, and 606. Sometimes the figure of an animal surmounted the tombstone. The bull in the centre of this room (No. 680) is believed to have occupied that position. A sphinx is often figured on these monuments (*e.g.* 693, on the north wall)—a monster which the Greeks derived from Egyptian art, but which they characteristically tamed and refined into the kindly and gentle minister of early death.

The next development consisted in utilising the smooth surface of the stone for a **portrait** of the deceased, either alone or in a family group. In connection with these portraits another characteristic of Greek art may be noticed — its preference, namely, for the general over the particular, the typical rather than the individual. Just as in the case of national memorials the Greeks represented not a specific and particular victory but one that was mythical or typical, so in the case of personal memorials it was not so much the individuality as the general type of the departed that was dwelt upon :—

"It seems to me that the tombs before us are remarkable, as exemplifying with the tact of genius the true and perfect reserve. There is no exaggeration nor speciality—no individuality—in the picture. I fancy, from the unity of type shown in many of them, that they may even have been designed by the artist without regard to the special case, and purchased by the family of the deceased ready made. The figures upon them do not seem to me personal likenesses. I feel no curiosity to inquire who these people are, for I am perfectly satisfied with an ideal portrait of the grief of parting —a grief that comes to us all, and lays bitter hold of us at some season of life; and it is this universal sorrow—this great common flaw in our lives—which the Greek artist has brought before us, and which calls forth our deepest sympathy" (Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, 3rd ed. p. 69).

There is, then, little attempt at individual portraiture on these reliefs; the attitudes also were conventional. A man in middle life was usually represented in arms (but sometimes in the exercise of his profession); a youth as an athlete (*e.g.* 626); a married woman, occupied with her wool; a girl, playing with a bird or dog.

From the plain slab, the next development is to what has been called the **temple** form of monument, or more correctly a **door.** The sepulchral slab is recessed, enclosed with terminal pillars, and surmounted by a gable. Examples of this form are numerous in this room—*e.g.* 625, 626, 630, 656.

This architectural form does not connect the tomb with the temple, for the domestic architecture of Greece was similar to the ecclesiastical. There is little doubt that nothing was intended but a door, and that the idea was the portal of Hades. This idea was one which occurred very early in Greek art, for a sarcophagus from Rhodes, in the primitive style (see Ch. XVII.), is in the likeness of a doorway. On a terra-cotta bowl recently acquired by the Museum, the Rape of Persephonè is represented in relief. In front of the chariot of Hades is a stelè, on which is inscribed the word εὐσεβῶς ("with reverence"), and beyond it are the reeds of Acheron, and the Danaides filling in vain their pitchers. "This may, perhaps, be taken as conclusive evidence that the usual form of Greek tombstones, representing a portal, was intended to indicate the portal of Hades" (*British Museum Return* for 1897, p. 60). The figure passed from art to literature—

> When life grows heavy, death remains, the *door*
> To endless rest beside the Stygian shore—

and from pagan to Christian Thought: "Through the *gate* of death we pass to a joyous resurrection."

Another form is the **sepulchral vase**, which again is sometimes quite plain and sometimes ornamented with reliefs. "It was probably at the time when the custom of placing terra-cotta vases on the tombs was dying out that it occurred to the sculptors to replace them by making the stelè itself in the form of a vase." In other cases the vase-tomb was sculptured in the shape of the bridal vase, and was set up in memorial of those who had died unmarried. "What is the proof," asks Demosthenes in one of his speeches, "that Archiades died unmarried? A memorial vase is set upon his tomb."

We have said that these tombstones are specially characteristic of the Greek genius. It must be remembered that for the most part they are mere specimens of **ordinary stonemasons' work**. For this reason they have the greater autobiographical interest. "The acts of a nation may be triumphant by its good fortune, and its words mighty by the genius of a few of its children; but its art, only by the general gifts and common sympathies of the race" (Ruskin). Sometimes, indeed, these Greek tombstones were undertaken by famous artists. Thus Pausanias says: "Not far from the

gate [of Athens] is a grave surmounted by a warrior standing beside a horse: who he is I know not, but both horse and warrior are by Praxiteles" (i. 2. 3). The reliefs are therefore of varying artistic merit. Among the best examples from this point of view is No. 673 (in the centre of the glass case near the Elgin door), the head of a youth from a sepulchral relief, with waving locks of hair: one of the most beautiful heads in the Museum. Being for the most part the work of ordinary stonemasons, these reliefs are an eloquent testimony to the instinctive grace and skill of the Greek workmen.[1] A visitor to the Museum who chances after studying the marbles in this room to walk along the Euston Road, where the tombstone-shops are collected, will find a contrast at once piquant and painful.

IV. VOTIVE RELIEFS

A few sculptured reliefs remain to be noticed in this room which are of a votive, not of a sepulchral, character. They were set up, that is to say, not in honour or memory of the dead, but were consecrated to a god, in gratitude or in fulfilment of a vow. Such offerings were very common in the ancient world, and we have already noticed some of them (see Ch. X.).

Coming to the votive tablets more immediately before us, we may conveniently divide them according as they are appropriate (i.) to the god or his worship, or (ii.) to the dedicator and the cause of his dedication. As examples of the former class of tablets, we may refer to Nos. 776 and 780 in the Third Græco-Roman Room (see pp. 57, 70). As examples of the latter class, we may note Nos. 811 and 812 in the Hall of Inscriptions (p. 8); also No. 816 in the Ephesus Room—a relief dedicated by the owner of a successful horse: the goddess Hecatè is shown placing a wreath on the head of a mare. It is as if the owner of a horse who won the Oaks

[1] Many of the grave-reliefs found at Athens are in character and style strikingly like the marbles of the Parthenon. It has been suggested that the conclusion of that building must have thrown a large number of masons out of work, and "these men, trained in an admirable school of the most finished and ideal kind, were glad to execute gravestones at a cheap rate; and so there had been produced a succession of exquisite grave-reliefs which in style and beauty were very little behind the work of the Parthenon itself" (Report of a lecture by Miss Jane Harrison, *Daily News*, 17th April 1899).

presented a picture or statue of her to some public building or gallery. No. 814 in this room (against the north wall) is a votive tablet in commemoration of a victory in a chariot race. The charioteer appears to be a female—a personification of the city to which the victorious competitor belonged. Over the chariot floats a winged Victory in the air. A similar votive tablet, mounted on a pilaster, is shown outside a house or temple in the bas-relief of Dionysus and Icarius (Third Græco-Roman Room, p. 62).

The relief next to No. 814 is of extraordinary interest, as illustrating a celebrated passage in Greek literature:—

"I went down yesterday to the Piræus" (says Socrates) "with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, to offer up prayer to the goddess, and also from a wish to see how the festival, then to be held for the first time, would be celebrated. I was very much pleased with the native Athenian procession, though that of the Thracians appeared to be no less brilliant." [This festival, as we learn from a marginal commentator, was in honour of Bendis, the Thracian Artemis.—Socrates was starting to return home, when he was pressed by his friends to stay and sup with them.] . . . "'Are you not aware,' said Adaimantus, 'that towards evening there will be a torch-race on horseback in honour of the goddess?' 'On horseback!' I exclaimed; 'that is a novelty. Will they carry torches and pass them on to one another while the horses are racing? or how do you mean?' 'As you say,' replied Polemarchus; 'besides, there will be a night-festival, which it will be worth while to look at. We will rise after dinner and go out to see this festival; and there we shall meet with many of our young men, with whom we can converse'" (*Rep.* 327, 328, Davies and Vaughan's translation).

So Plato wrote at the beginning of his most famous Dialogue, and the figure of the flaming torch, passed from hand to hand, has become common in all subsequent literature. In this relief, the goddess is shown on the right, receiving the adoration of two elderly men, one of whom carries a torch. Behind them is a company of young men, grouped in graceful poses. The tablet, which belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C., was perhaps dedicated in memory of a victory. The competition in the race must have been between different companies of youths, each member of the company—or club, as it would be with us—handing on the torch in turn to the other. The victory belongs, therefore, to the whole company, and the torch is handed to the goddess by one of the stewards of the course, or the trainers, it may be, of the victorious company.

The race seems to have been the more usual foot-race, and not the horse-race with torches which Socrates speaks of as a great novelty. The origin of the torch-race was "a custom of transmitting a new and holy fire from a hearth or altar where it had been kindled to other hearths or altars; and as it was deemed important to convey the new fire as rapidly as possible to the altars that were waiting for it, it was carried at full speed by a single runner, or (if the distance was great) by relays of runners, who passed it on from hand to hand" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. 392). It has been suggested[1] that in the torch-race in honour of the Thracian goddess Bendis, the object was to carry the sacred fire from a shrine of the goddess at Laurium to another at Piræus. The distance would be between forty and fifty miles. If eight runners, as shown in our relief, were posted in relays along the Laurium road, each runner would have had six miles to cover. The great length of the course may have suggested the substitution of a horse-race. (In the Third Vase Room there is a vase painting of a victory in a torch-race: see the notes thereon for some further remarks on the subject, p. 383).

To the two categories of votive reliefs distinguished above, we may add a third, in which an object appropriate to the god is dedicated, so as indirectly to commemorate the dedicator's own skill or success. No. 775 in this room (on the floor against the east wall) is an example. It is a fragment of a relief commemorating a musical victory. With it should be compared No. 774 (in the Third Græco-Roman Room), Apollo Citharœdus receiving a libation from Victory. In 775 a temple is shown, probably that of Apollo at Delphi. A musician put up such a relief, we may suppose, in honour of the god of music, and thus indirectly of his own success in some musical competition.

Lastly, in this room we may notice a few **portrait busts**, etc. Beside the door to the Elgin Room are portraits of Æschines, the opponent of Demosthenes, and of an unknown philosopher. Near the door into the Mausoleum Room are a male head (556), the head of a maiden (558), and the heroic head of a youth (559). Also heroic heads of colossal male and female

[1] By Mr. Cecil Smith, in the *Classical Review*, 1899, p. 230. He points out that the type of athlete shown on our relief—of solid, full-grown, muscular figure—would have been a trying weight for the small Attic horse. Like ourselves, the Greeks used light-weights in their horse-races.

figures (555): "these two heads have long been called Pelops and Hippodamia, and it is very likely that the figures belonged to a chariot group. But they may well be the somewhat idealised portraits of a Sicilian despot and his consort. They were found in the sea near Girgenti" (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, i. 291).

☞ *We have now completed our survey of the Greek and Roman antiquities on the ground floor. Leaving the Phigalian Room, and retracing our steps across the raised platform at the end of the Mausoleum Room, we come to the North West Staircase, leading to the upper floor.*

CHAPTER XIV

ANCIENT MOSAICS

"The Greeks were the inventors of this art, but there are evidences of its introduction into Rome at a very early period. It is the universality of the art, and the perfection to which it was carried in all countries, that place it among those striking emanations of the genius of the ancients which excite our wonder and admiration."—CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

EVERY visitor to Rome and Naples is familiar with masterpieces of ancient mosaic. Who does not know the "Hall of the Doves" in the Museum of the Capitol? the mosaic of the "Battle of Issus" in the museum at Naples? If in our Museum we have no pieces of equal fame, we have nevertheless many that are interesting both as effective pieces of decorative design and for the circumstances of their discovery. The finest are fixed to the walls of the North-West Staircase; others are in the Græco-Roman Basement, the Roman Gallery, and the Hall of Inscriptions. A few smaller pieces are among the miscellaneous antiquities in the Etruscan Saloon.

The art of mosaic, which lent so much richness and distinction to the domestic architecture of Rome, which, after a new birth in Byzantium, covered with indescribable magnificence the Christian churches of Rome and Ravenna, of Palermo and Monreale, and which in later days has been invoked to illumine the dark recesses of our own St. Paul's—this beautiful art can boast a very ancient origin, and its first beginnings afford examples of some of its most dainty applications. The art consists in the fitting together of many, generally small, pieces of pebble, marble, or opaque glass so as to form a pattern. Examples of minute mosaic work may be seen in other portions of the Museum, collected from Nineveh and Egypt. Akin to this early and minute use of mosaic is the

enrichment of shafts and architraves with spiral bands, as may be seen in the cloister of S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome.

It is, however, with the use of mosaic on a larger scale, for pavement or wall decoration, that we are here concerned. It is commonly classified as (*a*) *tesselated*, in which the design is formed of small cubes, and (*b*) *sectile*, formed of larger pieces of marble, shaped and cut so as to fit accurately. But both methods are often employed in the same mosaic. The art was known to the Greeks, but few specimens of *early Greek mosaic* have survived. "The floor of the fore-temple (of Zeus at Olympia) contains the remains of a Greek mosaic, composed of rough round *pebbles* from the river embedded in hard mortar, and arranged so as to represent Tritons and Sirens within a border of palmettes and meandering lines. This mosaic is of special interest as being perhaps the only extant specimen [1] of an ancient Greek pavement in a mosaic pattern. It is certainly older than the temples, but nevertheless dates from Greek, not Roman times" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. 499). It probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century. The substitution of *cut cubes* for pebbles opened up the possibility of more elaborate designs, and it was only after the time of Alexander the Great that mosaic became of importance. Pliny records the name of Sosus of Pergamum as an artist who introduced the practice of decorating the floors of houses with imitations of things appropriate to a dining-room. The large mosaic, found on the Aventine in 1833 and now in the Lateran Museum, is signed Heraclitus, and is in the style of Sosus, being a representation of the remains of a feast. The Doves of the Capitol may be the work of Sosus praised by Pliny (xxxvi. 25). From the East, the art must have been transferred to Rome, where the luxury and ostentation of the wealthy classes provided abundant opening for it. Every one who has been at Pompeii knows how extensively mosaic was used even in that minor town. The mosaic of the Battle of Issus, found in the House of the Faun in 1831, shows with what skill a great historical composition could be carried out.

[1] Most of the specimens still existing in Greece must be referred to the time of the Roman occupation. In the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1896-97, is figured a Greek mosaic at Melos, the date of which is fixed at about 186 B.C. Mr. Cecil Smith there discusses the history of Greek mosaic, pp. 182-187.

ANGLO-ROMAN MOSAICS

The Roman occupation of the world is marked not more by its roads than by its mosaics. The materials suffer little from time,[1] and have offered small temptation to the spoiler. While walls have crumbled and architectural decorations been removed to the lime-kiln, mosaics have been preserved—the sole surviving traces, very often, of the elegant and costly structures which they once adorned. Throughout the countries of Western Europe, in Asia Minor, in Northern Africa, and in farthest Britain, numerous and generally well-preserved mosaic pavements have at various times been dug up, to testify to the artistic power and mechanical skill of the Roman colonists. The specimens of mosaic pavements found in Britain which are exhibited in the Museum Gallery are described in a later chapter dealing with Romano-British antiquities generally (Ch. XXVIII.).

MOSAICS FROM CARTHAGE

Among the finest of all Roman mosaics of this kind are those which have been discovered in Northern Africa—a land rich in marbles of many colours and of varying shades.[2] Some of the best of these are now on the North-West Staircase of the Museum. They were obtained from excavations made for the British Government on the site of ancient Carthage by Dr. Nathan Davis in 1856-58—the same excavations that yielded a rich crop of Phœnician inscriptions (now in the Room of Semitic Antiquities). The finest of the mosaics are the portions of a large design of **the Months**[3] (numbered 14-21).

[1] They are indeed well-nigh indestructible; and this makes the more inexcusable such "restorations" (*i.e.* abolition of the old mosaic and substitution of new) as have taken place in St. Mark's at Venice and elsewhere.

[2] The vestibule of the National Gallery contains some fine African marbles.

[3] This identification was proposed by Sir A. W. Franks in *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 202 *sq.* Dr. Davis, the discoverer, believed the mosaics to be of Punic, not Roman, time, and the building to have been a chapel dedicated to the four female divinities, Dido and Anna, Ceres and Proserpine. His theory cannot be accepted. It is set forth in chapter x. of his *Carthage and her Remains.*

On one of the landings is a plan which shows the arrangement. From a common centre (filled, perhaps, by a figure of Time) figures of the Months radiated. Medallion busts of the Seasons were in the four corners, and the remaining space was occupied by decorative floral scrolls. The extant portions of the composition, which, when complete, must have been the sumptuous ornament of some wealthy Roman's hall, include (1) a figure of March (No. 14). The general idea of the composition resembles an ancient illuminated calendar now preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The figure of March in that calendar is accompanied by some verses from Ausonius, in which the poet speaks of the swallow and the fresh herbage as typical of the month. In our mosaic March points to the swallow on a fresh bough. (2) April (No. 15): a dancing figure, playing the castanets. Under a bough of myrtle is a statuette of Venus. The figure may be taken to be a priestess of Venus, whose festival was on the Kalends of April. In the angle is a bust of Spring ("In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love"). (3) July (No. 16): with a dish of mulberries picked from a tree. In the angle is a bust of Summer—a female head of some beauty, crowned with ears of corn and wearing a torc of gold. (4) November (No. 17): holding a sistrum (rattle). (5) Among the other portions notice the two trees growing in pots (Nos. 18 and 19). Some of the decorative work on this part of the mosaic is well worth studying (see pl. 15 in Day's *Nature in Ornament*). This great mosaic was the first of Dr. Davis's discoveries. It was found ten feet below the soil, and remains of two other pavements had to be cut through to reach it. Great was the astonishment of the Arab workmen, but one of them did not wonder at it, since Dr. Davis "had been seen flying in the air, for hours, several nights in succession" above the site of the discovery. "When these remains of the gorgeous pavement were washed, the colours (says Dr. Davis) stood out as fresh and bright as if the artist's hand had only just been removed. Then the skill which is so strikingly manifested in the exquisite designs, as well as the perfection of art exhibited in the light and shade of the figures, called forth the unbounded admiration of every one who had the advantage of visiting them on the spot" (*Carthage and her Remains*, p. 183). The method employed by Dr. Davis in removing the pavement is interesting:—

"I glued common canvas upon a small piece of mosaic, and, when quite dry, I severed it with very great care from its ancient cement by means of knives and chisels, and placed it with the reverse side upwards in a case previously prepared for it. I filled the case with fresh cement, and screwed the top on it. In this state I left it for about ten hours. The case was then turned over, so that what was before the bottom became the top; the lid was unscrewed, the canvas cautiously removed by means of hot water, and the remains of the glue carefully cleaned off the marble. The experiment having answered so well, I set to work on the following day with greater confidence, and succeeded, after twenty-nine days of assiduous labour, in removing the whole of the mosaics upon canvas. In the course of these operations, I became so confident in my method that I have taken up, and most successfully, one piece nearly 12 feet in length by 3 in breadth" (*Archæologia*, xxxviii. 223).

The removal of another of the Carthaginian mosaics was more difficult, but was well worth the trouble, for it is one of the finest of the series. It is a sea-piece, with an ornament of square panels containing female busts separated by a delicate framework of vine leaves. This mosaic (exhibited in two pieces, Nos. 12 and 13) was found close to the beach and only 10 feet above the level of the sea:—

"It required the greatest care to clear the sand from this pavement, and the minutest attention was necessary in cleaning it for removal. The sand which covered it, having been saturated by heavy rains, and the sea, having lashed over it for centuries, had loosened it almost completely from the cement. However, by dint of great exertion and attention I succeeded in removing it and embedding it in fresh cement. We were obliged to build a temporary wall on the side of the sea to secure standing-room for the men" (*Archæologia*, xxxviii. 226).

The colouring and general effect of this pavement are very pleasing, and deserve the high praise which has been given to the best Carthaginian mosaics:—

"The range of colour in the marble tesseræ is very great, and is made with wonderful taste and skill; there are three or four different shades of red, and an equal number of yellows and greens, the last colour in all its tints being almost peculiar to this part of Africa, and one of the most pleasant and harmonious in almost any combination. Deep blacks, browns, and bluish-grays are also abundant. The white marble which forms the ground of nearly all the designs is often not pure white, but slightly striated with gray, giving great softness and beauty of texture to the surface, and doing away with too great monotony of tone. The Roman practice, common to all their

mosaics, of not fitting the tesseræ quite closely together, but allowing the cement joints to show freely, was also of great value in giving effect to the general texture of the surface—a point quite forgotten by some later mosaic workers, who thought that the closer their tesseræ were fitted together the better the mosaic would be.

"The mosaics from Carthage are no less excellent in design than in the richness and beauty of their materials. Large spaces are filled by grand sweeping curves of acanthus and other leaves, drawn with wonderful boldness and freedom of hand, and varied with great wealth of invention. Without the use of very small tesseræ, much richness of effect is given by gradations of tints, suggesting light and shade, without a painful attempt to represent actual relief. The colours of the marbles used here and elsewhere by the Romans are so quiet and harmonious that it would have been almost impossible to produce with them a harsh and glaring design, and when used with the skill and strong artistic feeling of the mosaic-workers at Carthage, the result is a real masterpiece of decorative design" (J. H. Middleton in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xvi. 851, 852).

On another mosaic (No. 63) is a figure of Victory holding the end of a tablet with a Latin inscription. Of this only one portion remains; it refers to the dedication of a building. Below the inscription are two youths holding in their right hands wreaths, and in their left fans with long handles. This mosaic came from the ruins of a building outside the walls of Carthage. The style of art and character of the inscription belong to the 4th century A.D.

Another mosaic (Nos. 7, 8, and 9) has a design of vases joined by arches, possibly intended to represent ornamental fountains. The colouring is brilliant but the workmanship coarse. This pavement was found in the ancient necropolis of Carthage, and may have belonged to a Roman mausoleum. Similar decorations have been found on the Via Appia at Rome.

We may notice also a mosaic of two deer at a fountain (No. 33); and some large circles and other patterns (Nos. 25-27), of which the design is effective but the execution coarse and the colouring and material poor. But some of the geometrical patterns in mosaic (No. 10) are very pretty. The hunting scenes (Nos. 1-6) are rough and almost childish in style; these are supposed to belong to a later period (6th century A.D.). One mosaic represents a mounted huntsman leaving his castle; another, a huntsman who has lassoed a stag.

From the site of **Utica** Dr. Davis obtained some mosaics

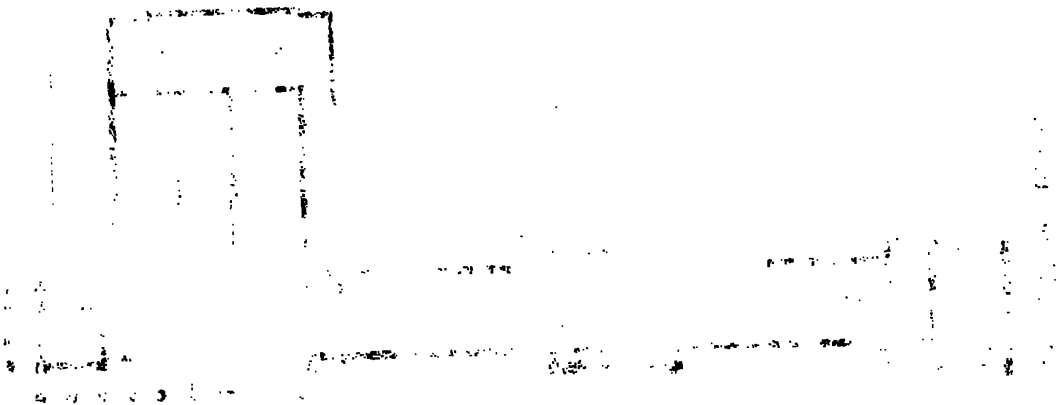
which are also in the Museum. The most important of these is a semicircular piece of pavement (No. 29 on the staircase), found in the alcove of a room from which other mosaics were also removed :—

"It represents a water-scene, and contains eleven different sorts of animals, among which are the boar, the leopard, the ostrich, the gazelle, the stag, etc. Parallel with the curved sides is a net with floats. This is being hauled in by two men in curiously-shaped canoes. From the projection of some stems and a tree from the water, it would appear that the artist intended to represent an inundation, by which the animals were surprised, and of which the fishermen took advantage" (*Carthage and her Remains*, p. 518).

Another mosaic from Utica (No. 11) represents peacock, guinea-fowl, francolin, and other birds. A third (found on a different spot) represents a sea-scene (No. 30), on which is a very curious sort of boat and two partly-nude fishermen, with hats similar to modern wide-awakes, to shelter them from the rays of the sun. The fish are very well executed. (In the Hall of Inscriptions are two marine pieces, also from Utica ; in the Græco-Roman basement are other mosaics from Dr. Davis's excavations at Carthage). The large head of a marine deity (No. 68) also comes from Carthage. It was discovered in some earlier excavations (1838) than those we have described, and was presented to the Museum by Mr. Hudson Gurney.

From **Ephesus** comes the mosaic of a Triton (No. 28). This was found in 1872 by Mr. Wood within the circuit wall of the Temple of Artemis :—

"Upon the front wall of some Roman buildings, which I suppose were the dwellings of the priests, I found some mosaic pavements. One of these represented a Triton, with a dish of fruit and crooked stick ; an attendant dolphin carries his trident. This mosaic, which is well executed and remarkably rich in colour, is now safely lodged in the British Museum ; but it was with great difficulty taken up from its original position, in which it had remained undisturbed for about eighteen centuries. A deal frame was prepared like the four sides of a shallow box, large enough to enclose as much of the pavement as we wished to take up. Having then cut away the pavement all around so far as to allow the case to be placed in position, we severed the mosaic from its foundation with long chisels, in widths of about 5 inches, inserting, one by one, boards of that width, and just long enough to make, when all were inserted, the bottom of the case. We then laid a piece of coarse canvas over the surface of the mosaic and spread over it a thick layer of melted glue, which, percolating through



PLAN OF THE GALLERIES

(UPPER FLOOR)

the open canvas, secured it to the pavement in one compact mass. We then filled up the case with liquid gypsum to the depth of several inches, and having prised up the whole, inserted two strong deals under the case. With great difficulty, twenty men lifted it out of the hole, which was 13 feet 6 inches deep, up a steep sloping road, cut expressly for the purpose, and finally carried it through the ploughed fields to the road leading to the railway station" (*Discoveries at Ephesus*, pp. 149, 172).

MOSAICS FROM HALICARNASSUS

In the course of his excavations at Halicarnassus in 1856, Sir Charles Newton came upon the remains of a Roman villa, probably of the third century A.D. Many of the pavements of this villa are now exhibited on the North-West Staircase (others are in the Græco-Roman basement, and have been already described). On one of the landings there is a plan which shows the arrangement of the rooms. The designs include a series of medallions representing rosettes, birds, fish, and masks (Nos. 52-62); a bust personifying the city of Halicarnassus, and inscribed with that name (No. 37); heads of Terror (46, 47); Spring and Summer (38, 39); part of a border of dolphins, with lions and a dog pursuing an ibex (40-44); Dionysus, dancing, accompanied by a panther (48); Europa and the Bull (45); Meleager, mounted, spearing a wild animal (35); and Atalanta, mounted, drawing a bow (39); the two latter figures are identified by the inscriptions. The excavations were made in the field of an old Turk called Hadji Captan, and his interest in the proceedings had a sad ending :—

"He was a jovial old Turk, who took the greatest interest in our diggings. He greatly marvelled at the sight of the strange pictures which had lain concealed under the soil of his field for so many centuries. So constant was his interest in the diggings that he remained watching us in all weathers, till at last the poor old man caught a cold from standing too long on the wet soil, and died" (Newton's *Travels*, ii. 83).

These mosaics from Halicarnassus are somewhat crude in execution, but their effect, as pieces of colour-design, is rich and harmonious.

☞ *At the top of the North-West Staircase there is a vestibule in which are exhibited early Egyptian antiquities. Passing through this, we enter the Room of Cyprian Antiquities.*

CHAPTER XV

ANTIQUITIES FROM CYPRUS

"Here was a natural meeting-ground for all peoples of the East and West. Even when the centre of commercial exchange between the East and West had passed away from Cyprus, still the island remained a place of congress, a point of contact and impact for eastern and western influences" (DYER, *The Gods in Greece*).

ON entering the Room of Cyprian Sculptures, and examining cursorily the objects here exhibited, a visitor, not otherwise informed, would probably find some difficulty in deciding to what nation they belong. Look on one side of the room, and one is reminded of Greek art; look on the other, and the prevailing impression is of something strange and incomprehensible—a blend of characteristics from many other types. This first impression of Cyprian art, though it requires in some respects to be revised, is in the main correct. The geographical position of Cyprus is the key to its history and art. "By all seaports," says an old writer, "Egyptian, Syrian, Armenian, Turkish, and Greek, Cyprus is surrounded as with a girdle. To them all, one can sail in at most one day." Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans all held the island in ancient days, and all of them left traces of their occupation in the antiquities which have in modern times been discovered. Held in later ages in succession by the Arabs, the Byzantine emperors, our own Richard I., the Lusignan dynasty, the Venetian Republic, and the Turks, it has within the present generation passed into the occupation of the British. With this event a new era in the history of the island commences; among its fruits is a rich crop of antiquities, owing to the facilities now given for systematic[1] exploration.

[1] In this respect differing from the methods of General Palma di Cesnola, whose archæological work was as unscientific as its results were *splendid. His collection*, with its wonderful Treasure from Curium, is

This harvest would have been richer still, but that the island was not virgin soil. In Pagan times, tombs and temples were sacred. The existence of treasures may have been suspected, but it were sacrilege to look. "The shrines of Aphrodite could not but be venerated by worshippers of Venus, and the adorers of the Greek Hercules bowed with respect before the Phœnician Melkarth. It was Christianity which inaugurated the era of temple-spoliation and tomb-rifling. Monuments which had escaped unharmed for more than a thousand years, and had been respected during numberless struggles for loot and dominion, were ruthlessly thrown to the ground and chopped into pieces by the Christians of the days of Constantine the Great. Every article of value was carried off, but objects simply of art or instruction were left buried in the mounds of débris which these excited fanatics created around them. Thus the ancient temples of Cyprus, with most of their contents mutilated, lie buried beneath nine to fifteen feet of earth since the fourth century of our era" (R. H. Lang, *Cyprus, its History, Present Resources, and Future Prospects*, 1878, p. 328). The tombs, too, of all ages later than the Roman were spared because they were unknown. If so much has nevertheless survived the shock of ruin to reward successive excavators, how great must the wealth of the Cyprian sepulchres and temples once have been!

In the present room only a few, and those not the most valuable, of the Cyprian antiquities are exhibited. It may be convenient, therefore, to summarise what is to be seen elsewhere in the Museum. Descriptions of the other objects will be found in their proper places. After referring summarily to them here, we shall proceed to deal more at length with the antiquities before us in the Cyprian Room.

Cyprus seems to have been originally inhabited by a race, not, as was once supposed, of Semitic origin, among whom the Ægean civilisation, which we shall presently have to discuss (Ch. XVIII.), was fully developed. In this connection we may refer to the Cyprian language. "The primitive people of Cyprus spoke Greek, called their goddess by a Greek name, ἡ *Φάνασσα*, the queen, and adopted, to express their speech, a syllabary so little adapted to Greek, that it is difficult to believe that they can have had an early knowledge

at New York. A record of excavations is given in Mr. J. L. Myres's *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum.*

of the convenient Phœnician alphabet. All over the island rocks and statue-bases and gems and pottery are found engraved with the characters of that strange syllabary" (Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, p. 184). For a long time the language remained undeciphered. "The Bronze Tablet of Dali," acquired for the Duc de Luynes, contained a beautifully perfect inscription of 30 lines and some 1300 letters in Cyprian characters, and various but unsuccessful attempts were made to read it. In 1869 Sir Hamilton Lang, then manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Larnaca, and afterwards H.B.M. Consul for the island of Cyprus, began excavations at Dali (the ancient Idalium). He discovered a stone with a bilingual inscription in Cyprian and Phœnician characters (now in the Museum), and this proved the key to the Cyprian writing. "It was a curious coincidence that the first word of the Cyprian text upon that stone was the group of five letters which the Duc de Luynes had read on his tablet as 'Salamis.' Equally strange was it that that word was the only one which was repeated in the Cyprian text, and that in the Phœnician, similarly, only one word was repeated." The researches of the late George Smith showed that the group of letters in question was pronounced "basileus" (see *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i.).

These bilingual inscriptions show that there must have been in the island a people speaking a Greek tongue before the Phœnicians came to trade and settle. Among the primitive antiquities from Cyprus, examples of **pottery** may be seen in the First Vase Room. In the same room abundant specimens of later Cypriote ware are also exhibited; choicer vases, imported from Greece and found in the island, are merged in the general collections. Pottery seems to have been from early times a speciality of Cyprus. "The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that Esar-haddon, who began his reign in 681 B.C., received as contributions from the subject nations of his empire works of art for the decoration of the palace he was building at Nineveh, and amongst the countries enumerated Cyprus is mentioned as contributing stone statues and vases for that object. As the empire over which that monarch ruled embraced most of the then civilised world, it would appear that the Cyprians had attained to the highest excellence in the fictile art. *The soil of the* island literally teems with fragments of

stone statues and the products of the potter" (T. B. Sandwith in *Archæologia*, vol. xlv.). In the First Vase Room, again, may be seen rich collections of "Mycenæan antiquities" in other kinds. The gold and ivory is exhibited in the Room of Gold Ornaments. Of the early Greek period in Cyprus a tradition remains in the *Iliad* (xi. 19), where the arms sent by Cinyras, king of Amathus, to Agamemnon are described :—

> His ample chest
> A breastplate guarded, given by Cinyras
> In pledge of friendship ; for in Cyprus' isle
> He heard the rumour of the glorious fleet
> About to sail for Troy ; and sought with gifts
> To win the favour of the mighty king.

Some curious antiquities, recalling another story of Cinyras, will be found in the Room of Terra-cottas (p. 708). The objects of art discovered from the early tombs of Cyprus fully bear out, by their richness and beauty, the traditional repute of the island. But, as we shall see, traces of Phœnician, Assyrian, and Egyptian influence or importation are very strong. Under Thotmes III. (1600 B.C.) the island had been made subject to Egypt. Phœnician traders had at an early period settled in the island, and afterwards founded a kingdom at Citium. Next, after a period of independence under nine kingdoms, the island became subject to Assyria. Amongst the embassies to whom King Sargon gave audience at Babylon in 708 or 707 B.C. were seven Cyprian monarchs. The tribute which they brought with them consisted of gold, silver, vases, logs of ebony, and the manufactures of their own land. In return the great king presented them with a statue of himself cut in bas-relief, and bearing a long inscription in cuneiform characters. This statue, now in the Museum of Berlin, was erected in Citium, and was discovered in the middle of the last century.[1] The inscription says, among other things, "The works which were done in the midst of Chaldæa and Syria the Cypriotes heard of, and their hearts failed them, and fear took hold of them." We, with so much wealth of Assyrian art collected in our Museum, can the more easily fancy how the island ambassadors were dazzled by the sight of monuments

[1] It is sad to think that only parsimony on the part of the future masters of Cyprus deprived the British Museum of this interesting relic. The British authorities valued it at £20. The Berlin Museum obtained it for £50 (*Lang's Cyprus*, p. 329).

which, even now after a sleep of centuries, excite the admiration of the civilised world. In the 6th century B.C. Cyprus was conquered by the Egyptian King Amasis; but on the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses (525 B.C.) it became tributary to the Persians. During the wars between Greeks and Persians the island was often the scene of hostilities; after the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), Evagoras, king of Salamis, succeeded in extending his authority over the greater part of the island and asserting his independence of the Persian monarch. We must not follow the history of the island further; we have said enough to explain the successive foreign influences which are so marked a characteristic of any collection of Cyprian antiquities. Of a Persian motive in Cyprian architecture there is an interesting example in the "bull capital" from Salamis (Ephesus Room, p. 135). The foreign influences are well seen in the historical succession of terra-cotta figurines from Cyprus (Terra-cotta Room, p. 686). Of works of pure Greek or Hellenistic art the visitor should not miss two special treasures—a charming head of Eros (Third Græco-Roman Room, p. 68), and a beautiful gold pin (p. 575). These were both found among the ruins of the Temple of Aphroditè at Paphos.

We now come to the antiquities in the Cyprian Room. It will be noticed that they are, with few exceptions, of stone, and they were of native manufacture. To their *material* their preservation in such large numbers (for nearly all here before us and more came from a single excavation) was due. "While a large proportion of Greek sculptures has perished in the kiln, having been converted into lime by mediæval builders, the statues of Cyprus have survived, because of the inferior material in which they were executed" (Newton). "Cyprus possesses no indigenous marble, and the local limestone, which is of a friable character, is almost universally used. The nature of the material thus encouraged production, for this stone, though not durable, is yet easy to work. This friable stone soon gets worn down, and consequently the figures often have a faded appearance, with rounded surfaces and thinned-out angles" (H. B. Walters in *Architectural Review*, January 1899).

The site of the excavation from which the greater part of *these antiquities* was obtained was the ancient *Idalium*. Here *was one of the most* celebrated temples of Aphroditè; —

"Est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera
Idaliæque domus,"

says Venus in the *Æneid* (x. 51). When the goddess of Love rose out of the foam of the sea she first touched earth, it was said, at Paphos; it was at Idalium that Adonis, her favourite, was slain. Cyprus, it has been remarked, was in ancient times "a caravanserai, wherein East met West to prosecute in common a congenial nature-worship, with rites less bestial than in Syria, more sensual than in Greece. The cult of woman, lapsing into voluptuousness and rising again to chivalry, has been always dominant in the island, inspiring a continuous romance, which begins with the Idalian and the Paphian and closes with Berengaria and Catherine Cornaro" (Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar*, pp. 180, 197). The Temple of Aphroditè at Idalium must have existed several centuries, for some of the objects discovered in the ruins were at least as old as the tenth century B.C., others as late as the Ptolemaic and Roman eras. The excavations were made in 1870 for Sir Hamilton Lang. Twenty years before a peasant had found on the site several vessels of gold and the bronze tablet already mentioned. Tombs in the neighbourhood were also constantly being excavated; the temple was hit upon by accident:—

"One day in 1869, just as I was getting tired of the pottery and glass finds, Hagge Georgi (the finder of the Tablet of Dali) sent me a pressing request that I should come at once to Dali, because he had made some wonderful discoveries. It would be a long story to tell all the difficulties I experienced in the new work put upon me, but it proved a pleasant change in my antiquarian amusements. A temple had been discovered at Idalium, with its ancient contents, 9 feet underground, and I determined to uncover it in a systematic way. The recompense of my labour was far beyond my expectation. One piece of stone alone [the bilingual inscription above described] I would not have exchanged for all the treasures of the tombs of Cyprus. . . . Besides this precious bilingual stone, and several Phœnician, Cyprian, and Greek inscriptions, a large collection of statues and two treasures of silver coins were found in the temple" (R. H. Lang's *Cyprus*, ch. xv., and *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd ser. xi. 30).

As the ruins had to be excavated in a hard chalky grit, under full exposure to an August sun of 130°, the work which Sir Hamilton Lang superintended for two months imposed a severe strain on his antiquarian enthusiasm. Dali was the scene, he says, of his "hottest, if happiest," hours. The

inscriptions, the coins, and the best preserved of the statues were removed to the British Museum. The shipment out of the island was attended with considerable difficulty, for Sir Hamilton Lang had no firman; but it was somehow managed. *Cela se fait, mais ne se dit pas.*

The statues have their interest, but it requires some effort of sympathetic imagination to replace them in their proper setting:—

"The imposing array of statuary which met the eye of the visitor as he entered the temple in the days of its glory may be conceived when I say that the headless statues which strewed the ground must have represented 1000 pieces of sculpture, of which nearly 100 were of colossal or heroic size. The treasure-trove tells us of the wealth of the temple, the tiny feet in bronze still adhering to some of the marble slabs speak to us of works of art of the highest value which ruthless plunderers destroyed and carried off, and the inscriptions preserve to us a record of the royal favour which the temple received during several centuries" (Lang's *Cyprus*, p. 42).

Very different was the scene which the temple presented when it was unearthed. Many of the sculptured fragments were found in troughs of solid stone which had been used for ablutions in days of old. Evidence of the violence of the iconoclasts was abundant; heads had been broken off from small statues and thrown pell-mell into heaps; and from most of the colossal statues the eyes had been knocked out. Remains of the sacrifices and burnt offerings which had once been made were found in fragments of charcoal and in the bones of bullocks, sheep, and swine.

Some other of the antiquities here collected come from the yet more famous Temple of Aphroditè at Paphos, which was excavated for the Cyprus Exploration Fund under the superintendence of Mr. D. G. Hogarth (*J.H.S.* ix. 150; see also Dyer's *Gods in Greece*, app. vi.).

Of the **statues from Idalium**, the most important stands by itself in the centre of the room. It is the half-length figure of a king, or a divinity, with a curly beard. Near it stood in the original position the largest pedestal discovered among the ruins. The physiognomy belongs to what we shall speedily recognise as the Cyprian type, and there is a trace of Assyrian character in the work generally. But there is a trace also in it of Greek naturalness. The eyes are better formed than in *the earlier works* which we shall presently examine; the eye-

brows still mark a more archaic style. The lips were originally coloured red, and probably the eyeballs also. This figure may be taken as typical of the transition period in Cyprian sculpture. Next we may notice a marsebâh, or monument of alabaster, erected by Sardalus, the royal interpreter, in honour of his god Eshmun. This monument comes from Larnaca; its date is about 380 B.C.

Turning to the wall-cases, we examine first the terra-cotta figures and sculptures on the side of the room devoted to the **archaic period** of Cyprian art (about 700-500 B.C.). Some of the smaller limestone figures and the terra-cottas are of a very primitive character. A common type is that of a goddess, representing the creative powers of nature; she is entirely nude, and the sexual features are pronounced. "These figures are worked in what has been called the 'snow-man technique,' the clay being modelled with the hand while in a soft state, and worked up into a rude presentment of the human form" (Walters). Among the figures we may notice also men on horseback, warriors holding large round shields, and a group of two warriors in a chariot (No. 97). These represent the votaries who offered the statuettes of gods and goddesses at the shrines. Some of the figurines are of a quaintly hideous aspect. A remarkable one (No. 73) shows the upper part of a female figure, probably representing Aphroditè playing on the lyre. The ornaments upon the ears and neck are elaborately rendered, and there are traces of colouring.

We may next notice some large heads which are distinctively Egyptian (Nos. 3 and 4) and Assyrian (Nos. 1 and 2). Notice the Æthiopian breadth of nose in the former. These examples are not so much of Cypriote sculpture showing Egyptian or Assyrian influences, as Egyptian or Assyrian sculptures found in Cyprus.

The next cases contain examples of Cypriote art developing itself on independent lines:—

"The earliest examples of Cypriote sculpture are very Assyrian in style, especially as regards the coiffure. The hair is trimly curled, with an elaborate fringe over the forehead, and the beard is treated in the same fashion. The usual head-dress is a conical stuff cap, or else a helmet with ear-pieces; the draperies are long and elaborate. But these sculptures are never to be mistaken for Assyrian; they are never *even to be regarded as* direct copies of Assyrian models. There is

evidently an intermediary influence, namely, the Phœnicians, to whom are due the imported objects which the Cypriotes copied. It must also be remembered that Assyrian sculptures are nearly always in bas-relief, while those from Cyprus are in the round. To this fact is probably due a common feature of Cypriote statues, namely, that the figures have a thin and slab-like appearance, as if they had been meant for placing against walls. An unavoidable result of this is a deliberate misrepresentation of the human body" (H. B. Walters in *Architectural Review*, January 1899).

With regard to the coiffure and head-dresses, the turbans (*e.g.* in Nos. 6 and 7) are interesting. Herodotus tells us (vii. 89) that "the Cyprian kings had their heads wound round with turbans, and the rest had tunics, but in other respects they were like the Hellenes."

A greater approach to naturalness is visible in the next group of heads, of which Nos. 28 and 29 may be taken as typical examples. Characteristic of the Cypriote type are a great prominence and sharpness of nose, a high skull, narrow head, cheek-bones highly marked, and a mild, benignant expression of countenance. There is also in the Cypriote style "an utter absence of elegance and nobility, of delicacy or firmness—in short, no idealism or striving after effect. The Oriental dress and coiffure, the elaborate jewellery and general softness and effeminacy, are due to the Oriental manners and habits which have always characterised the Cypriotes even in the times of the strongest Western influence" (Walters). The kings of Cyprus affected, we are told, the luxury and ceremony of Oriental princes. Of one of them, the king of Neo-Paphos, it is recorded that he liked to cool himself by the hovering of doves. He was anointed with fragrant oil to attract them, and when they flew near, attendants were at hand to ward them off (*Athen.* vi. 257). The sharp Cypriote nose is very conspicuous in all the heads. Many have the appearance of being portraits. Others may be identified as intended for heads of Hercules; of these No. 27 has some dignity, No. 17 wears an almost comic leer.

Among the draped Aphroditès, No. 205 (from the Castellani collection) is not unpleasing. In others the goddess wears a diadem or other ornament (*e.g.* 154). Sometimes the Egyptian style continues (No. 211). In the full-length statuettes of Artemis and other divinities the Greek style is noticeable; some of these (*e.g.* No. 182) show considerable traces of colour.

Passing to the wall-cases on the other side of the room, devoted to **later Cyprian sculpture** (about 500-150 B.C.), we find occasionally heads from which the archaic manner has disappeared. See, for instance, the charming head of a youth, probably Eros (No. 319), and Nos. 326, 328, 330. The Cypriote nose is, however, still with us. Some of the figures (Nos. 248, 279) are draped in an Egyptian royal tunic. Gradually we find ourselves among works of the Greek period. No. 39 is interesting as showing the distance we have travelled in artistic development. This head, which looks like a portrait, somewhat recalls a much earlier work on the other side of the room (No. 29), but it is much more natural. The expression is less stiff and the eyes have more life. In archaic sculpture, as Sir Charles Newton observed, "the eye appears rather as if seen through a slit in the skin than as if set within the guard of highly sensitive and mobile lids. The same want of knowledge which in the seated figures from Branchidæ has failed to disconnect the bodies from the chairs has in the treatment of the eye been unable to express its free movement and to detach it from the lids" (*Portfolio*, 1874, p. 84). A youthful male head (No. 42) is among the best of the Cypriote sculptures; it almost suggests the grand style of the Mausoleum sculptures. Another head (No. 43) has the air of a good portrait. No. 37 is thoroughly Greek.

Among votive statues and sepulchral monuments we may notice the statue of a young man wearing a tunic with a mantle over it and holding a sacrificial band in his right hand (from Dali). A stelè from Larnaca was set up, about 250 B.C., by Arish in honour of his father, Parsi, and his mother, Shemzabal. The inscription is in Phœnician; a Greek one, probably to the same effect, was effaced in ancient days. Another stelè, with an inscription in Greek and Phœnician, is in memory of Artemidorus, son of Helidorus of Sidon: this was found at Athens (Boeck's *C.I.G.* No. 894). A bas-relief, in hard stone, of a naked archer, has an inscription in Cypriote letters: this was found near a village called Salamiou, about 15 miles from Paphos (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* i. 117). At Tremitusa, near Golgoi, was found a stelè which, though not in a particularly good style of sculpture, shows some feeling. It appears to represent two young men at the grave of their mother, who holds one of them by the arm. One votive statue is of a poetess playing the lyre; among statuettes

a flute-player is often seen. Cyprus, we may remember, was celebrated as "the island made glad with dances" (Claudian).

It will not escape notice that among the sculptures of the later period many archaic figures are to be found—some with the fixed "Æginetan" smile, others in the old stiff attitudes. In the temples of Cyprus every shrine seems to have been filled with a crowd of votive statues, and in statues made for this purpose the traditional pose, the archaic manner, were often intentionally preserved in much later times in accordance with religious tradition.

☞ *Retracing our steps, we now enter the first of the series of Galleries containing the collection of vases.*

CHAPTER XVI

GREEK VASES—INTRODUCTORY

"The other day I went to the British Museum. The Greek sculpture and vases impressed me more profoundly than ever: the designs are so exquisite, the grace so unfailing, the touch so fine that I know no school of fine art equal to what is shown here. A hundred nameless potters are better than the best men of the Renaissance. We justly praise Flaxman, but Athens or Corinth had each a whole crowd of working men, who probably did not reckon as artists at all, to rival him" (F. T. PALGRAVE'S *Journals*).

"A feigned, fictitious, artificial, supernatural, put-together-out-of-one's-head thing. All this Fiction must be, to begin with. The best type of it being the most practically fictile—a Greek vase. A thing which has two sides to be seen, two handles to be carried by, and a bottom to stand on, and a top to be poured out of, this every right fiction is, whatever else it may be. Planned rigorously, rounded smoothly, balanced symmetrically, handled handily, lipped softly for pouring out oil and wine. Painted daintily at last with images of eternal things: 'For ever shalt thou love, and she be fair'" (RUSKIN, *Fiction Fair and Foul*).

THE collection of Greek vases, admirably arranged in four spacious rooms, is among the most interesting departments of the British Museum. Though weak in some directions, especially in Etruscan vases, the collection is on the whole the most completely representative in the world. The study of such a collection affords an inexhaustible mine of interest, which is by no means to be confined to the scholar and the archæologist.[1] This pottery of the Greeks appeals from many points of view to popular interest. Yet a visitor, previously unacquainted with the subject, who should content himself

[1] Vases have also a scientific interest in connection with terrestrial magnetism. See a reference in *Nature* (March 4, 1897) to Dr. G. Folgheraiter's *observations* on the magnetisation of ancient vases.

with a hasty and superficial inspection of the Vase Rooms, would probably think that such an enthusiastic appreciation as is contained in the passage from Palgrave's *Journals* was exaggerated, if not altogether unintelligible. "The prize Dead Greece vouchsafes to living eyes" is not to be had without some effort. The craftsmen who shaped and painted these vases had a language of their own, with conventions and abbreviations and limitations which the spectator must learn to understand before he can read the pictures with sympathetic pleasure. At first sight these slight and often careless outlines may appear hardly worthy of attention. We must bear in mind, as Sir Charles Newton bids us, "the peculiar conditions under which the vase-painter worked: the surface on which he had to paint was generally either convex or concave, rarely flat; he was limited to the employment of very few colours; his composition was bounded by the form of the vase itself; the material with which he had to deal was not adequate to the proper representation of chiaroscuro." Again, the vase-painters, even in the periods and schools of greatest skill, used a kind of graphic shorthand. Do they want to tell us that we are looking at a building? They give us only a single column. We have to supply the rest. Or, we see a branch. It serves as the notice in a child's drawing, "*N.B.* This is out-of-doors." Even in the figures we have, in the earlier vases, to interpret them by remembering certain fixed conventions. If the flesh be white, it is a woman; if black, a man. Women are given almond-shaped eyes; men have round pupils. The similarity of the dress of men and women made some such method of drawing distinctions the more necessary. Quarrel with these conventions, refuse to accept them in the spirit in which they are meant, and to the end of the story nothing will be seen in the vases but quaintness and absurdity. Quaint indeed they are, but with a captivating quaintness. Once accept the conventions and limitations, and the more the vases are studied, the fuller they will seem of interest.

In the first place, they are interesting from an **artistic** point of view. In design and fabric the better vases show a happy adaptation to the end for which they were severally made. The shapes of the vases—especially of the *amphora*, the *hydria*, the *kylix*, and the *lekythos*—are in themselves exceedingly graceful and have been widely imitated for purposes of use or ornament in all succeeding ages. The Greeks, says

Ruskin, "determined the methods of art, and laws of ideal beauty, for all generations; so that, in their central code, they cannot be added to, nor diminished from. From the meanest earthen vessel to the statue of the ruler of Olympus, the fiat of the Greek artist is final; no poor man's water-pitcher can be shaped wisely otherwise than he bids; and the utmost raptures of imagination in the Christian labour of Giotto and Angelico are inflamed by his virtue, and restrained by his discretion" (*Bibliotheca Pastorum*, i. p. xxiv.).

The **designs** on the vases are of special interest; as few other monuments of Greek painting have survived, they represent this branch of Greek art. Sometimes the vase-painter gives us a reminiscence, if not a copy, of a picture by some famous painter. But more often the painted vases show the free fancy of the craftsmen who made them. We know from inscriptions on the vases that sometimes the same man moulded the vase and then decorated it; more often, in the best time, the potter and the painter were separate. Particular painters seem to have worked for particular potters. The names of a large number of these craftsmen have been preserved on the inscriptions, and students have been busy during recent years in attempting to arrange, classify, and date the various painters. These artists in vases were, we may suppose, of a comparatively humble order. The designs on the best vases are, however, of singular beauty, and for decorative charm have seldom been surpassed. Arts and crafts in those old days were not divided; the men who produced even household pottery were true artists, and in the humblest works of Greek handicraft we often find the spirit of the grand style.

The **subjects** represented on the vase-paintings are also of great interest. They are mostly **mythical**, and no doubt, as Dr. Murray has said, "the ancient Greeks themselves, for whom the vases were in the first instance produced, found even more charm in the myths and legends on the vases than in the artistic merit of the representation. As in the contemporary literature, so also in the vases, we see the subjects which appealed most to the average mind of the Greeks." The pictures of gods and heroes on Greek vases "possessed a sacredness of meaning for the common people that can find its parallel only in the portraits of the Madonna and Christ in the early Renaissance. The painted vases were not so costly but *that the humblest rustic* could obtain them, and while they

served a practical purpose in the house, they were also a sort of illuminated Bible. The members of the family were duly reminded, as they gazed upon a Gigantomachy painted on a drinking-cup or amphora, that Zeus and right were on the throne, and that the haughty giants, powers of darkness and evil, had been crushed" (J. H. Huddilston, *Lessons from Greek Pottery*, p. 21). A study of Greek vases is, therefore, indispensable to an understanding of Greek religion and legend. This is another branch of the study which now receives much attention. To classical scholars it is very interesting to compare the treatment of various myths on vases and in literature respectively; to note how far the former illustrate the latter; and to discover the common basis of popular tradition or belief underlying both.

But not all the vase-paintings are mythological. There are many which seem to be simply scenes from daily life. Thus we find many subjects relating to the chase, the public games, or to the indoor occupations of women, which cannot be connected with any known myth. These representations of the **actual life of the Greeks**[1] have a special interest as evidence of their manners and customs. We learn from vases many curious particulars in reference to the Hellenic ritual, games, festivities, and domestic life; and we have representations of many products, instruments, and technical processes of the mechanical arts. These details may be studied not only in the vase-pictures which seem to represent scenes of real life, but also in those which are certainly mythical: because in Greek art, as in the Greek poetry, the gods and heroes are constantly represented in the figures and attire of mortals, and in the legends relating to them many incidents and traits are borrowed from real life (Newton's *Guide to the First Vase Room*, 1867, p. 5).

> The Æthiop gods have Æthiop lips,
> Brown cheeks and woolly hair.
> The Grecian gods are like the Greeks,
> As keen-eyed, cold, and fair.

[1] Professor Huddilston's little book entitled *Lessons from Greek Pottery* (Macmillan) is a pleasant introduction to the study of Greek vases from this point of view. Miss Susan Horner's *Greek Vases* (Sonnenschein), while not ignoring this line of interest, is especially copious in popular explanations of Greek mythology as illustrated in the vases of the British Museum and the Louvre. *Greek Vase Paintings*, by J. E. Harrison and *D. S. MacColl* (Fisher Unwin), is a larger and more costly book, well *illustrated and suggestively* annotated.

A study of Greek vases is thus an accompaniment to a study of Greek literature. "The records of the Human Past is not all contained in Printed Books." Nothing is better calculated than a visit to a collection of Greek vases to remind us that classical literature is not a mere dead thing. Its stories, its traditions, its spirit, were part of the very being of a people who were intensely alive. The art, the poetry, the religion of the Greek lived for him on the jug which the maids filled with water at the fountain, in the bowl with which he mixed the water with his wine, the cup from which he drank at table, the flask which held his oil, the box of ointment which stood on his wife's toilet table.

The **evolution** of the art of vase-painting offers another point of view from which a collection of vases may be studied with interest. In tracing and fixing the succession of different styles and fabrics, archæologists have thrown some light on dark ages. Indeed, as Professor Huddilston says, "potsherds form the basis of practically all theories bearing upon the movements of the Greek peoples before the dawn of historic times; and for the thousand years and more before Greek historians break the silence, the student must weigh and examine the evidence of the vase fragments, and learn to read their message."

The foregoing remarks may give some idea of the amount and variety of interest to be found in the Vase Rooms of the British Museum. The number of specimens is very large, amounting to 4000. The student and specialist will desire to consult the elaborate and costly *Catalogue of Vases* issued by the authorities of the Museum (vol. ii. by H. B. Walters, 24s.; vol. iii. by Cecil H. Smith, 26s.; vol. iv. by H. B. Walters, 16s.; vol. i. in preparation. Copies may be borrowed from the attendant in charge). In the following pages an endeavour is made to notice the more famous vases which appear to be of peculiar significance or beauty, and from the rest to select such as may serve to illustrate as many and as various points of interest as possible. Before proceeding, however, to examine the Vase Rooms in detail, there are still a few general remarks which may be serviceable.

Where do the **vases come from?** And for what were they used? The first painted vases to attract the attention of scholars were found at the end of the seventeenth century in Italy, within the borders of the ancient Etruria, and a very large proportion of the vases discovered in subsequent excava-

tions have come from the same region. Hence for a long time they were all known as "Etruscan Vases"—an inaccurate description which still lingers here and there. Their Greek origin, first discovered by the great Winckelmann, is now firmly established. There are indeed Etruscan vases, but the great mass of these painted vases were of Greek origin. They have been found for the most part in Italy, but also in large numbers at Athens, Corinth, in the Greek islands, in the Greek settlements in Africa, and on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. To a large extent they were made in Greece and exported, but in many cases they were made on the spot by Greek craftsmen in the various colonies and settlements. As good luck will have it, a fragment of a painted plate has come down to us (now in the Berlin Museum), which shows a Greek ship laden with vases for export.

For what **purposes were the vases used?** Those that adorn the collections and museums of Europe have for the most part been found in tombs. Many of the vases were used, as we can see from paintings on them (*e.g.* D 76, p. 369), in connection with the actual rites and **ceremonies of burial**; such vases would afterwards be themselves buried in the tomb, or be broken. Other vases were included among the objects which the deceased person had used or loved in his lifetime:—

> Here bring the last gifts! and with these
> The last lament be said—
> Let all that pleased, and yet may please,
> Be buried with the dead.

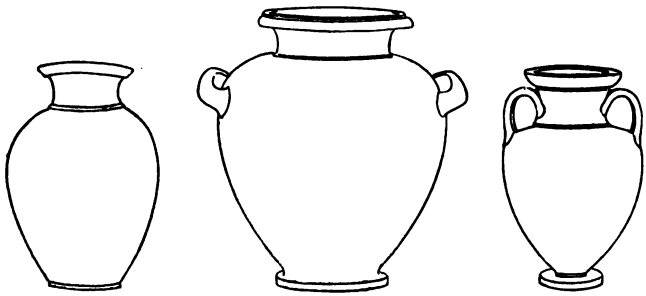
Vases were placed in the dead man's grave to solace him in the under-world:—

"It seems to have been the invariable custom in those ancient times to bury earthen vases with the deceased, containing, doubtless, drink and food, of which it was supposed that they would stand in need. It may be observed that a custom presenting some analogy to the above, and probably derived from heathen times, still exists in this island (Cyprus), both among Christians and Mussulmans, a custom which renders it incumbent on the nearest of kin to provide doles of food for the poor for a period of forty days on the occasion of a death. The breach of this custom is regarded as betraying a want of respect for the deceased, and its observance as more binding than the natural duty of providing for the wants of the widow and the orphan children. The name by which this offering is called is 'Food for the Dead,' and may well be a relic of the old custom"[1] (T. B. Sandwith in *Archæologia*, xlv. 127).

[1] *See also for this* custom R. H. Lang's *Cyprus*, p. 345.

Secondly, painted vases were used, as we know from other paintings (*e.g.* B 3, p. 338), in connection with what we should call **church ritual.** Several of the fragments or specimens in this collection have been found in the ruins of ancient temples. Thirdly, and principally, the vases deposited in tombs and thus preserved to us were the counterpart of utensils used in houses for various **purposes of daily life.** Here, again, the vases themselves give us the evidence of the purposes to which they were put. As we go round the rooms, we shall find illustrations on the vases themselves of their use as ornaments or utensils in the daily life of the Greeks.

This consideration brings us to the **shapes of vases.** These are very numerous. Only by carefully studying the



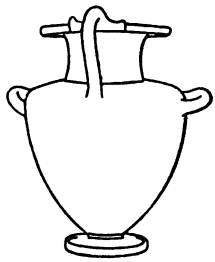
PITHOS. STAMNOS. AMPHORA.

museum shelves can one obtain any adequate idea of the inventiveness of the Greek potters in this respect. But it may be well, as a preliminary to such examination, to enumerate here some of the more common shapes. We may divide them under six heads, according as they were used for (1) storing, (2) drawing, (3) pouring, (4) mixing, (5) drinking, and (6) for the toilet. We will notice a few of the principal shapes in each of these classes.

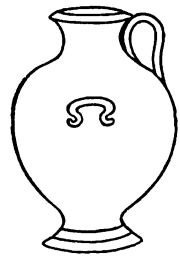
Of vases **used for storing**, the largest was the **pithos,** or cask. This was used for holding stores, and when placed in a cellar was sunk in the earth. It is in a cask of this kind that King Eurystheus is shown on many vase-paintings as taking refuge from Heracles and the boar. The **stamnos,** a small high-shouldered jar, is still in common use in Greece for *storing wine or oil.* But the vase of this class with which we

shall become most familiar is the **amphora.** It is made in many varieties of shape and size, but certain relations of shape to use are fixed. The body of the storing vessel is large, and was always egg-shaped; the neck narrows in to exclude the air, and there were always two handles for convenience in lifting. The size of the amphora varied from the small sort used in the household for storing wine to the larger and richly-painted specimens which were instruments of display.

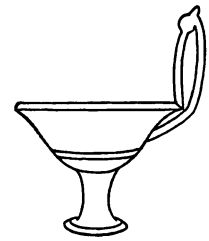
Of vessels **used for drawing,** the most common was the **hydria,** or water-jar. It had three handles. Two, like elbows,



HYDRIA.

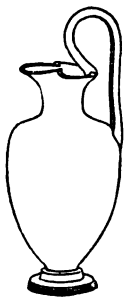


CALPIS.



KYATHOS.

are attached to the sides for carrying it when full; the third, at the back, rises above the mouth, and would be used for pouring out or tilting at the well. Groups of women carrying hydriæ are frequently painted on the vases (see p. 346). The **calpis** is a later modification of the hydria, in which the outline sweeps in a single curve from the lip to the foot of the vase. The **kyathos** was a large ladle with a long handle used to draw wine out from a larger vase.



OINOCHOÈ.



LEKYTHOS.

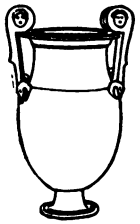
Of vessels **used for pouring,** the commonest is the **oinochoè,** or wine-jug, whose shape still survives in that of our own claret decanters. The single handle which adorns the back is delicate and is gracefully curved. The edges of the mouth are bent inwards at three places, and

thus outline a trefoil. The neck is fairly large and open, to allow the liquid to flow freely. The other pourer, the **lekythos**, being used for oil, is very narrow in the neck, and is more like a cruet.

The vessels **used for mixing** are **craters.** These are of various shapes. In the earlier fabrics, the oxybaphon (or bell-shaped crater) is the commonest; in the later fabrics of Italy, the tall crater with volute handles is usual. Wine, it should be remembered, was seldom drunk in Greece except mixed with water. "Drunkenness," says Mr. Mahaffy, "was about as common and as reprehended as it now is; but it is indeed a difficult problem to explain how the Greeks managed to get drunk on the very weak mixture they drank. Three parts of



"BELL" CRATER.



CRATER.

water to two of wine was the usual proportion, four to three was thought strong, equal parts 'made them mad,' as one of the comic fragments asserts. I am unable to discover whether their wines were stronger, or their heads weaker, than ours" (*Social Life in Greece*, p. 298). The crater held the mixture of wine and water. It was made with a wide mouth, so that smaller vessels might be dipped into it and filled with the mixture.

The commonest form of **drinking-vessel**—the **kylix**—is less practical according to modern standards. It is flat and shallow—very unlike our wine-glasses; but the Greeks did not sip wine neat, they drank freely of wine and water. The wide mouth was intended probably to spread the aroma of the wine. The shape of the kylix is very graceful, and has been adopted in all ages for ornamental vases. Often, too, a form of mulled wine was used, and the wide kylix served to cool it. *It was, as we shall see,* the favourite shape in the best period

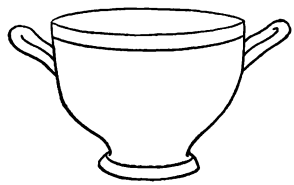
of vase-painting, and was beautifully decorated both inside and out: such specimens may have been used as the "loving cup" to be passed round to guests at a banquet. The **cantharos** and **cotylè** were other drinking-cups; these were narrower and gave longer draughts. It is to the **cantharos** that Ruskin awards the palm for gracefulness. "There is a sketch for you," he said in one of his Oxford lectures, "of the cup of cups, the pure Greek κάνθαρος, which is always in the hand of Dionysus, as the thunderbolt is in that of Zeus. Learn but to draw that thoroughly, and you won't have much more to learn of abstract form." But do not fancy, he added, that a Greek



KYLIX.



CANTHAROS.



COTYLÈ.

workman ever made a vase by measurement. "He dashed it from his hand on the wheel, and it was beautiful" (*The Eagle's Nest*, § 139). The **rhyton** was a cup copied from a drinking-horn, and was usually made to terminate in the head of an animal.

Of **toilet vases** the commonest is the **alabastron**, or scent-bottle—a vase used for precious ointments and perfumes. The **aryballos** had a round body with a wide flat rim; it was used for rubbing in oil after the bath. The **pyxis** was a casket for jewels or pins; in a pyxis discovered at Athens were found pastilles of paint.

Of other vases, a few only can be mentioned here. The **situla** was a pail, in which the new wine was allowed to settle *and separate from* the lees. It resembles the ice-pail of

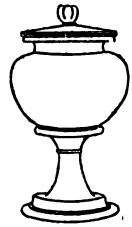
modern use. The **lebes** was primarily a cooking vessel, but it was also used for decorative purposes (see E 774, p. 378). It was made with, and without, a stand. The **askos** was a jar used to contain oil to feed lamps.



ALABASTRON

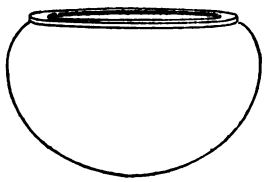


ARYBALLOS.

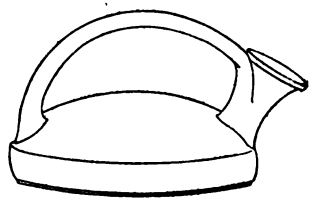


LEBES.

It should be noted that such classifications as these have been made for the convenience of archæologists. The fancy and ingenuity of the potters was perpetually modifying the old shapes and inventing new ones, and the Greek writers were



LEBES.



ASKOS.

no more precise in their terminology than we are when we speak of "jugs," "cups," and "dishes" to describe vessels of very various shapes and kinds. It is curious to note that particular shapes appear to have been in particular favour at particular periods.

With regard, lastly, to the immediate **provenance** of the vases in the British Museum, it may be stated that the nucleus of the collection was the famous cabinet brought together by Sir William Hamilton while acting as British envoy at Naples. *This was purchased* for the nation in 1772. The Townley,

Elgin, and Payne Knight collections of antiques also included many Greek vases. These were for the most part the result of chance excavations. At a later date more systematic researches yielded a great harvest. In the early part of 1828 some oxen were ploughing on the site of the ancient city of Vulci, when the ground suddenly gave way beneath them, and disclosed an Etruscan tomb with two broken vases. This led to further research, and after a time the owner of the land—Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino—took the excavations into his own hands and brought to light thousands of vases and other objects. Diggings undertaken on other properties were equally fruitful; the landowners enriched themselves and the museums of Europe with treasures from these sepulchral mines. The glories of the ancient art of vase-painting which the Prince thus brought to light and diffused throughout Europe have made the name of Lucien Bonaparte as well known, and will, perhaps, win for him as lasting a renown as his conduct on the 19th Brumaire, or the part he played in the councils of his imperial brother (Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 448). Many of the Prince's best vases were purchased for the British Museum.[1] Among other sources of the collection we may mention the excavations of Mr. Burgon in Greece (p. 330), of Mr. Dennis in Africa (p. 398), of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti in Rhodes (p. 361), and more recently of British scholars at Naucratis and Cyprus; and lastly the purchases from famous collections, such as the Pourtalès (1865), the Blacas (1866), the Castellani (1873), and the Branteghem (1892). The money value of the collections at prices now ruling in the auction mart may be judged from the fact that a single vase bought at the Forman sale in 1899 cost £200.

This costly vase (Third Room, Pedestal V.) is one of the finest extant specimens of the vase-painter's skill. Its fine drawing, masterly composition, and decorative effect present a contrast, at once piquant and instructive, with the childlike crudities of earlier styles. One of the most interesting points of view from which to approach Greek vases is the study of the stages through which the art of potter and painter passed up to perfection, and then down to excess of scale, looseness of drawing, and over-luxuriance of ornament. The admirable arrangement of the vases in our museum is in itself an incen-

[1] *The Canino* "find" is catalogued and described in *Archæologia*, *xxiii. 260.*

tive to such study, and in the following chapters we shall follow the historical order, starting from the "primitives" (Ch. XVII.), passing through the "black-figure" (Ch. XVIII.), and "red-figure" (Ch. XIX.) stages, to the period of the decadence (Ch. XX.).

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST VASE ROOM

(*From prehistoric times to about* 600 B.C.)

"Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

IT is a strange thing that works made of the potter's clay, which are taken in the Hebrew scriptures as types of the fragility and mutability of human life, should be among the most enduring monuments of antiquity. "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Even so will I break this people, and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again." The vessels collected in this room take us back to the prehistoric times of Greece, to days of which the earliest limit cannot yet be fixed, but which may well be 3500 years ago. These primitive vases are rough and rude, and to a first and hasty, or uninstructed, glance may seem of little interest or importance. But in the hands and to the eyes of trained archæologists the rudest markings, the slightest variations in shape and design, are made to yield their significance. Little certainty, except in a few broad divisions, has been attained; yet it is on the minute examination of vases, on their classification, on the interpretation of their differences, that students base their principal hope of reconstructing some idea of dim ages, of tracing the movements of peoples, and the process of civilisations, and of forcing prehistoric times into some historical relations. These inquiries are for the specialist, though some general acquaintance with the problems involved and the solutions attempted will add not a little to the enjoyment even of "the general visitor." But to those of us who are not experts, the main interest in a collection of early vases is *artistic rather than* historical. The evolution of art is always

an attractive study, whatever be the subject matter. Just as in a collection of pictures we may trace the progress of the painter's skill from the "squint-eyed saints" of the primitives to the glorious beauty of a Titian or a Raphael, so in the case of the potter's art we may, in the British Museum, trace back the exquisite grace and fitness of a Meidias or a Brygos to the rude vessels of prehistoric Greece upon which the maker has incised a few simple lines. This is a point of view from which a collection of primitive vases will appeal to every man of intelligence and taste. A reader who is paying his first visit to the collection would do well to begin with a general survey of the vases of the best period (in the Second and Third Vase Rooms); he will then approach the primitives with a livelier sense of the beautiful shapes and charming designs of which they held the promise and potency. And even within this First Vase Room we may best begin by a contrast between the rude and the delicate, the simple and the elaborate. In the first wall-case are some of the earliest vases of all. There is nothing graceful in their shapes, and the only ornament is an incised line or a scrawl. In the last wall-case (on the opposite side of the door) there is a little vase, numbered A 1050; it is a miracle of minuteness and elaborate art. We have now in our tour of the room to trace the stages—during a period extending from prehistoric times to about 600 B.C.—whereby Greek vases grew to beauty and daintiness.

PREHISTORIC POTTERY

The earliest pottery here exhibited (Wall-cases 1-4) is of a very primitive kind. It was made by hand. The only decoration consists of incised lines, of the herring-bone pattern or criss-cross. There are either no handles (as in A 33) or the handles are of an elementary kind. The pottery in all these respects closely resembles that of ancient Britain (as may be seen in the Prehistoric Saloon of the Museum). It is of a kind which all races at a particular stage of civilisation affect; thus in the Ethnological Gallery very similar vessels may be seen from the Fiji islands. The Greek pottery of this kind is known as "Prehistoric," "Pre-Mycenæan," or "Hissarlik," from the supposed site of Troy, where Dr. Schliemann's excavations discovered antiquities of this very early period. The specimens here before us were for the most part found by Mr J.

Theodore Bent in Paros and Antiparos, islands of the Cyclades group. With them were found rude marble figures, and implements of obsidian. "When," says Mr. Bent, "Cortes invaded Mexico he found the barbers of the Aztec capital shaving the natives with razors of precisely the same nature as the obsidian flakes I found at Antiparos" (*J.H.S.* v. 42). The rudest representations of the human form resemble a violin rather than a man or a woman; in others there is some approach to naturalness in giving roundness to calves and limbs; in all there is the same unnaturally long neck. To what age do these antiquities belong? To fix any actual date is impossible; but the evidence of geology, confirming that of archæology, here comes in to suggest a certain limit. Many of Mr. Bent's antiquities were rescued from ground submerged by the sea. Similar antiquities have been found in the island of Santorin (the ancient Thera). This island yields a volcanic rock which, mixed with lime, makes a very hard cement. It was extensively used in the construction of the Suez Canal. In the course of excavations for this, "a prehistoric Pompeii" came to light. Now this early settlement and the antiquities there discovered clearly belonged to a time earlier than a great earthquake, which at some remote period changed the island into a mass of pumice. The geological experts say that the time must have been before the sixteenth century B.C. How much earlier than that, nobody pretends to say; but, roughly speaking, we may think of 2000 B.C. as the probable date of the pottery we are here inspecting. It is not all of the same period. In some of the primitive vases from Cyprus (Cases 3 and 4) the patterns are in relief, instead of being incised: they must have been moulded in the moist clay before baking. In others the patterns are painted.

MYCENÆAN POTTERY

The next stage (Wall-cases 5-13, and Table-case A) shows a further and a remarkable advance, both artistically and technically. The vases are of more elegant shapes, and are more correctly moulded; they were made on the potter's wheel. They are covered with a creamy "slip" (a coating of pipeclay), and on this the patterns are painted. "The whole vase is finally covered with a transparent glaze, which gives it *a warm tone.* That," says Dr. Murray, "was a brilliant

invention," and he suggests that the first application of a glaze and of colour that could stand fixing had been learnt from the early workers in glass and porcelain (*Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 17 ; and see below, p. 299). Not less remarkable is the advance in artistic effect, or rather the first achievement of such effect. There is now considerable freedom in drawing, and a sense of decorative design. Note, for instance, the cuttle-fish design on the vase numbered A 198. This vase—a *kylix* on a tall stem—is of a shape characteristic of "Mycenæan" ware; it does not reappear in later Greek pottery. Another common shape is called the *pseudamphora* (false amphora); the neck of the vase is closed by the potter, and a spout is provided for pouring (see, *e.g.*, A 209, 212). On a large vase (A 223) there is a scale pattern which makes an admirable decoration. The same may be said of the border of fishes round the inner rim of a vase from Calymna (A 305). Even the groups of parallel lines which are so common on these vases are arranged with some sense for effect. Among the more remarkable vases we may notice:—

A 349 (in Case 11).—"A very remarkable Mycenæan vase from Erment, Egypt, acquired in 1890 through the late Rev. G. Chester, of a very flat shape, the sides being carved over to the mouth, and there is practically no neck, and there are three small ear handles. The colour of the clay is deep greenish-yellow, and the varnish is laid on in no great thickness. The decoration consists of a representation of the argonaut or paper nautilus, repeated in each space between the handles, while all the remaining surface of the vase is filled in with seaweed patterns" (*J.H.S.* xvii. 75).

A 296 (in 12 and 13).—"A vase of great interest and artistic merit, a pseudamphora from Calymna, with figures in bright red on a deep buff ground. On the front is the body of an octopus, mouth downwards, from which extend nine tentacles, of which eight meet in pairs at the back of the vase; the remaining one falls vertically, and ends in a leaf-shaped sucker. The other tentacles end in spirals, and each pair is united by an oval radiated object, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Between the tentacles is a curious sort of webbing formed of striated bands, which are interlaced and hold the tentacles together for about a third of their total length. In the field of the vase, and between the tentacles, are various animals" (*J.H.S.* xvii. 75).

What is the history of this class of pottery? It is called "Mycenæan." The specimens first acquired for the British Museum came from Ialysus in Rhodes, being the first of excavations carried on there in 1868, and presented in

1870-72 by Mr. Ruskin. For some time they attracted no particular attention, until Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ unearthed pottery identical with that found in the tombs of Ialysus :—

"In digging the strata of soil above the tombs, Dr. Schliemann found not only potsherds, such as earlier travellers had remarked on the surface, but whole vases, and in the tombs themselves were broken vases. One of the most frequently recurring types is . . . (the pseud-amphora described above). This type is so peculiar that its recurrence in various localities could not have been due to any chance coincidence. . . . In the Ialysian vases we are still more reminded of Mycenæan art. The cuttle-fish, so favourite a symbol with the goldsmiths of Mycenæ, recurs on several of the fictile cups from Ialysus. We have, too, the same friezes of dolphins or lions encircling the body of the vases in both cases. The combination of spirals, such as are found on the gold breastplates, constantly recurs; and when we compare the fragments of pottery from Mycenæ with the vases from Ialysus, the identity, not only in the peculiar ornaments, but in the fabric, is so complete that we are justified in concluding that the vases of both places, if not the actual products of the same school of fictile art, were made about the same period, and derived their ornaments from the same source" (Newton's *Essays on Archæology*, p. 284).

The visitor to the Museum may verify these resemblances by looking, in the Gem Room (Ch. XXV.), at the gold ornaments of Mycenæan style found in Cyprus; for Mycenæan products have in recent years been found in that island, in Crete, Calymnus, Caria, and many other places. These discoveries have clearly proved the existence of a widely-spread civilisation, anterior to that of which we have a record in the Homeric poems, and which may be roughly ascribed to the second millennium before Christ (2000-1000). The origin of this civilisation, the nature of the race or races among whom it prevailed, are among the unsolved, and at the present time the most vexed, questions of archæology. It used to be the fashion to trace the art of the Mycenæan period to foreign influences—Phœnician, Assyrian, or Egyptian; the tendency of more recent speculation is to assign to it an indigenous origin.[1]

[1] The theory of Professor Ridgeway, as expounded in his *Early Age of Greece* (1901), is that the people who developed the Mycenæan culture were the Pelasgians. The Homeric heroes were Achæan conquerors—a tall and fair-haired race, identified with the Celts—who entered into the *inheritance of their "Mycenæan"* predecessors.

Other "Mycenæan" antiquities, found with the pottery already described in Rhodes, are exhibited in Table-case A. Among them are various objects in bronze—spear-heads, arrow-heads, and knives. A remarkable knife with rivets on the handle comes from Ægina (No. 47 in the Museum *Catalogue of Bronzes*). Another knife (No. 43 in the same) comes from Suria, or Saria, an island north of Karpathos, supposed to be the ancient Nisyros. These knives are of a common bronze-age type; so also is the chisel, as may be seen from specimens in the Prehistoric Saloon. At the two ends of the case are some interesting ornaments, including rosettes of opaque glass (identical with the Homeric κύανος). "These glass rosettes are pierced so as to have been stitched on to dresses, probably to form borders, much as we see so frequently in the costumes on Assyrian sculpture of the seventh century B.C." (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 27).

MYCENÆAN ANTIQUITIES FROM ENKOMI, CYPRUS

In two large cases are exhibited various antiquities excavated in 1896 at Enkomi, Cyprus, by Dr. A. S. Murray, the cost being defrayed out of a bequest to the Museum by Miss E. T. Turner. On the eastern coast of the island, to the north of Famagusta, lie the ruins of Salamis—a city associated with the early Greek colonisation of Cyprus, for Salamis was supposed to have been founded by Teucer, the brother of Ajax, and named after his native island. Below the ruins of Salamis no earlier remains have been found, but a little inland, near the modern village of Enkomi, several underground tombs were discovered, of construction peculiar to the Mycenæan age. The discovery was due to a happy accident:—

"The fields, beneath which they lay, disclosed no sign whatever of ancient civilisation. An ox one day in ploughing put its foot into a hole, which the ploughman on his return found to lead on to a fine tomb of the Mycenæan period. Further investigation resulted in the discovery of about a hundred tombs, all of the Mycenæan age, perhaps the burying-ground of the original Greek settlers" (from a report of a paper read by Dr. Murray before the Royal Institute of British Architects. A full account of the excavations, with maps, plans, and illustrations of all the more interesting objects, has been sumptuously published by the trustees of the Museum, under the title *Excavations in Cyprus, 1900*).

The pottery and various other objects are here before us. The gold and ivory and jewellery, which are more wonderful, are exhibited in the Room of Gold Ornaments (Ch. XXV.). The diggings were fortunate, but there is always something of bitter in the excavator's lot. "At Salamis in Cyprus," says one explorer, "the sand, which ever slips down into your trenches, is alive with sandflies and fleas. The sun scorches, and the rain beats, and you must endure them both, for you can never safely leave your workmen to dig alone; and, for all your vigilance, they will mar and break, and withal they will steal. In Cyprus, where tombs are wet, the workmen, turning over with their knives the mud or that unpleasant soapy earth which results from human decomposition, would wipe their blades every now and then on the soft walls; and at night creep back to the scene of the day's labour and away again with a gem or a ring that had remained in the lump scraped off." But there is something that stings worse than any insect: it is the sense of "what might have been." "Perish those," says the man of letters, "who said our good things before us." "A plague on those," cry the archæologists, "who have been before us in taking good things away!" In exploring at Enkomi, Dr. Murray found evidence that in the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era wicked men had sunk wells and ransacked the tombs. "They may not have been the first, as they certainly were not the last; and fortunate as we were, they," he laments, "may have been more so." "Cyprus has been mined for treasure," says Mr. Hogarth, "ever since Christianity prevailed sufficiently to destroy fear of the old gods and of the dead. When digging at Paphos, we found that a labyrinth of passages had been cut from tomb to tomb by early robbers, working underground for weeks or months, but plundering in such haste or such obscurity that their leavings were well worth raking over again; and recent excavators for the British Museum say that they seldom (if ever) opened a virgin tomb. If so much has remained, nevertheless, both for ourselves and for them, and to form also that wonderful Cesnola collection at New York, what must not the wealth of the Cyprian sepulchres once have been! Had other resurrectionists not been before him, Cyprus would now be a digger's paradise" (*A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, p. 135). Even as it is, conditions in Cyprus are exceptionally *favourable for exploration*, for the island is administered by

enlightened officials. Was it foreseen, I wonder, when Lord Beaconsfield acquired the island, that the one indisputable advantage of his policy would be to enrich the British Museum with relics of a long-vanished civilisation?[1]

The questions raised by these antiquities from Enkomi are those which confront us in the case of all Mycenæan "finds." The local conditions of Cyprus—an island in which the Phœnicians had settlements, and close to Asia Minor—explain readily enough the Oriental character of many of the antiquities. With Egypt Cyprus has been closely identified in the past, and it is obvious that many of the Enkomi antiquities had been imported into the island direct from that country. Others, imported from Phœnicia, exhibit the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian art for which the Phœnicians were famous. But side by side with these Oriental works, others were found in which a distinctly Hellenic spirit is unmistakable. To what age, to what civilisation do these "Mycenæan" antiquities belong? The antiquities themselves provide no conclusive evidence. A number of Egyptian scarabs were found, including one bearing the name of the Queen of Amenophis III. (about 1450 B.C.). The scarab cannot have been earlier than that date, but it may have been later, and objects of different dates may naturally enough have been buried in the same tomb. Another scarab belongs to the much later Orsokon dynasty of Egyptian kings, dating from the ninth century B.C. It is to this date, or even to a century later, that Dr. Murray is inclined to attribute his finds. Professor Petrie, on the other hand, sees reasons for dating the Enkomi tombs in the thirteenth century B.C. (see *Athenæum*, 24th April 1897).

The pottery is unquestionably Mycenæan in character, but "primitive" ware—with moulded or incised patterns—is also found: see, *e.g.*, the vases arranged on the top shelf in front of the First Case. But side by side with this primitive ware the pottery shows animal forms which attain a considerable degree of naturalism. Thus, notice in this case the vase on which a cuttle-fish is painted (from Tomb 83). "The painter no longer paints a cuttle-fish, as at Mycenæ or Ialysos, in the form of a decorative pattern; he tries," says Dr. Murray, "to give to the

[1] The law of Cyprus requires, however, that one-third of all objects excavated should be handed over to the Government. There has thus been formed an important museum at Nicosia: see J. L. Myres's *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*.

creature something like its actual shape, and even strives towards a realistic effect. Instead of confining himself to aquatic animals and plants, such as prevail on the pottery of Ialysos and Mycenæ, he proceeds to bulls, sphinxes, human figures, and chariots." In the front of this case a green porcelain plate should be noticed: the design is clearly of a Nile boat. The porcelain vase near it with a seated figure (from Tomb 61) is obviously Egyptian. This blue glazed ware from Enkomi is, says Professor Petrie, of the same style and designs as that of about 1250 B.C. in Egypt.

In the Second Case we notice first some objects in bronze. A very curious object is a square stand, which might at first sight be taken for a primitive Punch and Judy. There is a similar motive on some of the ivories from Nimroud in the Museum :—

"On each side (of our bronze) are two female heads looking out of a window, reminding us of passages in the Old Testament such as 2 Samuel vi. 16, where 'Michal, Saul's daughter, looked through a window and saw King David leaping and dancing before the Lord'—a scene which Dante saw represented in relief in Purgatory (x. 68); or Judges v. 28, where the mother of Sisera looked out of a window; or 2 Kings ix. 30, where Jezebel 'painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out of a window'" (A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 10).

Not less interesting are the associations called up by the discovery of the bronze wheels and a series of implements here exhibited :—

"Hiram made for King Solomon ten bases of brass 'of thin work. And every base had four brazen wheels. And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel' (1 Kings vii. 27). 'The pots also, and the shovels, and the flesh-hooks, and all their instruments, did Huram his father make to King Solomon, for the house of the Lord, of bright brass' (2 Chronicles iv. 16)."

The bronze implements were found by Dr. Murray in what appeared to be the remains of a foundry or smith's workshop. Fragments of a pair of bronze greaves should also be noticed. They are of some importance in the vexed question of the dates of Mycenæan art, for it has been supposed that metal greaves were an invention of a comparatively late age (B.C. 700).[1]

[1] But this contention rests on the negative evidence of the Homeric poems, and the argument from silence is seldom a very strong one. See on this subject the *Catalogue of Bronzes*, by H. B. Walters, p. lxvi.

The pottery in this case is of the same general character as that already described.

The objects in porcelain present in a very marked manner the double aspect of Mycenæan art. Some are pure Egyptian, in artistic derivation, if not in workmanship; others are pure Greek:—

"The horse's head with his ears laid back is as perfect a piece of artistic naturalism as could be conceived. The forms are poor and mean. Not so the artist's rendering of them. He intended, there can be no doubt, to represent a patient, much-enduring animal. With the slightest possible modelling, a sympathetic eye for nature in her humbler aspects, and a fine sense of style, he has achieved his end. The ram's head is perhaps more formal, yet it must be remembered that the head of a ram, with its excess of bony structure, has, by its very nature, a permanency of form which allows of almost no artistic change from age to age. On the other hand, the two vases in the shape of women's heads again go to nature in her changeable moods, showing a type of woman which has nothing whatever in common with Egypt or Assyria. The one seems to be Greek, not only in her features, but also in the way in which her hair is gathered up at the back in a net, just as on the sixth century Greek vases of this shape" (*Excavations in Cyprus*, pp. 22, 33).

If the reader will go for a moment into the next vase room he will find vases of the shape referred to. The later vases differ in having handles, and in being more advanced in artistic style; but the idea is the same in these Mycenæan vases, and there is already, as we have seen, something of the true Greek spirit in them. Are we to suppose that "Mycenæan" art reached a certain stage of development and then was arrested or submerged? or shall we rather conclude that the evolution of art was continuous, and that "Mycenæan" art was the immediate predecessor of the Ionian Greek art of the seventh century B.C.?[1]

[1] The prevalent theory is that the "Mycenæan" culture was swept away by the Dorian invasion. "Surely it is not going too far if we see in the conquering Dorians the rude iron-using people of the Geometrical period, who, armed with superior weapons, overwhelm the more highly civilised Achaians, and so, while bestowing on Greece the knowledge of iron, at the same time cause a temporary set-back in the development of her civilisation" (H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 1901, p. 41). To this theory an exception is made by some writers in order to fit the case of Cyprus. "Recent discoveries have made it probable that, however early the Mycenæan period may have begun in Greece proper, *and the current theory* assumes with justice that it was already flourishing

GEOMETRICAL OR "DIPYLON" WARE

The next style of pottery which we have to examine is called "geometrical," from the nature of the patterns which form its chief decoration (Wall-cases 14-19). It is also called "Dipylon" from the fact that many examples were found near the Dipylon Gate at Athens, but vases and other objects in the same style have been found in many places; several of those in the Museum come from Thebes in Bœotia.

The most common of the patterns are the "mæander" and the "key-pattern," or, as it is sometimes called, the "Greek fret." This pattern, which came to be used extensively in many kinds of decoration, has a long history. One of the interesting things to study in a collection of vases, as in any other kind of decorated objects, is the philosophy of ornament, the **evolution of pattern.** For patterns are not dead things; they once had living souls. We speak of "conventional" decoration, and so in truth much of it has become; but at one time every pattern had a meaning, and not a line was without its symbolism. It may, indeed, be questioned whether some of the earliest patterns on vases (such as those on the prehistorical ware described above) had any but an accidental origin—or rather an origin due to the very process of manufacture. "Vibrate but the point of a tool against an unbaked vase, as it revolves, set on the wheel,—you have a wavy or zigzag line." And so again, before the invention of the wheel, as the primitive man "kneaded the clay to fashion his rude vessels, a finger-pressure would raise a ridge here, and an indentation there, and a sharp flint or pointed stick would roughly scratch the soft moist surface; and so by alternating rows of ridges and scratches, borders and ornamentations of great variety would be formed, and thus the primitive man would obtain his first ideas of creating decorative effect." An examination of the earliest vases here, of the primitive British ware (in the Prehistoric Saloon), of the vessels of savage tribes (in the Ethnographical Gallery), will show that all decoration began in this simple fashion. But decoration soon became conscious, and with the progress of conscious decoration symbolism went hand in hand. Some forms of ornament

as early as the sixteenth century B.C., in Cyprus at least it continued *almost* to the classical period" (*ibid.* p. 36). For other references in *this Handbook to the* "Mycenæan question," see pp. 89, 559.

are clearly due to structure:[1] to the imitation, that is, of structural forms, such as the interlacing of wattle-work (as in the criss-cross pattern already noticed). We have seen how the decorative design of Lycian stone tombs was imitated from the necessary forms of wooden building (p. 226). Other patterns were taken from natural objects: as the zigzag line from lightning, the disk from the sun, the crescent from the moon. And presently the pattern became the symbol:—

"A symbol is scarcely ever invented just when it is needed. Some already recognised and accepted form or thing becomes symbolic at a particular time. Horses had tails, and the moon quarters, long before there were Turks; but the horse-tail and crescent are not less definitely symbolic to the Ottoman. So the early forms of ornament are nearly alike, among all nations of any capacity for design; they put meaning into them afterwards. . . . The vase revolves once; the ends of the wavy line do not exactly tally when they meet; you get over the blunder by turning one into a head, the other into a tail,—and have a symbol of eternity! . . . Again, the free sweep of a pen at the finish of a large letter has a tendency to throw itself into a spiral. There is no particular intelligence, or spiritual emotion, in the production of this line. A worm draws it with his coil, a fern with its bud, and a periwinkle with his shell. Yet, completed in the Ionic capital, and arrested in the bending point of the acanthus leaf in the Corinthian one, it has become the primal element of beautiful architecture and ornament in all the ages, and is eloquent with endless symbolism, representing the power of the winds and waves in Athenian work, and of the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, in Gothic work" (Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, Letter xxiii.).

One of the simplest of all patterns on vases is the zigzag, formed at first of straight lines, as we may see it on the neck of a very early vase, A 29. Among the Egyptians it was the symbol of the greatest feature of their land, the river Nile, with its "meandering" course. The name "**mæander**" was afterwards applied to the pattern, from the river Mæander in Asia Minor. The straight line was exchanged for a wavy one, and we have the better known mæander pattern; we may see it in a simple form on a Dipylon vase here, A 384. Higher up on the same vase is the **key pattern**, or Greek fret. Sometimes, indeed, it is called "the Greek pattern," as if

[1] To forms of ornament due to structure the technical term *skeuomorph* has been applied. *Physicomorphs* are those due to natural objects, *biomorphs, those due to* animal forms (see A. C. Haddon's Evolution in Art).

there were no other. But though characteristically Greek, it was in use long before in Egypt. It has also been found in Central American explorations. Although of a somewhat complicated appearance, it is easily developed by a simple process of combination of straight lines at right angles to each other, and in this way it might be re-invented over and over again by different nations. With the ancient Egyptians it was a distinctly religious device, being intended to represent the famous labyrinthine temple built by an ancient king of Egypt on Lake Mœris. "In the palaces of this temple were three thousand chambers, symbolical of the three thousand years' wandering which every soul after death was required to perform on earth. So the fret was symbolical of a life after death, a life of expiation where, in long wanderings, the sins of earth must be atoned for." From the model of the Egyptian labyrinth, that of Crete was afterwards copied—"the labyrinth which the Cretan Dædalus built, out of which nobody could get who was inside, except Theseus; nor could he have done it, unless he had been helped with a thread by Ariadne, all for love." It was of this Cretan labyrinth—a symbol of each man's life-problem—that the Greeks would have thought in using the "key pattern." It figures on the reverse of many Cretan coins, and also as a border round the head of Theseus. Its decorative use was very widely extended. We see it prominent on the geometrical vases here, and the vase-painters were fond of it to the end. It forms a very common border round the designs on kylixes (*e.g.*, on E 70, Third Vase Room); it ornaments the gown of Aphroditè on one of the loveliest vases in the collection (D 2, Third Vase Room, p. 373). As a border-decoration in Greek costume it was indeed the favourite pattern; we may see it again on the hem of the robe worn by the bronze goddess with the diamond eyes (Bronze Room, No. 192, p. 429). In the revival of art, the Italian masters returned to it; in the Ansidei Madonna by Raphael in the National Gallery it may be seen at the top and the bottom of the Virgin's throne. And in our own day "you cannot pass a china shop, nor an upholsterer's, without seeing, on some mug or plate, or curtain or chair," this same pattern which the old Greek vase-painters of the geometrical school brought into fashion. To few of us, however, does it speak of the long *years of a soul's* expiation, or of the Cretan labyrinth and *the clue of Ariadne*. The key-pattern passed into another

"From the straight stiff lines of the fret were developed the beautiful curves of the **wave-scroll** or **kymation.**[1] This, to the sailor Greeks, with their home by the sea, suggested the billows rising and bending ere they broke upon the shore. Nowadays the kymation is repeated in every sort of ornamentation, but to few, indeed, does it recall the curling waves upon the beach" ("The Lost Soul of Patterns," by A. E. Farman and G. C. Nuttall, in *Good Words*, September 1896). The wave-pattern, like the fret, came to be largely used as an architectural ornament, and as a decorative motive on costumes, etc. "In the wave-moulding we have a conventional representation of the small crisping waves which break upon the shore of the Mediterranean, the sea of the Greeks. Their regular succession and equality of force and volume are generalised in this moulding, while the minor varieties which distinguished one wave from another are merged in the general type. The character of ocean waves is to be 'for ever changing, yet the same for ever'; it is this eternity of recurrence which the early artist has expressed in this hieroglyphic" (C. T. Newton in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21).

Two phases of "Dipylon" pottery may be distinguished. In the earlier (Cases 14-17) the scale of the patterns is larger, and occasionally figures of animals are introduced; as, for instance, on A 387, which shows two horses at a manger and a goat leaping, or on A 439, where we see the first introduction of a mythological subject, in some very primitive centaurs. In the later vases (Cases 18, 19), the patterns are more elaborate and minute. Often the whole vase is thus covered, as, for instance, A 360. The effect is much prettier, because simpler and less confused, on A 411.

Among the objects of minor interest in these cases, the model of a Greek chariot should not be missed (A 391); it was a child's toy. The antiquity of toys is one of the features that strike one in any museum. In other cases toy-horses, painted in stripes, will be noticed. Of the same "geometrical" period as the vases above described are some bronze *fibulæ* here exhibited (Nos. 120 and 121 in the *Catalogue of Bronzes*).

On the top of Wall-cases 16 and 17 is a terra-cotta pithos,

[1] It is interesting to notice on coins of Crete a similar conversion of a square labyrinth into a round; see in the collection of electrotypes, vi. B. *28, 29 (Ch. XXIII. p. 537).*

or cask, from Cnossus in Crete. These vessels, which were used as stores, were sometimes of enormous size. We read, for instance, of some of the poor at Athens being driven during the Peloponnesian war to find shelter in casks; and it was in one of these earthenware casks (not a tub) that Diogenes lived to show his contempt for riches.

PHALERON AND PROTO-CORINTHIAN WARE

The evolution of Greek pottery now becomes more complicated, for with the 7th century, when Greek colonies began to be founded in Asia Minor, Eastern influence was strongly operative. If the reader will turn for a moment from the cases which we have been examining and look at any of those on the other side of the room, he will at once be struck by an almost complete change. In the later vases we meet with different shapes. We find continuous friezes of animals round the vases; the colours are richer, the whole scheme of ornamentation is more profuse. But between the geometrical style and this later and richer style there is a transitional phase, to which the name "Phaleron" has been given, from the fact that vases of the kind in question were first found on the road from Athens to Phaleron. A fine example of this ware is exhibited on a pedestal (I.); it is known from the name of its finder as the "Burgon Lebes":—

"Apart from the combination of animal forms with patterns which it presents, the patterns being subsidiary and a survival only of the older practice of decoration, this vase deserves special consideration from the comparison which it suggests with the group of two lions sculptured above the gateway of Mycenæ. The idea is in both the same. (It is meant to show two side views of one and the same lion —an ingenious method of forestalling the art of perspective.) How blank the vacant spaces above and below the two lions must have looked to the painter of the vase, and how he missed the geometric or wave patterns, which once left no blank spaces! He has preserved snatches of them wherever he could, probably because it had become a sort of instinct with him to paint them" (Murray's *Greek Archæology*, pp. 37, 58, 64).

Other specimens of Phaleron ware may be seen in Table-case D, where also are arranged vases from Bœotia, showing the latest development of the geometrical style, and examples *of what* has been called "Proto-Corinthian" ware. The new *influence of which* we have spoken came no doubt from

Assyria; the friezes of lions and other animals of the hunt or chase which we see on the vases were stock subjects in Assyrian art. So, again, many of the new motives in ornamentation—such as rosettes—were doubtless borrowed from Eastern embroideries. In Athens, where there was already an established school of pottery, the new influence was not very quickly assimilated. In islands on the trade routes, like Cyprus and Rhodes, and in Corinth, whose colonising enterprise was early and extensive, the change sooner became marked. To vases of the transitional style the name "Proto-Corinthian" is given, not because they are known to have been made in Corinth, but because they are older than the Corinthian ware, which we shall presently examine, and are yet very like it. A specially interesting little vase, acquired in 1865 and guaranteed to have come from Phaleron, is the pyxis or toilet-box, No. A 349. On the body of the box is a frieze of lions and a group which is obviously a rendering of the well-known myth of Hercules and Geryon (p. 316). This vase belongs to the earliest period of the representation of mythology in vase-painting, and as such is of peculiar interest. Accustomed hitherto to conventional friezes of animals, the artist wants to depict something with more meaning. But he has not yet learned the secret which the later vase-painters knew so well, namely, the choice of subjects which lent themselves to filling the space. Accordingly our artist gives us the best representation he can of the myth in the centre, and then fills up his frieze with animals which have no connection with the story (Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* v. 176). The same horror of vacant spaces, the same almost unconscious survival of older fashions, may be seen on A 470. The artist has drawn some horses grazing, and he fills up with pieces of geometrical pattern between their legs and under their bodies.

Among the Bœotian vases, notice a vase with open spaces, like a modern wicker-work basket; but the most interesting specimen is the large lebes on the top of the case. Here we have a representation of a ship and of chariots. "On vases of this kind," says Dr. Murray, "the whole of the subjects seem to refer directly or indirectly to deceased persons, in connection with whose funeral ceremonies the vases were used." The pictures here refer, therefore, to the ship races which, like the chariot races, sometimes formed part of funeral celebrations, as described by Virgil (*Æneid*, v. 114-235):—

"The steersman is in the act of stepping on board and grasping the wrist of a woman who holds out away from him what appears to be a wreath. But obviously there is no room in the ship for a steersman of such gigantic proportions. Therefore the scene must not be taken too literally. The vase-painter fortunately had at his disposal a large space behind the stern of the ship, and he took advantage of this space to give more impressiveness to his two principal figures. As a group these two figures may be called a prototype of the parting scenes on the Athenian stelæ of later times, and this element of melancholy is just what is wanted to give the key to the whole composition. That is to say, the male figure is stepping on board to steer his ship in a race and to win the crown held up by the woman, thus anticipating the honours that in due time would be done to himself" (*J.H.S.* xix. 198).

With this vase should be compared the two bronze fibulæ, also from Bœotia, and in the same "geometrical" style of art. On both sides of each bronze the main and central decoration is an elaborate rosette within concentric rings. Notice the ship represented on one side of No. 3204 (the number refers to the *Catalogue of Bronzes*). The crew are nude. One man is working a big steering oar with the instep of his foot. "Fishermen in the Mediterranean may still be seen rowing with their feet, and our own bargees get a purchase on the tiller in the same fashion. The lines of the little vessel are of exquisite curvature and grace" (A. B. Cook in *Classical Review*, 1899, p. 77). The other sailor is fastening a rope to the forecastle. The cross-work at the stern and bows presumably indicates cabins. The square object at the mast-head is a lantern. The other corner of this side of the bronze is filled up with snatches of geometrical patterns. The other side shows men, animals, and fishes scattered about anyhow, so as to occupy the space. On one side of the other bronze (3205) patient examination will reveal (on the left) a rude picture of Hercules in combat with the six-headed Hydra—a unique representation of a mythological subject on any object of the geometrical period, and the oldest known representation of this particular myth.

MISCELLANEOUS VASES

Returning to the wall-cases, we find Mycenæan pottery and *other antiquities* from excavations in 1897-98 at Maroni and *Hala Sultan Tekki*, a Mahomedan mosque near Larnaca, Cyprus

(20-23). The designs, as in the other Mycenæan pottery we have noticed, show considerable freedom of style; the use of spirals is in particular bold and effective. Next come antiquities of prehistoric, Mycenæan, and later periods, excavated in 1899 at Klaudia, near Larnaca (24-26). Among these the effective use of the scale-pattern may again be noticed. Above cases 24 and 25 are terra-cotta stamped patterns from Assarlik in Caria, presented by Mr. W. R. Paton. On the stamped and moulded ware from Rhodes and Italy (27) the patterns are impressed by means of a stamp. The vases of "bucchero nero," or black clay (27, 28), come chiefly from Rhodes. Among the miscellaneous pottery in the next cases (30-32) there are some which illustrate the connection between the art of the potter and the glass-maker. It has been suggested, as we have seen, that it was from the early workers in glass and porcelain that the potters first got the idea of glazing their vases. Certainly the potters sometimes worked with glass models before them. Thus we have here two curious earthenware stands (A 1555, 1556), something like cruet-stands, with several little vases. These are imitated from stands containing vases of Phœnician glass (a specimen of such a vase is here exhibited). The shape and the patterns of the glass and the little vases are the same. The same idea is sometimes carried out in modern Venetian glass for liqueurs. The *kernos*, as it was called in Greek, was "a vessel made of earthenware, having many little cup-like figures fastened to it, in which are white poppies, wheat-ears, grains of barley, peas, pulse, vetches, and lentils. And he who carries it, like the man who carries the mystic fan, eats of these things" (Athenæus, xi. 55).

SMALL VASES, "PROTO-CORINTHIAN," ETC.

We now cross to the other side of the room and resume, at the door by which we entered, our historical study of the vases. First we notice a collection of vases in the form of animals or human heads—a fancy which, as we shall see, remained in favour with the Greek potters, and led to the production of many charming works. The most remarkable of the specimens here, and indeed one of the most remarkable objects in the collection, is the tiny vase (A 1050) to which we have already called attention, and which deserves the most minute inspection :—

"In spite of its diminutive proportions, it will rank as one of the mirabilia of our national collection. Its claims to distinction are based, not only upon its intrinsic merit as a *chef d'œuvre* of art, but also on the fact that, belonging to a highly interesting class of Greek painted pottery ('proto-Corinthian'), it is beyond all doubt the most beautiful and important specimen of that class which has yet come down to us. The vase has the body surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth forms the spout. The modelling of this head (which seems to be free-hand, not cast in a mould) is wonderfully spirited and life-like; as a rule in Greek art of a later period the finest lions' heads have a certain conventionality of treatment, brought about no doubt partly from the fact of their tectonic handling in architecture, and also because the artists had probably never seen an actual lion. This head reminds one much more of the animals on the Assyrian frieze of Kouyundjik, the artists of which had no doubt the advantage of study from the life. Here the softer skin around the lips, the distended nostril, and the muscles around the muzzle are all indicated with an almost Chinese exactness; the effect of snarling is admirably conveyed in the puckered-up lines of the nose, and in the ears, which, instead of standing over, are laid flat against the neck" (from Mr. Cecil Smith's description of the vase in *J.H.S.* xi. 167, where coloured illustrations are given).

Every part of the vase is covered with minute and exquisite painting. At the junction of the handle with the head is a Gorgon's mask. Round the body are three friezes. The first contains seventeen warriors; each of these carries a shield, and on each shield is painted a different heraldic device. The next frieze shows a horse race; the third, a man and dogs hunting a hare, rendered with great spirit and elaboration. This wonderful little vase was bought by the late Mr. Malcolm Macmillan at Thebes (Bœotia) for 75 francs, and by him was presented to the Museum in 1889 (see *Letters of Malcolm Macmillan*, pp. 207, 211, and Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, pp. 24, 113). Another tiny Corinthian oil-bottle is inscribed with the owner's name: "I am the lekythos of Tataie; whoever steals me, may he be struck blind."

CORINTHIAN VASES

If the visitor now makes some superficial inspection of the remaining vases in this room, he will doubtless be struck by their general similarity, and he will be right. Their distinctive *characteristic* is the Asiatic character of their decoration. We *find on them the* rosette of Assyrian monuments and figures of

fantastic beings, half human, half animal. The treatment is Assyrian, like the subjects. "The form of the rosette is not that of a rose studied from nature—it is a rose as it appears pressed out on paper, and this is the character also of other plants, and even of animals and men as they are represented in the art of Assyria. They all seem to be pressed out as suited best the low flat relief of Assyrian sculpture" (Murray). The ornamentation is very profuse; the painter scatters his flowers, as it were, over the whole field. The dislike to unoccupied spaces—the *horror vacui*, as it is called—is a common feature of early art. Profusion, excess, expression, are qualities which are attained sooner than proportion, economy, reticence. In the art of acting, the hardest thing, it is said, is to stand still on the stage without saying or doing anything. Similarly in the arts of decoration, the artist's first instincts are to cover all his space, to be saying something (as it were) all his time, to leave no quarter of the field uncovered. The clay is yellowish-white, and the paintings, according to the period, are dull or more vivid, and finally of an intense black relieved with purple and red. This is not the only difference; a closer examination will show that the general class includes several divisions. Thus in the matter of subjects one class is decorated with several zones of animals, such as lions, goats, tigers, antelopes, sometimes drawn fronting each other, and sometimes marching in file. In another class the drawings include figures of persons; subjects taken from Greek mythology are represented between zones of animals. "This decorative system is borrowed directly from the East. The Greeks copied it either from stuffs and carpets woven in the East, or from metal cups of Assyria, through the instrumentality of the Phœnicians" (Collignon). In a third class, inscriptions appear upon vases with mythological subjects. Or, again, taking technique as our principle of division, we may trace the gradual adoption of incised lines to emphasise or define the outlines of the drawing. To this class of vases generally, which may best be described as Græco-Asiatic, the name "Corinthian" has been given, because many of them were first found in tombs in the neighbourhood of Corinth. But they have been discovered in all portions of the Hellenic world, and the majority of those in our collection come from Rhodes. "Corinthian" vases have also been found in great numbers *in Etruscan* tomb-cities; the presence in that country

of a Corinthian colony doubtless contributed to bring them into favour.

An inspection of the vases in their order of arrangement will enable us to illustrate the various points noticed above. The **Fikellura** ware (Wall-cases 35, 36) is so called from the modern name of one of the cemeteries of Camirus in Rhodes, in which it has mostly been found. On the **Corinthian vases**, in Cases 38 and 39, the rosettes and other ornaments in imitation of embroidery are very conspicuous. In 40 and 41 are arranged vases showing incised designs and the earliest form of rosette. Some of the earliest examples of the use of these incised lines—which continued throughout the black-figure style (Second Vase Room)—are shown in Cases 42 and 43. In Cases 44 and 45 are oil-flasks and other vases of Corinthian fabric, again mostly from Rhodes. The designs are generally of grotesque little animals, and purple colour is freely used.

VASES FROM CAMIRUS (RHODES)

The vases from Camirus in Rhodes in Table-case F afford convenient examples for studying the process of transition from "vacant" to engraved lines. In the Rhodian technique three methods may be distinguished. (1) The head, and sometimes the paws, of an animal are represented by painted lines. This is the earliest method; it is found sometimes on "Mycenæan" pottery. (2) The body of the animal is treated as an opaque silhouette, but inner lines, which mark the anatomy of the animal, are left "vacant" on the ground-colour of the vase. Great care must often have been necessary to leave the lines thus vacant. (3) In the third and last stage, incised lines are substituted for "vacant" lines. On the vase numbered A 747 the bull's head is represented by the first method; its neck by the second. On the plate A 750 the head is again represented by the first method; but the fleece of the ram is represented by the third. In the vases in this case we may notice also that the older practice of using geometrical patterns to fill vacant spaces sometimes held its own against the rosettes. Here also is a very interesting example of early figure-drawing, A 749. The subject (as we know from inscriptions over the figures) is the combat of *Hector and Menelaus* over the body of the fallen Euphorbus.

In Homer (*Iliad*, xvii. 59, etc.) Menelaus retreats on the approach of Hector; but not so on this vase. The vase-painters allowed themselves considerable latitude in following the literary sources of their designs (see on this subject, p. 378).

For the sarcophagus in Cases 48, 49, see below, p. 307.

POTTERY FROM NAUCRATIS

The pottery from Naucratis (Cases 46, 47, 50, 51) is very interesting, and questions in connection with it have been much discussed. Some authorities believe the Naucratic ware to have been locally manufactured; others, relying on its resemblance to the Rhodian ware, suggest some third place as the country of origin. We have already described the discovery of Naucratis; and we shall find some specimens of later pottery from it in another room (p. 334). There are few things more ingenious in the labours of archæologists than the way in which, by careful records of excavation and patient classification, they are able approximately to date successive groups of antiquities, and to reconstruct successive phases of ancient religion and art. These scientific researches have been greatly assisted by a circumstance which might seem at first sight to militate against them. Temples were destroyed, statues thrown down, and vases broken. On their ruins other works of art were set up. There was little of "that lie, called restoration." The very completeness of the destruction assists the process of archæological reconstruction. We have in our Museum a most interesting instance of this process in the reconstructed columns of the two temples of Ephesus (Chs. VII. and IX.). Another conspicuous instance is afforded by the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens. After the sack of the city by the Persians in 480 B.C., the Athenians, "instead of trying to mend or restore the fragments, simply used them as rubble to support a terrace on which the splendid monuments of the fifth century were to stand; and the result is that they have presented to our age a magnificent and representative collection of all their attainments in the various arts at the time immediately preceding the Persian wars—a record as valuable as if a museum, formed by them for the very purpose, had been preserved intact to the present day" (*Authority and Archæology*, p. 257). A somewhat similar state of things, though less complete in its results,

has been discovered at Naucratis. The contents of the Temple of Aphroditè had all been broken up and thrown out in the precinct, probably when the Persians captured the town in 520 B.C. Afterwards a new temple was built over the fragments.

The fragments before us here belong for the most part to the second half of the 6th century B.C. The general style of the early Naucratic pottery is Græco-Asiatic, resembling that from Rhodes. On some of the fragments there is an attempt at painting in colour the objects enclosed within the outlines, —an anticipation of the effect attained on the white Athenian vases of a later time (Ch. XIX.). An interesting feature of the Naucratic vases is the inscriptions recording their dedication in temples. Thus the fragment of a bowl, A 966, is inscribed "to the Aphroditè in Naucratis." The fragmentary vase of black ware, A 1536, has an inscription saying that "Phanes dedicated me to the Apollo of Miletus." This is supposed to be the Phanes of whom Herodotus tells a grim story. He was a Greek mercenary under Amasis, King of Egypt, but deserted to the Persian army of invasion under Cambyses. The fellow-countrymen of Phanes who remained faithful to Amasis took a gruesome revenge:[1]—

"Phanes had children whom he had left behind in Egypt: these they brought into their camp and into the sight of their father, and they set up a mixing-bowl between the two camps, and after that they brought up the children one by one and cut their throats so that the blood ran into the bowl. Then when they had gone through the whole number of the children, they brought and poured into the bowl both wine and water, and not until the mercenaries had all drunk of the blood, did they engage battle" (iii. 11).

ARCHAISTIC VASES

An interesting phase in the history of Greek pottery which modern research has disclosed[2] is the imitation in later ages

[1] "There is a possibility that the traitor had dedicated this costly vase in the Apollo temple to win favour with the god, and perhaps the displeasure of the public at Phanes having taken such a step may be recognised in the widely scattered and finely broken fragments from which the vase was recovered" (J. H. Huddilston, *Lessons from Greek Pottery*, p. 15).

[2] Ruskin, in a reference to "one of my kindest and best teachers," refers to Dr. A. S. Murray as "the first, I believe, of our Greek antiquaries who distinguished, in the British Museum, the vases executed in

of the style of earlier and ruder times. The same cult of the primitives has been traced in Greek sculpture (p. 61); and constantly in the case of pottery taste reverted to earlier types (see below, p. 399). Here are collected some vases of an archaistic kind, mostly from Italy, made in imitation of the primitive designs (Cases 52, 53).

LATER CYPRIOTE VASES

The rest of the vases in this room mostly come from various excavations in Cyprus (Cases 54-64). Those from Curium (54, 55) are of Mycenæan and later periods. Others are from Amathus (56-58).[1] Some quaint vases, of early Ionic manufacture, were procured by Prof. W. M. Ramsay at Smyrna, and are said to have come from Phocæa (C 266, 268: see *J.H.S.* ii. 305). In the Cyprus ware of a later date, 5th to 4th century (Cases 60, 61), a peculiarity is the moulded figures which ornament the vases. C 360 is curious: the mouth is in the form of a grotesque figure, wearing a sort of muzzle, which is perforated to let out the liquid. In several the spout is in the shape of a smaller vase. Sometimes (as in C 368) a human figure is moulded holding, and as it were pouring out from, the little vase which forms the spout. The other vases (62-64) are of various dates. Some of the patterns are pretty, as, *e.g.*, the floral one on C 269.

"GRÆCO-ASIATIC" ANTIQUITIES

Various objects, illustrating the Græco-Asiatic period of art—the period, that is, of strong Oriental influence (about the 7th century B.C.),—are arranged in Table-case E. The vases of variegated glass, the ivories, the porcelain, the statuettes, the amulets, are Phœnician and Egyptian in character, and come from various places on the Mediterranean. We may imagine some Tyrian trader undoing on the beach his corded bales, with just such a variegated collection—"all manner of gauds in a black ship," as Homer describes; "for the

imitation of archaic forms by late Roman artists, from real Athenian archaic pottery" (*Flors Clavigera*, letter 83).

[1] The excavations at Curium were conducted by Mr. H. B. Walters, those at Amathus by Mr. A. H. Smith. The funds in both cases were provided from Miss E. T. Turner's bequest. The excavations and finds are described in detail in the Museum publication, *Excavations in Cyprus*.

Phœnicians," says Herodotus, "conveying merchandise of Egypt and Assyria, made long voyages by sea." But some of the objects were doubtless of local manufacture under Oriental influence. Such was the case with the porcelain vase in the shape of a dolphin—the name of Pythes, in archaic Greek letters, is inscribed round the top. The bronze bowl also shows some mixture of style :—

"The medallion in the centre represents an Egyptian or Phœnician monarch in the act of striking with a mace three enemies, whose hands are raised above and behind them. Before the King there stands, with right hand extended, the god Ra, or the Sun, hawk-headed : the action intimates that victory is awarded to the monarch by the Sun God. The frieze around this medallion is more Greek, representing scenes of dance, banquet, music, song, and love, a representation of Cypriote sensualism" (Palma di Cesnola's *Salaminia*, 1882, p. 53).

The vase in the form of a gryphon's head (A 547) was found at Ægina. An interesting object is the shell cut at the joint into the likeness of a female head, the earliest example extant of a shell-cameo. The shell is also ornamented with an incised design. A fragment of a similar shell was found at Camirus in Rhodes. The shell (*triadacna squamosa*) is of a species not found in the Mediterranean, but only in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Such shells must have been imported by the Phœnicians, and, ornamented by them, became an article of their traffic on the Mediterranean coasts. The shells were used for holding unguents. The shell-cameo was found at Canino in Etruria. It may have been such a shell from the far-off Erythrean Sea that Glaucus gave as a costly present to win the favour of the sea-nymph Scylla (*Guide to the Second Vase Room*, 1878, p. 39; Cyril Davenport's *Cameos*, pl. i.; Miss J. E. Harrison s *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 211).

How do so many specimens of early Greek (or Mycenæan) work come to be found in Etruria? Who were the "Mycenæans"? and who, for that matter, the Etruscans? Did Mycenæans settle in Etruria? Were the Mycenæans the Pelasgi, and was their civilisation overwhelmed by the Dorian conquest? Such questions are among the unsolved problems of archæology. Positive answers are given, but they are not always the same. Each generation gradually arrives at its *working* hypothesis, but fresh discoveries may subsequently *make it work no longer*. Nothing could be more methodical

than the present arrangement of our antiquities in the British Museum. Readers whose familiarity with the collection dates back to a quarter of a century ago will remember that many objects were then differently classified. Those who live to revisit the Museum a quarter of a century hence may perhaps find, with other times, other theories.

TERRA-COTTA SARCOPHAGI

The most striking object in this room is the terra-cotta sarcophagus with a cover, all richly painted, which occupies two large standing-cases. The case containing the cover is fitted with a mirror, so that the whole of the paintings may be seen—paintings which remained invisible for so many centuries. For the under edge of the cover is elaborately painted, although this decoration could never have been seen when once the lid was closed upon the dead man within, and the same remark applies to the top edge of the sarcophagus itself. The paintings of the interior walls of the sarcophagus might be conceived as enlivening the dead man's ghost with some pale memory of the sports and contests of life. But no such idea would apply to paintings which were shut down the one on the other. So much care and skill devoted to parts of a monument never more to be seen by mortal eyes are in sharp contrast to the economy of labour—call it practical or heartless, as one choose—which may be noticed in monuments of later ages,[1] and which was often practised, as we shall see,[2] in the funeral offerings of the ancients. The sarcophagus, as we see it, has been put together, having been found broken into many pieces. It was acquired by the Museum in 1897, and comes from the site of the ancient Clazomenæ, one of the twelve cities of the Ionian Confederation, situated on the gulf of Smyrna. Several similar sarcophagi or fragments of such have there been discovered; none is more richly decorated than ours, which is unique in having an arched and painted cover. "These," says Mr. Dennis, "are the only monuments which afford us a knowledge of Ionian pictorial art at a period before Herodotus wrote or Pindar sang, and it may be before

[1] See, *e.g.*, Ruskin's description of the tomb of the Doge Andrea Vandramin in the church of SS. Giov. e Paolo at Venice. On the inner side, where the effigy could not be seen from below, the sculptor had stayed his hand (*Stones of Venice*, vol. i. ch. i. § 43).

[2] See p. 451.

Anacreon fled from the neighbouring city of Teos to sing the praises of love and wine at the court of Polycrates." Some idea of the care and labour devoted to an elaborate monument of this kind may be obtained from the fact that, according to the experts, the firing was probably effected by building a kiln round the sarcophagus, and that the firing at a low temperature occupied from four to six weeks. The colours of the inside turned to red under the firing. It will at once be observed that the style of decoration resembles that of some of the vases which we have already examined, being a combination of geometrical patterns with long friezes of figures. The shape of the sarcophagus, with its gabled cover, may be compared with the Lycian tombs (pp. 223-226): it was employed in later Greek art (as in the Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon), and revived in Christian architecture. The date of our sarcophagus is supposed to be about 550 B.C.

The paintings are of great and varied interest. There are in all nine groups to be studied. We shall describe them in order, beginning with the **cover**:—

(1) On one side two friezes, divided by a band of sphinxes and sirens. The upper frieze (*a*) shows in the middle the death of Dolon, the Trojan spy, slain by Odysseus and Diomede (*Iliad*, x. 314). The whole sarcophagus is reminiscent of the Homeric poems. Mount Ida, which looks over Troy, is visible from the heights above Clazomenæ. On either side of the Dolon group are racing chariots. These have no relation to the central group (on this point see above, p. 301). We shall have more to say about the races presently, as the subject recurs on the sarcophagus. Here we must notice the curious winged figures which fly above the chariots. Artistically, they are "the prototype of those nude flying beings which occur on the early red-figure vases, as on a kylix (E 13), and under the name of Eros continue to be represented on Greek vases to the end—and no wonder; it is a very beautiful conception" (Murray, p. 7).[1] In this case the flying figures must be supposed to be personifications of the games or of speed. (*b*) The lower frieze is of the greatest interest, for it seems undoubtedly to be a historical picture, representing one of those raids of the barbarian Cimmerians into Asia Minor of which Herodotus speaks (i. 6, 15, 16). "The use of a huge sword to strike down with, the characteristically Scythian headgear, the accompaniment of dogs of war, and the wild rush of the movement show that we have to do

[1] The reference is to *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, by A. S. Murray, 1898. This is a sumptuous publication, containing full descriptions and discussions, and admirable phototype plates.

with a barbarous people" (Murray, p. 2). Dogs, it will be observed, run also under the chariots and horsemen on other parts of the sarcophagus. The artist seems to have enjoyed the motive as helping to fill up his empty spaces; it was certainly a great improvement on the pieces of geometrical patterns which we have sometimes seen introduced under the bodies of animals. A curious feature on these friezes is an object which "at first sight suggests the idea of a huge bell suspended from above and swinging with a loose cord, but which may be nothing more than the lotus, so often introduced as a floral ornament to fill the vacant spaces in the field of archaic Greek art" (Dennis).

(2) The two friezes on the other side of the cover are in bad condition, and the subjects have not been identified. Notice on the lower frieze the conspicuous devices on the warriors' shields. (3) One end of the cover is also very much destroyed; on the other end are two horsemen and two figures on each side of a central Ionic column. (4) On the under edge of the cover a battle scene is represented. There are also groups of Odysseus and Diomede slaying Dolon, and sphinxes confronted.

Turning now to the **body of the sarcophagus**, we examine first:—

(5) The two friezes on the long sides of the interior. These are substantially the same. The artist simply reversed and reduplicated his figures, sometimes forgetting to make the necessary corrections, as in the case of the warrior near the centre on the side, who is made to hold his shield on his right arm (Murray, p. 11). The subject of the pictures is funeral games, such as those of Patroclus described in the 23rd book of the *Iliad*. That the scene is one of games, not of war, is shown by the flute-player in the centre of the composition. On either side of him is a warrior preparing for a combat, such as that between Ajax and Diomede:—

> Next in the ring the son of Peleus laid
> A pond'rous spear, a helmet, and a shield:
> "For these we call upon two champions brave
> To don their arms, their sharp-edg'd weapons grasp,
> And public trial of their powers make."

On either side of this central group are chariots preparing for the race:—

> "Do ye in order range yourselves, who boast
> Your well-built chariots and your horses' speed."
> Then all at once their whips they rais'd, and urg'd
> By rein, and hand, and voice, their eager steeds.

Here between each pair of chariots is a youth dancing and shaking a kind of *castanet, to excite* the horses (just as at the boat-races at *Oxford excited partisans* shake rattles or blow horns to encourage

their college crews). Beside each chariot is a warrior holding up a whip to the driver; this Dr. Murray interprets as a signal for the start. The warriors, musicians, and charioteers all wear a curious piece of armour—a small shield on the hips. "It appears to be attached to a girdle, and would thus be capable of being moved round to the front of the body or the back, as danger suggested, the hips not being vulnerable." On our sarcophagus, or on others from Clazomenæ, the charioteers and musicians wear a headgear which has been differently interpreted. Mr. Dennis explains it thus: "The charioteers are naked, save that their heads appear to be covered with close-fitting skull-caps, precisely like the fezes worn nowadays by Turks, Greeks, and Armenians in the East, the long tassels streaming in the wind as they stoop forward in their eagerness to urge their horses to the top of their speed" (*J.H.S.* iv. 6). Dr. Murray's interpretation is different: "The close-fitting cap, from its being painted purple, may be taken to have been of bronze, that being the colour employed on the sarcophagus to indicate bronze. From an opening on the crown of the head a mass of hair escapes, carefully cut at the end like a horse's tail. On the chariot frieze of the Mausoleum is preserved a youthful driver (p. 219), having not only the robe, but also the long hair of a girl. At present we are ignorant of the origin of this curious custom of dressing up boys, and even men, in female attire when they appeared in certain public competitions. Possibly it had been Ionian. At all events this peculiar treatment of the hair has been noticed as occurring not only on the sarcophagi of Clazomenæ, but also in some other instances where Ionian influence is unmistakable, as on a fragment of a vase from Naucratis and a hydria from Civita Castellana, both in the British Museum, B 59, B 103 (*Terra-cotta Sarcophagi*, pp. 9, 10).

(6) On the upper edge we see in full swing the races for which we have been watching the preparation. In the centre is a figure with raised hand, like a policeman's. He is the course-keeper, as described by Homer:—

> They stood in line; Achilles pointed out,
> Far on the level plain, the distant goal;
> And there in charge the god-like Phœnix placed,
> His father's ancient follower, to observe
> The course assign'd, and true report to make.

The winning-post is represented on our sarcophagus by a column, on which stands the prize vase. Against the column rests a shield, which was another prize. The dejected-looking figure leaning beside the column may represent a captive who is also to be given as a prize in the games. Dr. Murray, on the other hand, suggests that the column represents the tomb of the dead man in whose honour the games are being held, and that the nude figure is his shade (p. 6).

(7) The paintings on the short sides of the sarcophagus show us *armed warriors*, horses, and dogs. The two short sides are very

similar, as in the case of the long sides. The warriors' helmets are worth noticing. The enormous crest and the horns are interesting (see F. T. Elworthy's *Horns of Honour*).

Sarcophagus from Camirus (Case 48).—This small sarcophagus was acquired by the Museum in 1863 from the excavations of M. Salzmann and Mr. (now Sir Alfred) Biliotti among the tombs of Camirus in Rhodes. Its shape and decoration are alike interesting. It has the appearance of a doorway, and is thus an early embodiment of that idea of the tomb as the portal of Hades which we have already discussed (p. 245). The style of decoration shows that curious combination of drawing and painting to which we have called attention above (p. 302). "The heads of the animals are examples of line-drawing with a brush, while the bodies are painted in with a full brush. In the case of the bull a large patch of the white ground represents the piebald colour of the creature. In the lions the feet and lower part of the legs are filled in with colour and not drawn in line." This alteration seems to show that this sarcophagus is later than the vases which it otherwise resembles :—

"Still more suggestive of a later date is the drawing of the lions' heads full to the front instead of in profile, implying, as it does, an increased dexterity and a new desire towards vividness of representation. . . . The breadth of manner and fine sweep of lines with which the bull and the two lions at the head of the sarcophagus are painted far exceed the work on the vases, and prepare us for the two heads of warriors immediately beneath. Nothing comparable to the severe and refined aspect of these two heads has been found in the vase-painting of this period. They point rather to a higher walk of art, in which the Greek ideal had already begun to assert itself in no insignificant manner" (*Terra-cotta Sarcophagi*, p. 19).

Fragments of other terra-cotta sarcophagi are exhibited in Wall-case 49. The style of the painting is similar to that on the large sarcophagus from Clazomenæ, which will repay much study. It is the finest of all examples of early Ionic painting, and it illustrates by another art the poetry of Homer.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND VASE ROOM

(*Black-Figure Vases, Sixth Century*)

"You will soon find even the earliest or slightest grotesques of Greek art become full of interest to you. For nothing is more wonderful than the depth of meaning which nations in their first days of thought, like children, can attach to the rudest symbols; and what to us is grotesque or ugly, like a little child's doll, can speak to them the loveliest things . . . Only the student must remember that in taking these dark figures on their red ground as primarily typical of Greek art, we are to consider them only as holding the relation to Greek advanced painting that mediæval illumination does to the work of Giorgione or Bellini" (RUSKIN, *Oxford Lectures on Art*, § 152, and *Catalogue of the Standard Series*, No. 201).

THE main classification of Greek vases, when the primitive stage is passed, is into (1) black-figure and (2) red-figure. In the black-figure vases the figures are drawn in black, so as to form a kind of silhouette, on a red ground; in the red-figure vases the figures are left in the red ground of the vases, and the background is painted black. In this chapter we are concerned with the black-on-red vases.

The **development to the black-figure style** from the archaic vases was, however, gradual. The vases in the wall-cases on the left side of the room (as we enter) are chronologically arranged, and in these the development may be traced. It will be seen that when the white ground (or "biscuit," as it is called) was retained, the vase-painters developed upon it a new skill in the drawing. In the earlier vases the subjects were almost exclusively (1) processions and combats, and (2) bands of animals introduced under Assyrian and Phœnician influence. In the present period these animal friezes lingered for a while, but they were gradually relegated to a subordinate

position, and mythological subjects were introduced. But the habit of painting on a white ground was gradually superseded by a red ground. The white ground was found to be perishable, and the contrast of black and white was too strong to please the artistic taste. The next development was to use the red clay of the vase itself as the background, the design being painted, as before, in black. This method produced a less perishable surface, and also increased the vase-painter's resources. He now could use white colour, in addition to incised lines, to mark various details and accessories. Purple was also used for the same purpose. The spectator must remember, however, that colour was still conventional only. Sometimes, indeed, white is used appropriately to the natural colours of the objects depicted, as, for instance, to show a white horse, or gray hairs. But it is used conventionally to distinguish men from women; and purple is used often for no other purpose than to distinguish one object from another.

With regard to the **technique**, the first step was to draw the design in outline. The figures were then filled in with black paint, a broader brush being employed. The vase was then fired. Next came the process of adding details—(*a*) by means of incised lines. The artist, in order to define the muscles and drapery, cut through the black paint to the natural red colour of the vase, using for this purpose a sharp graving tool; (*b*) by means of subordinate colours, as mentioned above. After this process the vase was again fired, but at a lower heat; hence the accessory colours are often very much faded. In technical skill the black-figure vases vary, as will be seen, from the rudest daubs to the most carefully executed pictures, drawn with great beauty of composition and firm accuracy of form. The floral ornaments are often very pretty, and designers might here find many suggestions. Many of the black figures are executed with extraordinary minuteness, owing to the gem-like treatment with which the incised lines are applied, especially in the rich textile patterns on the draperies.

"The effect of a fine black-figured vase with incised designs and polychromic details is," as Miss Harrison says, "bright, ornate, and highly wrought." These are the qualities which the Greeks summed up by the word *dædal*, and which are characteristic in one of its aspects of all their art:—

"As the simplest, so also it is the most complex of human arts. *An essential Greek character* is a liking of things that are dappled.

If, instead of studying Greek art among marbles, you were to look at it only on vases of a fine time, your impression of it would be, instead of breadth and simplicity, one of universal spottiness and chequeredness (ποικιλία); and of the artist's delighting in nothing so much as in crossed or starred or spotted things" (Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, § 204).

In the black-figure style, however, the painters devoted their skill rather to enlivening the figures with incised lines and accessory colours than to seeking greater freedom in the drawing. There is little expression; there is much stiffness and conventionalism. Faces are shown in profile, but eyes front-wise. The treatment of foliage is also conventional. Branches are wrought into decorative designs without any attempt at naturalism. In the red-figure style much greater freedom of drawing was attained, and there was a nearer approach to naturalism; but in many respects the art of vase-painting remained frankly conventional. In the fourth period an attempt was made, as we shall see, to adopt a more pictorial treatment; but this was foreign to the genius of the material, and the last stage was the age of decadence.

The conventionalism which characterises the technique of the black-figure vases is noticeable also in their **subjects.** These were for the most part taken from mythology, and a few types were adopted as stock subjects. The labours of Hercules in particular appear over and over again. These were favourite tales in popular mythology, and afforded, as Mr. MacColl puts it, "a convenient series of charade arrangements of a simple kind, with an element of repetition." At the same time it should be remembered that the potters had to provide acceptable wares for sale in colonial settlements. They would naturally, therefore, choose the myths which were most universally current in Greek popular tradition. Some slight variations in these types occur, but the limits of variation are small, and the same types are often made to serve for different subjects. The reader interested in this branch of the matter will find an elaborate classification in volume ii. of the Museum's *Catalogue of Vases.*

The **date** of the black-figure vases in this room may be put roughly as the sixth century B.C. (600-500). The Acropolis of Athens was sacked by the Persians in 480 B.C. In excavations on the site which have revealed the pre-Persian layer, a large number of red-figure fragments have been found. This

shows that the red-figure work had begun before 480 B.C. Again, in a recent excavation of the famous mound at Marathon (490 B.C.), a red-figure fragment was found with a number of black-figure vases. How, why, and when the **transition** from black figures to red was made is matter for conjecture. The process may be traced most clearly in the development of vases of the kylix shape (see p. 353). But it may be seen also on the amphoræ. At first the red vases were left in the natural colour of the clay. If the visitor compares the vases on the east side of this room with those in the next room, he will see how complete is the contrast. Here the whole vase is red, except only for the black figures; there the whole vase is covered with black so as to conceal all the red except where it is left to fill in the contours of the figures. But if we now look at the amphoræ on the west side of this room, we shall see a class of vases which seem to be intermediate in general effect between the other two styles. In these later vases here the whole body is covered with black, except for a panel which is left red for the black figures to be silhouetted on. This introduction of black glaze proved before long the death of the black-figure style. For a time the two styles—black-figure and red-figure—flourished side by side. The same artists worked in both, and sometimes the same vase exhibits both styles. But by about 450 B.C. the red-figure style won the day.

We now proceed to examine, first, the vases placed on pedestals or in table-cases in the centre of the room, passing afterwards to the cases against the walls.[1]

Case A.—**Amphoræ: about 550-500 B.C.**—In this case the vases are nearly all painted with the **labours of Hercules.** This popular hero—in whose personality the Greeks typified the victory of civilisation over barbarism, of man over nature—had, it will be remembered, in a fit of madness killed his own children, and for this crime he was sentenced by Zeus to serve Eurystheus, King of Tiryns, with the promise that after fulfilling the tasks assigned to him he would be received among the gods and married to Hebè, the goddess of youth. The Labours which were imposed upon Hercules by Eurystheus,

[1] In the event of any of the vases so described being removed to other positions, the index-list at the end of the chapter may be found convenient.

and others which he accomplished by the way, occur over and over again on Greek vases. For the most part we shall notice only one or two examples of each subject:—

B 154.—Here on one side is Hercules engaged in combat with the Amazons, one of the labours imposed upon him being to obtain the girdle of Hippolyta, the Amazon Queen, given her by Ares. The simplest form of this subject may be seen in B 533; then the subject was extended to a general combat. The picture on the other side of our vase represents the blinding of Polyphemus, as described in the *Odyssey*. The number of vase-paintings suggested by the Homeric poems is very large, and the adventures of Odysseus were particularly in favour. After making the monster drunk, he sharpened the end of a pine-tree and thrust it, when heated, into the eye of Polyphemus. Here we see him planting his foot on the chest of Polyphemus, who tries to drag the tree away. Odysseus is assisted by his sailors, who are drawn in strange attitudes and with enormous pointed feet. One tendency of archaic art seems always to lie in the direction of exaggerating the extremities of the figures; one may see the same elongated feet and hands in early Italian pictures, and in pre-Raphaelite productions, such as Millais's "Lorenzo and Isabella."

B 221.—Here we see another labour of Hercules—his contest with the triple monster, Geryon, whose oxen he was to capture. On the other side is Medea boiling the ram. Medea, an enchantress, was married to Jason, whom she had assisted to find the golden fleece. When he consulted her how to avenge himself on his brother Pelias, Medea persuaded the daughters of Pelias to kill their father, cut him in pieces, and boil his remains. By this means, she said, they would restore him to life and youthful vigour. To convince them of the truth of her enchantments, Medea killed and boiled a ram, and transformed it thereby into a lamb. Here we see Medea raising her hand in token of amazement, as she watches the ram springing up with renewed youth from a large cauldron. Near her is seated old Pelias, whose turn will come next: white is used to represent his gray hairs. To the right are his two daughters.

B 228.—Hercules seizing the river-god Achelous. Œneus, King of Calydon, had offered his daughter, Deianeira, in marriage to the man who should tame the Achelous. The river-god assumed the form of a bull. Hercules tore off his horns and conquered him.

[The **representation of rivers in the form of bulls** is very frequent in Greek art. We shall see many instances both on vases and on coins. Classical poetry also abounds in the same form of impersonation. Horace likens Tiberius, in pursuing the foe, to the river Aufidus in flood; *sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus* (*Od.* iv. 14, 25). Tiberius is like the Aufidus; *the Aufidus is like* a bull charging down the mountain side.

Virgil, again, speaks of the horns of the river Eridanus (*G.* iv. 371), and of the hornèd Tiber (*A.* viii. 77). Euripides similarly likens the Cephissus to a bull (*Ion*, 1261). Three theories have been propounded with regard to the origin of this representation of rivers as bulls, and all of them may be true. The rapid and impetuous course of mountain streams is like the rush of a bull: this seems to be the idea in the passage from Horace. The roaring of a river is like the bellowing of a bull —a simile employed by Homer of the river Xanthus (*Il.* xxi. 237). Again, the primitive fancy, as cattle were observed at some ford or beside some sluggish stream, may well have compared the branching of the water into separate channels to the diverging horns of a bull. To these theories, a fourth has been added. The bull was the symbol of the productive power of nature; and in southern lands this power is seen to depend for agricultural purposes upon the rivers. The forms in which the simile is embodied in ancient art are very various. The river Achelous on this vase has bull's horns and ears and a bull's body, but is human from the waist. On B 313 (p. 347) a human-headed body is united at the waist with the shoulders of a bull's body, in which it terminates. On a later vase, E 437 (p. 354), the river-god has a satyr's head, bull's horns, and a human body terminating in a fish's tail. It is probable that, as in the case of Thetis, the transformations and combinations are intended to express the changeful nature of the element water. Such fancies would readily occur to those who had watched the changes in a southern stream—now dry and now in flood, now clear, now turbid. Upon Greek coins, as we shall see, the impersonation of rivers takes the form of a man-headed bull; of a youthful figure, with small budding horns; of a standing human figure. The recumbent human figure as a river-god—a representation familiar to us all from its adoption in Roman art—was also frequent in Greek sculpture (see p. 166). There are interesting studies on the whole subject by C. T. Newton in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21; by Prof. P. Gardner in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, N.S. xi. 173. "Some conception of personality or of spiritual power in the stream is almost necessarily involved in the passionate affection with which a noble people commonly regards the rivers and springs of its native land" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 88)].

B 217.—On one side, Hercules slaying the lion which infested the valley of Nemea. This was the first of his labours—a type of the first great adversary of life, whatever it may be—the lion in the path, which each man has to destroy, fighting in the dark, with none to help him, only Athena standing by to encourage with her smile. There are two types on the vases of this subject: either (as here) the hero kneels and strangles the lion with his arms round his neck—this version is generally found on kylixes, being more suitable to their shape; or (as in B 232 in the next case) the hero stands erect and plunges his sword into the lion's neck.

B 222.—Hercules and Antæus. Antæus, son of Poseidon and Gæa (Earth), was a monstrous giant who compelled all visitors to wrestle with him and, slaying them, built a palace with their skulls. So long as he remained in contact with his mother, Earth, he was invincible. But Hercules, discovering the secret of his strength, lifted him from the earth and crushed him in the air. Here we see Antæus crouching down and clinging to the earth with his right hand.

B 226.—On one side is the legend of Hercules and Pholus—the good centaur who entertained the hero, setting roast meat before him while he supped on raw himself. On the other side is a representation of olive-gathering. A youth in the tree is shaking the fruit down, and two men are beating the tree, while a youth with a basket collects the olives as they fall—just such a scene as may now be witnessed in southern Europe.

B 233.—Contest between Hercules and Apollo for the Tripod—a common subject on vases. The story was that Hercules, when afflicted with madness, appealed to the oracle of Delphi for relief. Being irritated at the replies of the priestess, he resolved to carry off the sacred tripod. And Apollo withstood him, and there was a mighty contest, until Zeus intervened.

In this case there is a two-handled cup (*cantharos*), very minutely painted. Beside it is placed a modern fragment which had been affixed to the vase by some clever restorer.

[The arts of **restoration and imitation** have been widely employed in the case of Greek vases, and "even experienced connoisseurs have been deceived. Pietro Fondi, who had established his manufactories at Venice and at Corfu, was remarkable for his success in this kind of deceit. The family Vasari, at Arezzo, manufactured vases of this kind; there are several of them in the Gallery at Florence. Of this kind of deception there are several kinds. Sometimes the vase is ancient but the painting is modern, frequently details and inscriptions are added to the ancient painting; but the difference in the style of drawing, the multiplicity of details, the nails indicated on the hands and feet, betray the fraud, as

well as the coarseness of the earth (which makes the vases heavier), and the metallic lustre of the varnish. The test which the colours of the false vases are made to undergo is also decisive. If colours mixed with water or alcohol have been employed, it is sufficient to pass a little water or spirits of wine over them to make them disappear" (H. M. Westropp, *Handbook of Archæology*, p. 242). Modern forgers have never managed, says Count Tyszkiewicz, to discover "the secret of the ancient potters, how to obtain the background of a brilliant black colour, improperly known as the varnish of Nola. To disguise their failure in this respect, the forgers are obliged, when the vase is entirely reconstructed and repainted, to cover it all over with a varnish of their own invention; but the surface of this varnish, although brilliant, lacks the freshness and brightness of that used by the ancients." It is this which disappears under washing by alcohol. The Count adds many interesting particulars with regard to "antique vases" which proceed in these days from laboratories at Athens and in the neighbourhood of Naples. "White Greek vases" of modern manufacture are often excellent; those vases, even when really antique, cannot resist the action of alcohol: see *Memories of an Old Collector*, pp. 179-186.]

Case B.—**Amphoræ: about 550-500 B.C.**—Most of the vases here are painted with legends of Hercules and other heroes:—

B 229.—Hercules at the hot springs, Thermæ (Himera) in Sicily. The hero stands under the stream which rises from a lion's head at the top of a rock. (Compare the coin of Himera, No. II. C. 25, in the collection of electrotypes; see p. 510.)

B 246, 247.—Theseus slaying the Minotaur. Ariadne, daughter of King Minos, who gave Theseus the clue by which he found his way through the labyrinth to the Minotaur, looks on and encourages the hero.

B 248.—From the story of Perseus. One of the three Gorgons was Medusa, who turned into stone all who beheld her. But the hero Perseus slew her. Here we see the hero flying after his exploit in order to escape the two Gorgons, eager to avenge their sister's death. The mountains of Libya are represented below him; he wears the helmet of invisibility given him by Pluto. Athena and Hermes assist his escape. The Gorgons, with snakes on their heads, fly in the stiff attitude of archaic art.

B 223.—A typical representation of Hercules in contest with the sea-monster Triton, who is human to the waist, but ends in a long fish's tail.

B 215.—Peleus and Thetis. Thetis was a sea-nymph, whom Zeus had bestowed against her will on Peleus, King of Thessaly. She endeavoured to escape from him by assuming the forms of various animals, until at length Peleus seized her and she consented to become his wife. Peleus is here shown seizing her round the waist. Two of her transformations are indicated—by the lion's head issuing from her left shoulder, and by the panther which has leapt upon Peleus from behind (cf. E 9, p. 354).

B 239.—The body of Hector dragged by Achilles round the tomb of Patroclus :—

> his flying steeds
> He then would harness, and, behind the car
> The corpse of Hector trailing in the dust,
> Thrice made the circuit of Patroclus' tomb.
> *Iliad*, xxiv. 16.

B 240.—On one side is the Ghost of Patroclus hovering over the Greek fleet. This design is a good instance of what has been called "the simple shorthand" of the vase-painters. A single ship represents the fleet; a single rock, the bay; a curved line and some dolphins, the sea. The raven, sacred to Apollo, represents a sanctuary. The ghost is shown in armour, but with wings. The lower part of the vase is decorated with a little frieze of animals—a survival of the style in which, as we have seen, the whole body of the vase was covered with parallel friezes.

Pedestal I.—**The Callias Vase** (B 147).

This vase will repay a good deal of attention. It is a fine example of the early black-figure style; the treatment of the principal scene, the Birth of Athena, is very characteristic of the Greek genius; and an inscription on the vase affords ground for dating it with some precision.

From the point of view of technique, the vase illustrates the weakness and strength of the early style. The figures are stiff, and are all represented in profile. The action is angular. The faces are without expression. The expression is conveyed by gesture only, and the gestures are somewhat ungainly and lack variety. On the other hand, the outlines are drawn with great precision; the incised lines are very careful, and the accessories show invention and decorative effect. White colour is introduced to distinguish women from men, and white and purple are used to heighten the effect in the draperies and elsewhere. Notice the throne of Zeus with its inlaid work, and the little statues supporting it.

The subject of the principal design is the Nativity of Athena. Zeus is seated, with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a

sceptre in the left. From his head Athena springs, ready armed and brandishing her spear. Before the throne of Zeus stands Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth. Behind her are Hercules and Ares. Behind Zeus are Apollo playing on his lyre, Poseidon carrying his trident, and Hera. Hephæstus, whose axe had opened the head of Zeus, is running away, but looks back in wonder at the miracle. This representation of the myth will probably strike the modern spectator as straightforward to the point of grotesqueness, but it persisted down to the time of the much later red-figured vases (see, *e.g.*, E 410). The Greek artists treated their religious legends as frankly and straightforwardly as the mediæval painters treated the Bible story:—

"You have probably often smiled at the legend itself, or avoided thinking of it, as revolting. It is, indeed, one of the most painful and childish of sacred myths; yet remember, ludicrous and ugly as it seems to us, this story satisfied the fancy of the Athenian people in their highest state. And this legend of the birth of Athena is the central myth of all that the Greeks have left us respecting the power of their arts. To understand the agency of Hephæstus, we must return to the founding of the arts on agriculture by the hand. Before you can cultivate land, you must clear it; and the characteristic weapon of Hephæstus is the clearing axe. And this rude symbol of his cleaving the forehead of Zeus with the axe, and giving birth to Athena, signifies indeed, physically, the thrilling power of heat in the heavens, rending the clouds, and giving birth to the blue air; but far more deeply it signifies the subduing of adverse Fate by true labour; until, out of the chasm, cleft by resolute and industrious fortitude, springs the Spirit of Wisdom" (Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 70, where a coloured reproduction is given of the design on this vase).

On the other side of the vase is a warrior in a chariot. The warrior is inscribed Callias—the name borne by a wealthy Athenian family. The subject may represent a Callias who is known to have been renowned for his victory in the chariot-races in the year 564 B.C. If that be so, the date of the vase—namely, some year shortly after 564—would well accord with its style.

Case C.—**Early black-figure kylixes, of Athenian design.**—This shape of vase came into special favour, as we shall see, in the later red-figure style. It is interesting to trace the process of evolution in its decoration. The earlier form of the kylix has a deep bowl, and is decorated on the outside

with a frieze. At first one band of decoration only is used. In the first vase on the top of this case, B 412, the inside is not painted at all; on the outside there are two red bands and some decorative ornaments near the handles. In B 425 little figures are introduced on the upper band. These diminutive figures gradually give way to figured designs of a bolder kind, and the whole space under the handles is utilised for decoration. The bowl becomes shallower, and eyes are introduced for decorative purposes. In the red-figure period these eyes are dispensed with, and the designs sweep round the vase. The inside of the kylix was at first not decorated at all, or decorated only with a small medallion. The most common design is a Gorgon's head. The fancy was, no doubt, to confront the drinker with this grotesque when his cup was empty, and thus to invite him, as it were, to fill up the bowl again. Some authorities see in the development of the kylix the origin of the red-figure style. The interior was covered with black varnish: "the invading black ground has left only a small circle of red; it needed but a few strokes with the brush for hair, and teeth, and beard, and eyes, and a red-figured Gorgoneion was complete. Some such accident may have led to the wholesale adoption of the red-figured technique."

The vases on the top of the case are signed with their makers' names—Hermogenes (412), Pasiades (668), Xanocles (425), Charinos (631), Nikosthenes, a painter with whom we shall meet again (368), and Tleson (410). The painters of this group, who must have worked at the end of the black-figure period, have been called the "little masters," from the analogy between their work and that of the German "little masters" of engraving in the sixteenth century. Two or three of these vases are specially noteworthy:—

B 668.—An alabastron, or perfume vase, found in a tomb at Marion (Cyprus), together with a beautiful ring (568). This vase is "covered with a creamy slip, on which are drawn in with fine black lines two female figures, the one presenting a cup of wine, towards which the other advances energetically, holding a branch of laurel in each hand. Round her body is tied a deer's skin, which, together with the wine-cup, gives the ceremony a Bacchic character. Appropriate to this is the crane—the messenger-bird of Demeter—which stands between the two figures. It is painted fully in black, a proceeding which saves the trouble of indicating the wings and feathers. Yet with all its want of detail the form of the bird is admirably rendered." The vase is signed by Pasiades, a painter as yet otherwise unknown. The design is a

charming specimen of archaic drawing, showing a "fine touch and delicate sentiment" (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 318).

B 631.—A jug with black vine-branches on a cream ground, with an inscription—

"Xenodokè, methinks, is a pretty girl."

An Athenian alabastron (acquired in 1900), representing two men training horses. The vase is inscribed with the καλὸς names of Carystius and Smicrion. "The drawing is slightly archaic, but excellent." Horses and horsemanship were as much accounted among the Greeks as among ourselves. The vase-paintings provide abundant evidence of the fact.

In the lower part of this case we may notice several specimens of the *kyathos*, or cup with a handle, used as a ladle for drawing wine from the mixing bowl without wetting the fingers. The eyes referred to above will be noticed on several of the vases; their significance is discussed below.

As an example of the **Gorgons' heads** painted in the interior of cups, we may notice B 427: two long tusks project, as usual, from either jaw. It is worth remark that no Greek representation of the Gorgon has anything very terrible about it: there is nothing in Greek art comparable to the cold horror that mediæval art put into such fancies. There are hundreds of Gorgons in the Museum, from the Sicilian sculptures to these painted vases: they are all comic, rather than terrible. Ruskin notes this fact as characteristic of the Greek genius:—

"It differs essentially from all other art, past or present, in the incapability of being frightened. Half the power and imagination of every other school depend on a certain feverish terror mingling with their sense of beauty;—the feeling that a child has in a dark room, or a sick person in seeing ugly dreams. But the Greeks never have ugly dreams. They cannot draw anything ugly when they try. Sometimes they put themselves to their wits'-end to draw an ugly thing,—the Medusa's head, for instance,—but they can't do it—not they,—because nothing frightens them. They widen the mouth, and grind the teeth, and puff the cheeks, and set the eyes a-goggling; and the thing is only ridiculous after all, not the least dreadful, for there is no dread in their hearts" (*Queen of the Air*, § 175).

There is nothing in any Greek representation of the Gorgons that resembles in kind the "tempestuous terror" of Leonardo's Medusa. (For a discussion of all the Gorgons represented in the British Museum, see an article by J. Six in *J.H.S.* vol. vi.)

Pedestal II.—**A "Transition" Vase** (B 193).

This vase, with nobly designed paintings, is one of the finest specimens in existence of the transition from black figures to red, both styles being represented on it :—

"On one side are two seated figures of Greek warriors, probably Ajax and Achilles, playing at a game like draughts ('taking their pleasure at draughts,' as Homer describes—a very common subject on painted vases). They are painted in *black*, with chocolate-red touches, and minute details, such as the drapery over their armour and their wavy hair, executed in incised lines of extreme fineness and gem-like treatment. The other side of the vase has *red* figures on a black ground—a most powerfully drawn group of Heracles strangling the Nemean lion in the presence of Iolaus, his companion, who anxiously watches the contest. Behind the hero is an archaic statue-like figure of Athena. As in the painting with black figures, some touches of red are used. The treatment of Heracles' hair is peculiar, and again recalls gem-engraver's work, in which hair is represented by a series of drilled holes ; in this painting the stiff curls are given by a number of round dots of the black enamel, applied in considerable body so as to stand out in relief. This treatment frequently occurs on the fine vases of this and later periods, and the same method is occasionally used in a very effective way to represent bunches of grapes and the like" (J. H. Middleton in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. xix. 612).

Case D.—**Amphoræ : 550-500 B.C.**—The subjects on these vases are mainly **myths of the Olympian deities**, such as the battle of the gods and giants, the birth of Athena, and the Judgment of Paris. In the following notes some of the principal types are pointed out :—

B 236, 237, 238.—The Judgment of Paris, a favourite subject with the vase-painters, as indeed with painters in all ages. Mediæval and modern painters have used this famous contest for the prize of beauty as an opportunity for the display of physical charms—as, for instance, in the well-known picture by Rubens at the National Gallery. No such attempt fell within the scope of the old vase-painters. There is nothing pretty about the goddesses we see here ; on the contrary, they are singularly ill-favoured, with their prominent chins and ugly noses. Greek vase-painting was at this stage not much more than a form of pictorial shorthand by symbols. Another point is very curious. The legend in question falls, as it were, into three acts :—(1) at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis the goddess of discord throws a golden apple to be awarded to the most beautiful,—Hera, Athena, and Aphroditè dispute the prize. (2) In order to settle the dispute, Zeus bids Hermes conduct the rivals to Paris on Mount Ida to decide the prize. (3) Paris awards the apple to Aphroditè. Of these three acts

the first and the last are the most important; but it is the intermediate one which the vase-painters most affected. The Judgment of Paris in all the vase-pictures before us is a mere procession of the three goddesses led by Hermes. In many cases (*e.g.* 237, 238) Paris is not present at all. In 236 he is standing. In a vase in the next case (171) he is seated. It is a curious way to represent a myth with the principal figure most often conspicuous by his absence. Miss Harrison's explanation is that the type of design on these "Judgment" vases was not really made for the myth of Paris at all, but was adapted to it, having had originally another significance—significance in a different myth in which Paris had no part. Miss Harrison traces the design back to a subject often met with on early reliefs, namely, Hermes conducting Three Graces to Pan (*J.H.S.* vii. 196). If this be so, it is an interesting illustration of the economy of design and stereotyped fashion in early art.

B 208, 145, 250, 252, etc.—Gigantomachia, or battle of the gods and giants. The simplest type of this subject is a single combat, such as is shown on 252, where Athena in her chariot slays Enceladus, the most powerful of all the giants who conspired against Zeus. On other vases the same subject is extended by the multiplication of contests, as on 208, where Zeus, Hercules, Athena, and Hera are all engaged. This subject, which is frequent on the earlier vases, is symbolical (says Ruskin, in a passage of characteristic fancy) of "the contest between the Good and Evil Powers, which formed the first elements of Greek religious design. Observe that in all of these Heracles is manly human power in contest with disorder and pain. Athena is physically the air; mythically, the sacred spirit of wisdom and strength. Hermes is physically the cloud; mythically, the guiding and moving force in the order of heaven. Athena's crest nearly always surmounts the boundary line of the subject, to show her reign in the two Æthers. Heracles usually fights the Nemean lion, and Athena herself the giants, the spirit of life first conquering the physical and monstrous resistance of the elements; and then human heroism conquers the merely bestial rage" (*Catalogue of the Educational Series*, p. 35).

B 254.—A quadriga at full speed in which are Poseidon and Aphroditè (so inscribed). "Very beautiful," says Ruskin, "and of great interest, because Aphroditè, who is here a sea-power and somewhat angry, wears an ægis at first sight like Athena's, and indeed representing also the strength of storm-cloud, but not of electric and destructive storm; therefore its fringes are not of serpents" (*Catalogue of Educational Series*, p. 29). This vase formerly belonged to Samuel Rogers.

B 260 (amphora).—On one side is a lyre-player between two Doric columns, each surmounted by a sphinx. On the reverse are Apollo and Artemis. Round the neck of the vase is an elaborate ornamental border:—"Many of the floral ornaments of this period still retain clear signs of their oriental origin. The sacred tree of Assyria, in an elaborate and highly conventionalised form, very frequently occurs, or,

worked into a running pattern, it forms a continuous band of decoration, out of which the so-called Greek 'honeysuckle pattern' seems to have been developed. These vases have far greater variety and richness in their decorative patterns than those with the black ground, the natural result of the great ease and freedom of hand with which delicate floral designs could be touched in with the brush in black, while in the later manner the red patterns had to be laboriously left out by working the black ground all round them" (J. H. Middleton in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xix. 612).

Case E.—**Amphoræ: 560-520 B.C., chiefly in the affected style.**—As an example of this style, notice on B 151 how the tendency of archaic art to make tapering extremities is exaggerated. Among the subjects represented in this case is one which we have discussed on a bas-relief (see p. 62)—the visit of Dionysus to Icarius (153, 149). An interesting subject in the Hercules legends is represented on 213:—

Among the other labours imposed upon the hero by King Eurystheus was to seize a wild boar on Mount Erymanthus in the Peloponnese and bring it alive to the king. The hero duly performed the task, but the king was so frightened at the sight of the boar that he hid himself in a pitcher for safety. This legend contained an element of comedy dear to the vase-painters, and we find many representations of it in this room. Three types occur: (1) Hercules capturing the boar, B 462 (Case 31); (2) Hercules bringing the boar to Athena (B 447, 492, Cases 54, 50); (3) as here (and in B 162, Case I.) bringing the boar to Eurystheus. The king has hidden himself in the cask; and Hercules, in revenge for being sent on so perilous an enterprise, is about to throw the beast on the king, who holds up both hands to ward off the boar. On the other side of the vase is Leto, carrying her two children Apollo and Artemis on her shoulder.

Case F.—**Black figures on red panels: 560-520 B.C.**—In this case we may notice two curious designs. On one side of B 177 are four naked men being stung by bees. The scene is depicted with much spirit and abundance of broad humour. The men are probably the impious four who, according to a curious legend, plundered the hives from the honey of which Zeus was nourished when an infant:—

In Crete (says an ancient writer) there is said to be a cavern sacred to bees, where the story goes that Rhea gave birth to Zeus; and it is unlawful for any, be he god or man, to enter therein. Moreover, at a certain season year by year a flood of light streams forth from the cave; and tradition says that this takes place when the birth-blood of Zeus *overflows. Now it* happened that four men, attracted by the honey, *encased themselves* in bronze and ventured into the cave. Here they

saw the swaddling-bands of Zeus; upon which their bronze armour split and the god was minded to slay them with his thunderbolt. But the Fates intervened on the ground that it was unlawful for any man to die in the cave. Zeus relenting transformed the intruders into birds.

The vase-painting gives, it will be seen, the moment after the bronze has fallen from the men and before their metamorphosis.

On one side of the next vase, B 182, is another curious scene. A *brabeus* (umpire or referee) is seated and holds a ball in his hands. Three nude figures approach in single file. Each has his hands on his knees, and carries on his shoulders a boy who holds out his hands as if to catch the ball. For another reference to this game of mounted ball, see the Room of Terra-cottas, p. 702.

Case G.—**Black figures on red panels: 560-520 B.C.**—Subjects mostly the **labours of Hercules**. Most of the subjects here represented we have already described. There is, however, a new subject on B 163—the sixth labour of Hercules, the killing of the carnivorous birds which ravaged the lake Stymphalis:—

Athena supplied him with a brazen rattle, the noise of which caused the birds to rise from the lake, and he killed them with his sling. Here, he is about to whirl the sling round his head, holding it at full stretch; in the air before him are ten of the birds, either flying or falling; in the lake below are five more, and one is behind his back.

Another subject of a different kind is represented on

B 205.—The death of King Priam of Troy. The aged monarch, with white hair and beard, lies prostrate on the altar of Zeus; his left arm is feebly raised to deprecate the wrath of Neoptolemus, who stands over him resolved to revenge the death of his father Achilles. Behind Priam is his queen, Hecuba, who tears her hair and extends her hand to implore for mercy.

Pedestal III.—**The Chariot Vase** (B 360)

On this kelebè, or crater (mixing-bowl), the designs are executed in a bold style, on red panels, with ivy-leaf border. On one side the subject is the departure of a warrior in a four-horse chariot; on the other are two lions devouring a bull.

Case H.—On the top of this case are some interesting vases *in the* "**Chalcidian**" style. The earlier vases, to which

these bear some resemblance (B 75, 76, p. 341), are so called from the prevalence of the Chalcidian alphabet in the inscriptions on them. A more general term, which covers the whole class, is "metallic," for these vases bear evident signs of being imitated from metal utensils. A very curious illustration of this tendency may be noted in the vases here numbered B 379, 380:—

"At the insertion of the stem into the body of the vase there springs from the body a delicately modelled spike, inclosed within the stem like the pistil of a flower within its calyx. Judging from the metallurgic tendency, it would appear as if the potter were intending to imitate the rivet or nail which in a metal kylix would fasten stem to body. In keeping with the richness and minuteness of ornament displayed throughout on these vases, the artist has even gone so far as to inclose these spikes within three tiny concentric circles of black colour" (*J.H.S.* v. 224).

Another point in which these vases resemble metal work is the amount of incised lines on them. Other characteristics of the "Chalcidian" style are the mixture of figure-subjects with decorative bands and borders, and the horror which the painters seem to have felt for a vacuum. Where the design fails to cover the space, figures, etc., are inserted to fill the void. Some of the subjects on these vases are interesting:—

B 379 (kylix).—On the interior is Ajax seizing Cassandra, whom he is about to despatch with his sword. She crouches at the foot of an image of Athena; behind, stands a siren, which, with two lotus flowers, seems merely inserted to fill the empty spaces in the design. Notice that in order to fill the space between the handles, and form a division between the two subjects, figures are inserted with no reference to the design—a sphinx and a crouching warrior. The subjects on the exterior are (*a*) a combat of warriors, and (*b*) the apotheosis of Hercules. As we have studied so many of the labours of the hero, we may pause for a moment before this, the crowning episode in his career, when, after much tribulation, he is at length permitted to dwell with the gods in Olympus—as Odysseus describes in his descent into Hell, "and next I descried the mighty Heracles, his phantom, I say; but as for himself he hath joy at the banquet among the deathless gods, and hath to wife Hebè of the fair ankles, child of great Zeus and of Hera of the golden sandals" (*Odyssey*, xi. 602). Generally, the vase-painters describe an earlier stage in the apotheosis of the hero, when he is carried up to heaven in a chariot, escorted by Athena or Victory as charioteer (see, *e.g.*, B 317-321). But here, and in the next vase (424), the hero, after his translation to the skies, is being introduced to the company of the gods. Zeus is seated in state, his sandalled

foot resting on a footstool; in his left hand is his thunderbolt. His ambrosial locks fall low upon his shoulders, and he is robed in a gorgeous dress not unworthy of the King of gods. The procession of deities approach, each with some distinguishing attribute. In the thrones of Zeus and Hera the artist finds full scope for his love of decoration. "The delightful naïveté and freshness of this group," says Mr. Cecil Smith, "look almost as though they must have been inspired by Homer himself. The scene might perfectly represent the court of one of the poet's kings, into whose presence, seated beside his consort, an embassy is being introduced by the court herald. It is an excellent example of the Chalcidian manner at its best, the work of artists who are beginning to feel their way out of the stiff conventionality of oriental tradition. The scene is instinct with the life which breathes throughout every line of the Greek epics" (*J.H.S.* v. 236).

B 424 (kylix, signed by Phrynos).—In the interior is a relief, representing the carrying off of the infant Dionysus: this is a later addition to the vase. On the exterior (*a*) the apotheosis of Hercules, see preceding vase; (*b*) the birth of Athena. The type here is earlier and simpler than on the vase already discussed (B 147, p. 320). There is a woodcut of this design in Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, § 74. It illustrates, he says, "the childishness of the Greek mind at the time when its art-symbols were first fixed; but it is of peculiar value, because the physical character of Vulcan (Hephæstus) as fire is indicated by his wearing the ἐνδρόμιδες (high shoes) of Hermes, while the antagonism of Zeus, as the adverse chaos, either of cloud or of fate, is shown by his striking at Hephæstus with his thunderbolt" (for further remarks on this aspect of the myth as signifying the power of heat in the heavens, rending the clouds, and giving birth to the blue air, see above, p. 321).

Below, in this case, are later **black-figure kylixes of Athenian make: 520-500 B.C.** In the interior is the head of Medusa (see above, p. 322); on the exterior, eyes are introduced on either side of figures. These eyes are very curious. The conventional nose between two eyes was a familiar motive in ancient art, and it appears on some of the vases—*e.g.* on B 376. There, under each handle, are satyrs plaiting vine branches, which spread over the sides of the vase, enclosing on each side two eyes. In some cases the eyes may have special reference to Dionysus, and be symbolical of the eyes of the ship in which he crossed the sea (some further remarks on this subject will be found at p. 341). In the vase just mentioned the eyes are the principal ornamentation of the vase. In other cases they are used as convenient devices for dividing different subjects or filling up blank space. Their use in this respect survived into the later red-figure style, as we shall see, for it was a long time before the vase-painters acquired the

skill to conceive and execute designs of a continuous character. On two of the vases in this case there are subjects of special interest:—

B 432.—In the interior is a potter at work. Nude and beardless, he sits at the wheel, on which is a kylix, of archaic shape, the handle of which he is moulding. On a shelf above him are other vases.

B 436 (kylix).—On each side of the exterior is a merchant-vessel and a war-galley. The former, it will be observed, is wide and roomy, and trusts to the sail; the warship is of the pirate type. The sea is represented by a wavy line. The merchantman is a sailing vessel, rigged with mast and sail. On the prow, an eye; at the stern, a landing ladder and a steersman with steering oars; along the sides, lattice-work bulwarks. Sailing towards it is a war-galley with mast and sail; prow in the form of a boar's head; bulwarks as before; high fore-deck; steering oars and landing ladders. There are two banks of rowers, four sailors furling sail, and a steersman.

Pedestal IV.—**The Burgon Vase** (B 130)

This vase, called by the name of its finder, is celebrated as the earliest known specimen of a very interesting class, namely, the **Panathenaic Amphoræ**, or vases given as prizes in the Panathenaic Festival at Athens. Pillarwise down the side of the vase is inscribed, "I am of the prizes of Athens." These vases, filled with oil from the sacred olive trees,[1] were much prized by the winners, who took them to their homes in all parts of the Greek world. Thus Pindar, in an ode in honour of an Argive wrestler, says, "Sweet preluding strains are those that twice have welcomed his triumph at the festival of the Athenians; and in earthenware baked in the fire, within the closure of figured urns, there came among the Argives the prize of the olive fruit." Many of the Panathenaic vases in our collection were found in Cyrenè, Capua, or Cervetri. They were preserved in families for many generations, and often were placed in the tombs of their possessors. This "Burgon vase" was found in 1813, in Mr. T. Burgon's presence, in the course of excavations on the site of an ancient

[1] "In the Panathenaic prize-lists which have come down to us the prizes are estimated at so many amphoræ of oil. The Panathenaic amphoræ of our museums were never intended to serve a practical, but only a festal and symbolical, purpose, one such being given to each winner as representative of the measures of oil which, together with it, comprised his prize" (Cecil Smith in *Annual of the British School of Athens*, No. iii. p. 191). The Burgon vase holds eight English gallons.

cemetery outside the city walls of Athens. It was thickly encrusted, and only by accident did one of the labourers catch sight of a piece of paint. It was found in the earth, three feet below the surface, in a nearly upright position, with a heavy rude slab placed over its mouth. It retained its shape and position perfectly after the earth was cleared away around it, although it was cracked all over in every direction, and was taken up in about forty pieces. Inside it were found six smaller earthen vessels and some burnt bones (see Burgon's statement in *Transactions Royal Society of Literature*, vol. ii. part i. p. 109). The bones may have been those of the successful competitor to whom it once belonged. The great antiquity of this vase has been inferred not only from the very rude drawing of the figures, but from the archaic form of the letters of the inscription, and also from some peculiar details. For instance, the wheel of the chariot is held together not by spokes radiating from a common centre, but by a diametrical bar divided into three nearly equal parts by two bars crossing it at right angles. The vase cannot, however, be older than 566 B.C., in which year the Panathenaic Festival was re-instituted.

In the next case (I.) is a collection of other Panathenaic vases of an early date. In the Fourth Vase Room are others of a later date. Nine Panathenaic vases exist which can be precisely dated from the name of the archon (magistrate) inscribed upon them. Of these nine, the Museum possesses six: their dates range from 367 to 328 B.C. Though a period of more than two centuries separates some of the vases from the one before us, it will be found that the general treatment of these Panathenaic vases remained constant to the original type. On one side of the vase is always a figure of Athena as Warrior; on the other side is a representation of the particular contest for which the prize was awarded. In this case the prize was for the chariot race. A chariot is here being driven at high speed by a seated charioteer. He holds in his right hand a goad; in his left, a long pole terminating in a crook, from which hang two pointed objects, which were probably of metal, and used to incite the horses by making a jingling noise. With this staff the driver guides the horses, who have no harness except headstalls, and are yoked like oxen to a transverse bar. On the hind quarter of one of them appears a crimson mark, where the goad has made a wound. The

figure of Athena shows the original type of the warrior goddess as protectress of the city of Athens. With one foot advanced, she prepares to hurl her spear at the enemies of Athens. Over long flowing hair she wears a crested helmet. On the black border of her sleeveless purple garment a mæander pattern is incised. Her breastplate, the ægis, has a fringe of snakes. The device on her shield is a dolphin—symbolical of her power over the waves (see on this subject Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*, § 39). Round the neck of the vase is on one side a siren, and on the other the owl of Athena. The drawing, as we have said, is very rude, and the figure of the goddess is squat and ungainly.

Case I.—**Early Panathenaic Vases: 550-500 B.C.**—These smaller prize vases, many of them inscribed "one of the prizes from Athens," are all designed on the model already explained. On one side is Athena, standing generally between two Doric columns (symbolical of her Temple), which are surmounted with cocks; on the other side is the contest, athletic or "musical," for which the prize was awarded. The vases come from Vulci, Rhodes, Gela, and other Greek settlements. It may be interesting to notice a few of the contests in detail:—

B 132. Horse-race.—Two youthful riders, naked and beardless; each has a three-thonged whip; the foremost brandishes it, the other holds it downwards. They keep their left hands on the left side of the horses' crests. It is interesting to compare these painted horsemen with those on the Elgin Marbles.

B 134. The *Pentathlon*, or contest of five "events"—(1) long jump, (2) throwing the quoit, (3) hurling the spear, (4) running, and (5) wrestling.—Of these five sports, only 1, 2, and 3 were peculiar to the Pentathlon, and it is these events, therefore, which are figured on the prize vase. The jumper has stretched out his hands in front of him. In each hand he has one of the *halteres*, or weights, like our dumb-bells, which were supposed to assist the leap. The jump is taken standing, it will be observed, not running. The throwing of the quoit is already familiar to us from the statues of the *discobolus*. The spear was hurled by a thong at a mark. The fourth figure shown on this vase is probably the trainer. (An interesting and sportsmanlike paper on the Pentathlon will be found in *J.H.S.* i. 215.)

B 188. A Musical Competition of Boys.—The teacher leans on his staff. (This is not a Panathenaic vase; the same subject is given on both sides.) B 139 (Panathenaic) shows the victory of a lyre-player. B 131 shows a chariot-race. In this case the device on Athena's shield is appropriately the winged horse Pegasus. This vase

should be contrasted with the Burgon vase. Here the charioteer has reins.

B 144. A Horse-race.—A herald (or possibly the figure is meant for the owner) announces the winner, the inscription proceeding, as it were, out of his mouth: "The horse of Dysneiketos wins." The Greek horse-races were ridden by boy jockeys (see Pausanius, vi. 2-4: "Beside the statues of Timosthenes are statues of Timon and his son Æsypus, the latter a child on horseback; for the boy won the horse-race").

Case K.—**Amphoræ: black figures on red panels.** Subjects mainly the **labours of Hercules.** We confine ourselves to subjects not hitherto noticed:—

B 156.—On one side are Hercules and Geryon, who has three bodies joined at the hips. Athena looks on. On the other, Hercules slaying Cycnus—a combat which formed the main subject of Hesiod's poem, the "Shield of Hercules." According to Hesiod, Zeus took no part in the contest, and merely sat in Olympus thundering mightily and raining drops of blood as a sign to his son. Here Zeus is present—an instance of the early Greek practice of representing the deity who presided over an action as bodily in its midst (Torr's *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, p. 115).

B 197.—On one side, the nuptials of Zeus and Hera. Their marriage procession is a common type on vases. This is one of the few representations of it which, by the attitudes of the figures, can be definitely identified as the marriage of Zeus and Hera. In the chariot is Zeus (black face) and beyond him Hera (white face), who is veiled. Apollo is behind, striking his lyre. On the farther side of the chariot are Dionysus, with an ivy branch, Aphroditè carrying a vase on her head, and Poseidon with his trident. At the horses' heads stand Artemis, who carries the nuptial torches, and Hermes to lead the way. On the other side is Hercules slaying Cycnus, a son of Mars. This exploit of the hero was not one of his labours, but is frequently represented on vases.

B 160.—On one side, Hercules and the Nemean lion. On the other, a marriage procession. The bridal pair are in a chariot, beside which walk two female figures bearing a sieve, which a bride was accustomed to bring with her to her new home in sign that her future life was not to be idle.

We now pass to examine the vases in the **Wall-cases.** Those on the east side of the room are arranged chronologically and geographically so as to exhibit the development of the art, and the visitor will find it interesting to study the vases from this point of view.

Cases 1-5.—**Archaic Vases from Daphnæ and Naucratis.**—The vases and fragments from Daphnæ were discovered by

Professor Flinders Petrie in 1886 at the village of Defenneh,[1] on the site of the ancient town of Daphnæ, which Herodotus visited. Situated near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, on the opposite side of the Delta to Naucratis, it was settled by Greek colonists, and was an old frontier fortress guarding the high-way to Syria. The pottery from this site has black figures on a light ground. The shapes of the vases B 104, 105 are plainly imitated from Egyptian bronze pitchers; but the subjects of the paintings are Greek, though here too Egyptian influence is, as we shall see, sometimes discernible. The vases and fragments from **Naucratis** were found by Prof. Petrie and Prof. E. Gardner on that site in the years 1884-86. The history of Naucratis has been already referred to (p. 95). Two periods of Naucratis ware are here exhibited. Those numbered 100-103 belong to the transitional stage from the earlier and half-oriental styles to the regular black-figure style (600, 601). The designs are mostly in black on a rich buff or pale drab ground with accessories of white and purple. The workmanship resembles that of the Daphnæ pottery. The designs are mostly sphinxes, sirens, and waterfowl arranged in friezes or heraldic groups. The pottery came from the sites of ancient temples, and the vases had been used in the service of the gods—as we know from the dedication to Apollo and Aphroditè inscribed upon them. We will now examine more in detail a few of the pieces in these cases:—

B 105 (a pitcher from Daphnæ).—The lower portion of the vase is decorated only with floral ornament, but on the top we are in the region of Greek legend. On one side is Bellerophon, the Corinthian hero, mounted on his winged horse, Pegasus—the wonderful creature that had sprung from the neck of the Gorgon Medusa when Perseus cut her head off. In the course of his adventures, Bellerophon visited the Lycian court, and the king despatched him with orders to slay the terrible monster, the Chimæra. On the other side of this vase the monster is shown with open jaws waiting for Bellerophon. It has the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and a serpent's tail.

[1] The Taphanhes of the Bible. "So they came into the land of Egypt, even to Taphanhes. Then came the word of the Lord unto Jeremiah in Taphanhes, saying, Take great stones in thy hand, and hide them in the clay in the brick-kiln which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Taphanhes" (Jer. xliii. 7-9). It was this very Pharaoh's house that Mr. Petrie discovered (see an interesting article, with pictures, by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 11, 1886).

"The drawing is full of archaic spirit and beauty" (Murray, *Handbook of Archæology*, p. 81; *Tanis* (in Egyptian Exploration Fund's memoirs), ii. 67).

B 104 (pitcher from Daphnæ).—The figures are Egyptian in character; the patterns are derived from the "geometric vases" of Greece.

B 106 (fragments).—The shaven faces of the figures, their close-cut hair, circumcision, and method of fighting all show the Egyptian influence (*Tanis*, ii. 62).

B 116.—Here again the subject—a nude female on horseback—is derived from the East. The saddlecloths are of oriental type, and the nude female rider is not a Greek motive. Reference has been made in this connection to the legend of Johtar (Aphroditè) descending naked to Hades, as told on a tablet in the British Museum (see the Society of Biblical Archæology's *Records of the Past*, i. 141).

B 124 (stamnos from Daphnæ).—Here, on the other hand, the subjects are Greek. Above, the hunt of the Calydonian boar; below, funeral games.

Case 7.—The most interesting **vases** here are those **from the Temple of the Cabiri**, near Thebes. The Cabiri were sons of Hephæstus, the fire-god, and were personifications of his powers. Their worship at Thebes was mixed with elements from the earlier worship of Dionysus and from the Orphic mysteries. "I must crave pardon," says Pausanias, "if I preserve silence as to who the Cabiri are, and what rites are performed in honour of them and their mother." The spirit of the cult was half serious, half burlesque, and this mixed character is found in the vases before us (see *J.H.S.* xiii. 84). The temple was discovered by German archæologists, 1887-88, and many vases—of local Bœotian manufacture—were found.

Many archaic vases are amusing from helplessness or naïveté, and on the late vases from South Italy there is a conscious cultivation of burlesque. But the specimens before us are the only known examples of early grotesque. Though rude in style, there are evidences which point to some of the rudeness being deliberately assumed. The eyes, for instance, are shown in profile, and not as in archaic art in face. As in the case of the Panathenaic vases, these Cabiric vases probably retained the older technique from ceremonial motives (H. B. Walters in *J.H.S.* xiii. 77).

B 78 (skyphos).—Grotesque nude figures dancing before a tree to the strains of a flute-player with puffed-out cheeks—possibly a Dionysiac rite: "is it rash to suppose that at Thebes as elsewhere Dionysus was originally worshipped in his character of Dendrites, and

that here we have the sacred tree which later piety adorned with human clothing and metamorphosed into a rough-and-ready image?" (A. B. Cook in *Classical Review*, ix. 373).

B 77 (skyphos).—A centaur, with shaggy hair and beard, confronts two grotesque male figures: perhaps a representation of Peleus bringing the young Achilles to Chiron (see below, p. 343). On the reverse, a pigmy with a hump-back attacking a crane.

On another vase is Circe offering wine to Ulysses ("And she made me a potion in a golden cup, that I might drink, and she also put a charm therein, in the evil counsel of her heart," *Odyssey*, x. 314). The caricature here is very strong. The beautiful enchantress is figured as squat and dumpy, with a snub nose and protruding lips and chin. Ulysses (who wears, like modern globe-trotters, a very modern-looking pith helmet) holds out his hands to receive the tempting draught. Behind him is the loom of Circe whereon she wrought "delicate and pleasing and splendid works as is the manner of goddesses." Beyond is one of the companions of Ulysses, changed by Circe into a boar: "so they had the head and voice, the bristles and the shape of swine, yet was their mind steadfast as before."

A few other vases in this case are also worth special attention:—

B 98.—A platter from Marion in Cyprus. The rim is pierced with two small holes for hanging it up by on a wall.

B 79 (skyphos).—Early Attic make, found in Sicily. Dionysus seated in a car, the body of which is the shape of a ship, with a boar's head for prow. On the other side is a sacrificial bull, probably the prize of a dithyrambic victory. Representations of the ship of Dionysus often occur on vases, and they give the clue, Miss Harrison argues, to the story of Dionysus and the pirates which we have seen sculptured on the monument of Lysicrates:—"Dionysus, when he was worshipped on islands and sea-coast places, was naturally held to be god of sea as well as land. In his honour, for example, at Smyrna, a ship was led round in procession, steered by his priest, and the story went that the procession commemorated a triumph over the Chians, who had invaded the city when it was celebrating the sacred festival; the god himself had put to sea and fought for his people. Such legends would be apt to arise everywhere by the sea; and among primitive coast tribes, when they saw the ship decked out and the vine about the mast, what more likely than that they should imagine the god himself had been, first the captive, then the conqueror of the most dreaded of the sea-marauders?" (Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 253).

B 80 (kylix, from Athens).—The design on the exterior is of interest as being in all probability a contemporary illustration of those choric games at popular festivals out of which the Greek drama was developed. Four scenes are shown:—(1) A tragic chorus. The goat who gave his name to the goat-song (*τραγωδία*) is being caught by the horn and

led to the sacrifice by men who carry wreaths and dance. Next (2) a comic chorus: men riding in a cart, from which, as we know, they cracked jokes as they rode along, as in a modern carnival. Then (3) a dithyrambic chorus: figures carrying wreaths and vases, headed by a flute-player and a tethered bull being led to the sacrifice. (4) The sacrifice takes place before the temple of Athena, indicated by a Doric column. The goddess stands, as on the Panathenaic amphoræ, with shield and outstretched spear, in front of the altar, which is surmounted by a bird, while on the left a priestess bears a tray laden with offerings on her head (Harrison and Verrall, pp. 289, 458; *Classical Review*, i. 315. It shows how difficult and uncertain is the interpretation of vase-paintings that another high authority considers the scene to be an illustration of an Athenian wedding: *J.H.S.* i. 202).

Cases 8, 9.—**Etruscan vases**, in imitation of early Greek: 6th century.—The experts claim to distinguish two kinds of vases under this head:—(1) "Cæretan" vases, so called because found at Cære (Cervetri): these have a certain Egyptian character, and are supposed to be the product of Asiatic Greeks, imported into Italy. B 58 and 59 are ascribed to this class. (2) Nos. 60-74: these are supposed to be the product of Etruscan artists, who took their general design from Greek pottery of the time. A fondness for white accessories is a characteristic of this class:—

B 60 (hydria).—A naval fight. A bireme galley with 18 oars—the prow in the form of a boar's head. Along the sides of the fore-deck is a screen of open woodwork (as in B 436, p. 330). Archers are shooting, and opposite in the air are visible the points of hostile spears and arrows.

B 64 (amphora).—In the centre of the frieze are two boxers: on the right is a youth acting as "second" and holding a sponge. Below is a row of large palmettes and lotus flowers—an Etruscan imitation of "Cæretan" ornament.

B 72.—A wine-cup, the spout modelled in the form of a gryphon's head. This creature of the Greek imagination who has passed into the mythology and heraldry of after ages was the emblem of the solar light and brightness, which receives into its care the golden solar egg when sent up in the morning from the earth and the underworld. The gryphon combines the potencies of the heaven-soaring king of birds and of the majestic king of beasts. Note that his ears are erect. Like the sun himself, with keen eye and pricked-up ear, he hears and sees all things (see *Archæologia*, xlviii. 355).

Cases 10, 11.—Black figures on a cream ground. **Corinthian** and so-called **Cyrenaic** fabric; first half of the sixth century.—Here again two classes are distinguished: (1) B 1-7, Cyrenaic.

The vases of this kind, though found at Naucratis, are supposed, on account of the subjects represented (see B 4 below), to have been made at Cyrenè. "The Greeks of Cyrenè in the sixth century had no difficulty of intercourse with Egypt. The queen of King Amasis was by birth a princess of Cyrenè, and in her time there was much coming and going between the two countries." Among these "Cyrenaic" vases the kylix —destined to be the most popular and beautiful product of Greek pottery—shows a great advance. The influence of metal vases may be traced in the thinness of the clay, the lustrous black varnish on the stem, the palmettes on either side of the handles, and the firmness of the incised lines. (2) B 8-53, Corinthian, or imitations of Corinthian vases. The semi-Greek, semi-Oriental style of vase-painting, which we have been noting in the case of Greek settlements in Egypt, flourished contemporaneously in Greece itself, and therein chiefly at Corinth, which was then a great trading centre, and which, as we have seen (Room I., p. 300), was famous for its vases. Scenes both of mythology and of daily life—banquets, hunting, dancing—are now found. We proceed to notice in detail a few of the vases, whose general characteristics we have described :—

B 4 (kylix, found at Naucratis, 1886).—In the interior is the nymph Cyrenè. She holds in her hand a large branch of silphium and another branch with pomegranates or apples from the gardens of the Hesperides—both symbols known on the coins of Cyrenè. The silphium plant, which appears to have been largely used in food and medicine, was a principal source of the revenue of Cyrenè; and on a kylix at Paris, Archesilaus, King of Cyrenè, is seen weighing silphium. Around the nymph are winged figures—harpies and Boreades. The harpies guarded the garden of Hesperides, which was localised at Cyrenè. The Boreades (daughters of the wind) are introduced as the winds bearing the fruit and fertilising the land.

B 3 (kylix).—The drawing on the interior is very interesting as illustrating one of the uses to which vases were put. On a fragment of a large vase from Naucratis there is an inscription which reads, "Polemarchus dedicated me along with a ewer (*πρόχοος*) and a stand." The vase before us shows a sacrifice "where the utensils employed are exactly of the kind dedicated by Polemarchus, viz. a large crater, like that on which his inscription is incised, a small ewer, and a stand, while the man sacrificing holds in his hand one of those bowls which Mr. Petrie found in great numbers at Naucratis, inscribed with the name of Apollo, and obviously without any value except that which they derived from having been used at a religious rite"

(Murray's *Archæology*, p. 70). The other figure is a flute-player, a functionary who, as we know from Pausanius (v. 15. 6), assisted at sacrifices "after the ancient fashion." The eagle of Zeus is descending on the altar.

B 1 (kylix).—In the interior is a horseman who holds the goad in one hand, the reins in the other. Behind him is a winged female figure flying towards him—possibly Victory crowning a victor in a horse-race. This vase affords a good illustration of the gradual development of human figures as the main element in the design from the animals of the earlier style. Various kinds of birds are still introduced, but they are combined with the figures. A bird is perched on the horse's neck; an eagle is flying towards his chest; three waterfowls stand under or beside the horse.

Cases 12, 13.—**Black figures on red ground: archaic style**, in imitation of the Corinthian vases; chiefly animals.—Here we may notice:—

B 57.—On the neck are two panthers, confronting each other, in heraldic fashion. Dr. Murray refers to this arrangement in a very interesting discussion on "Perspective as applied in early Greek art" (*J.H.S.* ii. 318). As every one knows who remembers or has observed infantile drawing, the primary desire is to show as much of the object as possible. On the Burgon vase (p. 330) the owl stands in profile, yet the wing of the farther side is drawn nearly as if seen from the front. In another stage the artist draws each side of an animal as if it were standing strictly in profile, and places them confronted, as here, so that they appear to represent two animals. This, as already suggested (p. 296), is the real explanation of the two lions confronting each other on the Lion Gate of Mycenæ. Dr. Murray thinks that this idea survived in much later Greek art. Thus, on the pediments of a temple —*e.g.* at Ægina—the two groups on either side of the central figure are to be conceived as sections seen from the front. On this theory an artistic justification is found for the diminution in scale of the end figures, a diminution which is, of course, constructionally necessary. The same theory has been ingeniously applied to the frieze of the Parthenon (p. 177). Returning to the vase before us, we notice below the panther a mythological subject. According to Middleton, this stamps the vase as an Etruscan imitation of Hellenic work: "the scene belongs specially to Latin mythology, viz. the contest at Pylus between Hercules and Juno Sospita; Minerva stands behind Hercules, and Poseidon behind Juno. On each side of Juno is a cauldron full of snakes, probably an allusion to the sacred serpent which was kept in the grove of Juno at Lanuvium" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, xix. 616). According to the Official Catalogue, on the other hand, the workmanship is Asiatic. It need hardly be said that these rival attributions of particular vases to particular styles and periods are often highly conjectural.

Here also we may notice some vases acquired in 1899. A black-

figured kyathos, with a frieze representing a *πρόθεσις*, or laying-out of a corpse. The body lies on a bier, with a man and two women bending over it. On either side is a row of mourners: on one side, women beating their breasts; on the other, men beating their foreheads. The vase may be dated about the beginning of the sixth century B.C.; the subject forms a link between the Dipylon vases and the Athenian "prothesis amphoræ" (*British Museum Return* for 1899, p. 66. The vase was bought at the Forman Sale, No. 279).

A black-figured amphora, an early example of Athenian work under Ionic and Chalcidian influence. The subject is Troilus, Polyxena, and Achilles. The Grecian hero was enamoured of Polyxena, daughter of the Trojan King Priam. He is lying in wait for Troilus, her brother. Polyxena is carrying a hydria to a fountain, on the top of which is seated a crow, the bird of evil omen. It cannot be said that the vase-painter gives us much idea of the beauty for which Polyxena was famed. She is also represented as very under-sized: she only reaches to the horse's nose (*British Museum Return* for 1899, p. 66, and Forman Sale Catalogue, No. 308, where a coloured illustration is given of the design described above).

Archaic amphora, Athenian imitation of Corinthian work, sixth century, representing the sacrifice of Polyxena at an altar beside the tomb of Achilles. Polyxena is held over the altar by three Greeks, while Neoptolemus stabs her in the throat. Her dress is carefully wrapped round her; "she makes no struggle nor effort to escape her fate, but appears to be anxious above everything to die decently (*εὐσχήμως*) as Euripides describes in the *Hecuba*, 568 fol." (*British Museum Return* for 1897, p. 59).

Cases 14-17.—Here are further specimens of the archaic style—mostly of **Corinthian** fabric, in which we see subjects of mythology and daily life replacing animals, which latter are gradually relegated to subordinate positions. We may notice:—

B 46 (lebes).—This is supposed to be an early Athenian vase, in imitation of the Corinthian style. The side facing us is of interest as containing one of the earliest representations of a banquet—a subject which was afterwards to become a favourite with the vase-painters:—

"On seven couches men are reclining, two on each; coverlets, purple, red, or black spotted with purple, are thrown over them. The scene is probably in the house of a wealthy Greek. The guests have drinking-cups in their hands; they wear garlands, as was customary at feasts in Greece and Rome, whilst other garlands and a lyre hang on the wall; behind the fourth couch, an alabastron (or perfume vase) is suspended. Beneath the couches dogs are chained to lick up the food falling from the tables, which are placed beside each couch; five attendants or slaves stand ready to wait on the guests; one fills an oinochoè or jug from the crater in which the wine was, as usual, mixed

with water; another has his oinochoè full, and prepared to pour into the cup; and two hold garlands" (Susan Horner, *Greek Vases*, p. 29). The dogs, it will be seen, here fill a subordinate position in a figure-subject. On the reverse of the vase are more animals in the old style.

B 75.—A Chalcidian vase, with inscriptions in the Chalcidian alphabet. The handles have cross-pieces at junctures, with imitations of rivets on the lip.

B 30 (lekythos).—This vase, found at Corinth, is sufficiently quaint in itself, and is also interesting as illustrating the transition from the Oriental to the Greek style. The rosettes and leaves scattered about are Oriental, but there is a definite mythological subject—Nessus carrying off Dejanira, Hercules pursuing.

Cases 18-21.—**Athenian Vases: end of the sixth century.**—A marked improvement in the designs is noticeable in the vases here collected. **Eyes** on the vases are a feature:—

The meaning of these eyes on the painted vases (referred to above, see p. 329) has not been satisfactorily determined. As Dennis remarks, they are generally termed mystic, and they are certainly mysterious. They occur most frequently on vases with Bacchic subjects—as, *e.g.*, on B 264 below and on B 215. But they are introduced also in other kinds of design. Some have supposed that the eyes were painted on vases as charms against the evil eye, in which the ancients believed as strongly as the southrons of modern Europe. Others suggest that the eyed vases were presents made by the bridegroom on seeing his bride unveiled. A more satisfactory explanation may be found in the resemblance and relation of vases to boats. The presence of eyes on the bows of ancient vessels, perhaps originating in a fanciful analogy with fish, is well known. The names of several sorts of goblets are common to them with boats, and it is on vases of this description that eyes are most frequently painted. This analogy between boats and cups is greatly confirmed by the fables of Hercules crossing the sea to Spain in a goblet (see Dennis's *Etruria*, i. 471).

A good specimen of the eyed Bacchic vases is B 266—on which is a head of Dionysus, bearded and with hair falling in long tresses, between two large eyes. Another is B 264. On one side is a figure of Dionysus between eyes: on the other, also between eyes, is the return of Hephæstus to heaven. This subject, which frequently occurs on vases, is also Dionysiac. Pausanias says that in one of the temples of Dionysus at Athens there was a picture representing Dionysus bringing Hephæstus back to heaven:—

"For the Greeks say that Hera flung Hephæstus down as soon as he was born, and that, bearing her a grudge, he sent her as a gift a

golden chain with invisible bonds. When Hera sat down on it she was held fast, and Hephæstus would not listen to the intercession of any of the gods, till Dionysus, his trustiest friend, made him drunk, and so brought him to heaven" (i. 20. 3).

The vase-painters found in this subject scope for a good deal of broadly humorous treatment.

Cases 22, 23.—**Black figures on white, Athenian fabric: about 500 B.C.**—These vases, belonging to the later period of the black-figure style, show a revival of the older fashion. As white is used for the "slip" on which the designs are painted, white accessories are, it will be noticed, avoided on the figures themselves. Some of the shapes are curious. B 587 is in the shape of a sandalled foot; B 660 and 661 are in the form of legs. Several of the subjects on these vases are interesting:—

B 651 (lekythos).—On a pillar, representing a grave monument, stands a siren holding a lyre, on which she is playing. Two men with their dogs, grouped in heraldic fashion, pause to look at her. Just such a siren adorned the grave of Baucis, according to the epitaph in the Anthology:—

> Tombstones and Sirens mine, and urn of funeral
> That holds of me my little dust of death,
> To them that pass my mound, to one and all
> Say Hail!

As monuments on tombs the sirens seem to have filled a double function: they were sweet singers, and they were mourners to lament for the beauty of youth and maiden (Harrison and Verrall, p. 584).

B 621.—Hercules and the Nemean lion (see p. 318). Ruskin made a copy of this design, and has included it in his "Educational Series" at Oxford. "It is not my fault," he says, "that one of the limbs is thinner than the other, it is so on the vase. The purple colour, observe, in the hair of Heracles, and the lion's mane, stands in both cases for the glow or lustre connected with anger and strength, as on the crest of Achilles. It is continually used on the manes of the chariot horses. All the purple spots, like a crown, on the head of Heracles are meant for the luxuriant but crisp hair; they are not leaves" (*Catalogue of Examples*, 1870, p. 44).[1]

[1] In giving the reference to this vase in the old Museum Catalogue, Ruskin adds: "It is highly desirable that you should possess this book, and if Mr. Newton will kindly see that every vase named in it retains its number as described, whatever future changes may be made in the arrangement of the collection, it will be of the utmost use for purposes of study." *But, alas, for the poor* student, the numbers have already been changed *twice since the time of* Ruskin's appeal. The loss of time and temper

B 633.—Theoxenia with the Dioscuri.—The great twin brethren, the strange horsemen of Macaulay's Lay, are riding through the air, and as they pass at a flying gallop their dark hair and red mantles float behind. Their figures are full of life, and are drawn with the utmost delicacy and finish. The twin brethren, the sons of Zeus, were worshipped throughout the Greek world :—

By many names men call us ;
In many lands we dwell ;
Well Samothracia knows us ;
Cyrenè knows us well.

On the couch below is a branch of silphium, the sign of Cyrenè. The Dioscuri were great favourites at the Theoxenia, or sacred feast provided for gods or heroes (Pindar, *Ol.* iii. 35), and this appears to be the subject of the present design. At these feasts the Greeks imagined the gods or goddesses to be present. The more literal Romans emphasised the real presence by placing statues of the deities on the couches. The Greek painters merely indicated the spiritual presence by some fanciful representation such as we see on this vase. A couch is prepared with a cushion at either end. It alone represents the feast about to take place ; the spread table is not depicted.

620 (oinochoè).—Peleus, at the desire of Thetis, who is constrained by destiny to leave him, takes their child Achilles to receive from the wise centaur, Chiron, the training of a hero. As Matthew Arnold has sung :—

In such a glen, on such a day,
On Pelion, on the grassy ground,
Chiron, the aged centaur, lay,
The young Achilles standing by.
The centaur taught him to explore
The mountains ; where the glens are dry
And the tired centaurs come to rest,
And where the soaking springs abound
And the straight ashes grow for spears . . .
He told him of the Gods, the stars,
The tides ;—and then of mortal wars,
And of the life which heroes lead
Before they reach the Elysian place
And rest in the immortal mead ;
And all the wisdom of his race.

In this myth—often represented in vase-paintings—of Chiron, as the trainer of heroes in all noble discipline and the gentleness of

herein involved had better be left to the imagination. It is, I suppose, too much to expect that each new broom should not in turn make a clean sweep of the old numbers. But at least it might be arranged that no keeper of a department should alter the numbers more than once during his tenure of office. The present arrangement and cataloguing of the vases are so excellent that there should not be much temptation to alter them *for a long time to come.*

chivalry, the Greeks symbolised "the strange mystery of relation which exists between the soul of man and the wild natural elements of nature on the one hand, and the wild lower animals on the other." A conventional tree of very dainty design here stands for the forests of Pelion. In front of it Chiron's dog advances with his head and one forepaw raised inquiringly at the newcomers. Chiron, as usual in early representations, is in the semblance of a complete man, but with the hinder parts of a horse appended to his back. While the general horde of centaurs are horses with only the heads and breasts of men, Chiron is a draped philosopher encumbered with half a horse behind. He carries over his shoulder his customary pine, and extends his right arm in welcome. Peleus holds the infant Achilles in both arms. The workmanship is fine and precise (Sidney Colvin in *J.H.S.* i. 132).

Cases 24, 25.—**Opaque colours on black ground.**—Many of the vases here form a link between the black and the red figure styles. B 687 and 693 resemble the black-figure style; B 692 and 694 are more like the red. In all cases the vase is covered with black varnish, and the design is applied in a slip of white, red, or buff on the black. Thus in B 687, Odysseus under the ram is in red; the ram is depicted only by incised outline, with the exception of the fleece of the head, which is applied in white. In B 690 the horse is outlined by incision; the body of the Amazon is red. The subject of one of the vases just mentioned is interesting:—

B 687.—Ulysses escaping from the cave of Polyphemus on the belly of a ram (see for this subject, B 502, p. 345). This drawing is engraved in Butcher and Lang's well-known translation of the *Odyssey*.

Two peculiar objects—B 597, 598—should be noticed. They used to be explained as rain-tiles; they are semi-cylindrical in shape, and it was supposed that they were used to cover the joints of the flat roof-tiles. But their true identification, which is widely different, has been settled by a representation on a recently found specimen (pictured and described by Carl Robert in the Ἐφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογίκη of Athens, 1892, p. 247). They were employed in spinning. Women placed them on their knees and used them to rub the wool upon before placing it on the distaff.

Cases 26-32.—**Athenian black-figure vases, various shapes: sixth century.**—Among the vases collected here, the following may be noticed:—

B 280.—Æneas carrying off on his back his father Anchises from Troy. The aged Anchises has white hair and beard.

B 227.—Hercules slaying the centaur Nessus. When preparing to cross a river with his consort Dejanira, Hercules called for the assistance of the centaur who helped travellers at the ford; he first carried over Dejanira, but on arriving at the opposite bank so terrified her that Hercules hastened to the rescue and slew Nessus.

B 569 (lekythos, from Cyprus).—A characteristic specimen of the archaic style.

Cases 33-37.—More **black-figure vases of a late period: about 520-500 B.C.**—Many of these are of somewhat coarse workmanship. We may notice a few interesting subjects:—

B 362 (kelebè).—A sacrifice. Before a term of Hermes is a blazing altar; behind the statue of the god a wreath is suspended. A youth is roasting part of a goat on a spit; at his side is a lebes, showing once more the use of these for sacrificial vases. Behind is a table with other parts of a victim which are being cut up. Beneath the table is a goat's head, and hanging up above are two haunches.

B 173 (amphora).—On one side Acamas and Demophron (sons of Theseus) are conducting Æthra (their grandmother) who had been a captive at Troy. This, as we knew from Pausanias (x. 25. 7), was the subject of a painting by Polygnotus. "Demophron," says Pausanias, "is considering whether it will be in his power to rescue Æthra." Expression of this kind was outside the range of the vase-painters in the silhouette stage.

Cases 38-41.—**Vases of the late black-figure period: 520-480 B.C.**—There are some curious shapes among these vases: notice, for instance, B 663, in the shape of a duck. There are also some interesting subjects:—

B 509 (oinochoè).—Actors representing birds. They have purple crests on their heads and bunches of feathers at their knees. The vase is earlier than the time of Aristophanes, but is of interest as a possible illustration of the dress of the Birds of that poet (see Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* ii. 309).

B 485 (oinochoè).—A wedding party in a car drawn by two mules.

B 502 (oinochoè).—Odysseus and Polyphemus. This subject, taken from the well-known tale in the *Odyssey*, was a favourite with the vase-painters:—

"Every three sheep bare their man. But as for me I laid hold of a young ram who was far the best and the goodliest of the flock, and curled beneath his shaggy belly there I lay, and so clung face upward, grasping the wondrous fleece with a patient heart. So for that time making moan we awaited the bright dawn. So soon as early dawn shone forth, the rosy-fingered, then did the rams of the flock hasten forth to pasture, but the ewes bleated unmilked about the pens, for their udders were swollen to bursting. Then their lord, sore stricken with pain, groped at the backs of all the sheep as they stood up before him, and never guessed in his

folly how that my men were bound beneath the breasts of his thick-fleeced flocks. Last of all the sheep came forth the ram, cumbered with his wool and the weight of me and my cunning. And the strong Polyphemus laid his hands on him and spoke to him" (*Odyssey*, ix. 431).

On this vase we see Ulysses clinging to the ram. The Cyclops is half reclining under a tree with large white fruit. His right hand is stretched out, and, as Miss Harrison notes, "in curious opposition to the Homeric account, he feels *under* the ram, and the hero seems on the verge of detection. Slight deviations in details such as this serve clearly to show the free attitude of art towards literature. The artist depicted a story current in every one's mouth, known probably ages before Homer wrote, and liable to all manner of local variations" (*Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 16, pl. 6, *b*).

Cases 42-47.—**Athenian vases: end of sixth century.**—Among these there are a great many **hydriæ** or water-jugs. The favourite design on them is appropriate to the use to which they were put: a group of women coming and going from the spring, carrying pitchers on their heads. This subject will be found very frequently repeated on the vases. Its most beautiful expression in Greek art is on the frieze of the Parthenon (p. 182). We may take as the best type of this vase-subject a celebrated hydria from Vulci which was formerly in the collection of Samuel Rogers:—

B 331 (in Case 47), which is of further interest because the fountain is inscribed Kallirrhoe ("fair-flowing"). "The spring," says Thucydides (ii. 15), "which is now called Enneacrunus ('with nine jets') because the tyrants constructed it so, but which of old, when the springs were open, was called Callirrhoe, was used by the ancient Athenians for most purposes because it was near, and to this day it is still the custom, derived from antiquity, to use the water before marriages and for other sacred rites." A spring which still retains the name is situated in the bed of the Ilissus to the south-east of the temple of Olympian Zeus. This vase may give us some idea of its ancient appearance. The water gushes out from a lion's head, within a Doric portico. Branches are scattered over the background, to indicate a grove. The maidens are inscribed "snub-nose," "the lovely," "the dark," and so forth. The potter amused himself, we may suppose, by thus expressing his opinion of the looks of various maidens he was wont to see at the spring. "Their rich dresses prove them to belong to wealthy families, it being the universal custom for women of all classes to draw water at the fountain, as we read of Rebecca, Leah, Rachael, and the women of Samaria" (Horner, p. 37). The vase is inscribed with the dedication-name Hippocrates; he may have been the brother of Cleisthenes. The whole design is enclosed in a panel, with borders of ivy down the sides and lotus and honeysuckle along the bottom.

We now go back to Case 42, and note in order a few of the vases with subjects other than the water-carrying :—

B 319 (hydria).—On this vase and on several others in these cases is the apotheosis of Hercules, a subject we have already discussed (p. 328). Here the hero is being driven in triumph to Olympus by Athena and other gods—his translation to the sky, like that of Elijah, is in a chariot.

B 461 (kylix, from a tomb at Poli, Cyprus).—A rider, who is nude but for a white cloth about his loins, reins in with both hands the impatience of his high-mettled horse. The animal has the thick high neck, bold front, and proud bearing which the Greeks seem to have particularly fancied, and he is evidently intended to be a noble and spirited creature. In front is a man who walks, in the delicate archaic fashion, on his toes. He holds in his right hand a fillet, and raises his left, but looks round, apparently at the horse's hoofs. The potter has used incised lines sparingly, and not one is wasted. The style is not finished, but has a certain strength and vigour. Notice the dots scattered about : they are imitations of inscriptions, a substitute for the actual letters to which the eye had become accustomed. The vase no doubt celebrates a victory in a horse-race : the successful competitor advances to receive the prize (J. A. R. Munro in *J.H.S.* xi. 45).

B 313 (hydria).—On the shoulder Theseus seizes the Minotaur by the horn and plunges a sword into his neck. The young men and maidens represent the human tribute from Athens which Theseus saved from the Minotaur. On the body of the vase is the contest between Hercules and the Achelous (see B 228, p. 316).

B 507 (oinochoè).—The forge of Hephæstus (Vulcan), the god of fire. In the centre is the furnace, a high cylindrical building, on the top of which is placed a vase. On the left the smith, seated on a stool, thrusts a mass of iron in at the open door, through which a blazing fire is visible. He holds the iron with tongs, and at his feet are two anvils. He screens himself from the fire with his left hand. Behind the furnace part of the bellows is visible, and above are a hammer and tongs.

Cases 48, 49.—**Select Athenian vases : about 550-500 B.C.**—These vases are mostly **signed**. We shall meet some of the same painters in the next room. Among the more interesting specimens are :—

B 300 (hydria).—On the shoulder, a chariot-race ; on the panel below, a Bacchic revel ; below, a frieze of animals, "drawn without spirit or truthfulness, yet with a certain delicacy in the flow of lines, apart from their significance or want of significance." This vase is signed conspicuously by **Pamphæus**, a painter who also worked in the figure style (p. 354), and who brought to great perfection the decorative grace at which the later black-figure masters aimed (for some interesting

remarks on the merits and limitations of their work as illustrated by this vase, see Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 91).

B 471 (olpè, signed by **Amasis**).—Very quaint. Perseus is plunging his sword into the Gorgon's throat, and looks away. Hermes is present to indicate that Perseus is doing the bidding of the gods. The figure of Medusa is elaborately fearsome, and snakes rise from her head.

B 364 (crater).—This is signed by **Nikosthenes**. The seventy-two vases signed by him which have come down to us far exceed in number those of any other artist. He was far more potter than painter. As a potter, he was a clever entrepreneur who tried experiment after experiment to hit the popular taste. His amphoræ (see below) were imitated from the metal vases in use at the time. As a painter, however, he is mechanical and uninteresting. He is supposed to have been an Athenian, but an attempt has been made to connect him with Naucratis, where a fragment (B 600-53) has been found with his signature (*Naucratis*, i. 52). For the most part he reproduces stereotyped black-figure types—dancing satyrs and monads, sirens, decorative motives without mythological content. Heraldic schemes abound on his vases, and the old conventional rows of real and fabulous animals (Harrison and MacColl, p. 15; Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 1891, ii. 928). The principal design on this vase is the contest between Hercules and Cycnus.

B 209 (amphora).—On one side is Achilles slaying Penthesilea. On the other, the Egyptian hero Memnon standing between two Æthiopian attendants with woolly hair. The cuirass of Memnon is white. This is unusual; and it has been suggested that the artist, wishing to mark the Egyptian origin of Memnon, clothed him in the famous product of Egyptian looms. For King Amasis, of Egypt, sent as an offering to Greece "a corslet of embroidered linen worthy to be seen" (Herod. ii. 182, iii. 47). The vase is inscribed with the name Amasis. Whether this is a reference to the above story, or the name of the artist, is uncertain. (See *J.H.S.* iv. 82; 1899, 140).

B 210 (amphora).—This finely-painted vase is signed by **Ezekias**. On one side, Dionysus instructing Oinopeus (wine-red) in the cultivation of the vine. On the other, Achilles slaying Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons. It is noteworthy that the vase-painter makes no attempt to hint at the pathos of the story. His figures are full of action, but wholly devoid of sentiment (*Magazine of Art*, viii. 102). The quality of his glaze is also much admired.

B 295, 296, 297. Amphoræ by Nikosthenes (see above).—The strange flat handles are by some new process made of one piece with the vase. The drawings are quaint and lively.

Cases 50-64.—The remaining wall-cases in this room contain miscellaneous vases, mostly of the **latest black-figure style: 520-480 B.C.**—The designs are generally of the stock subjects with which we are already familiar. A few may be noticed to which we have not yet called attention:—

B 301 (hydria).—On one side, Hercules strangling the Nemean lion; on the other, the repose of Hercules after his labours. The hero is reclining on a couch. Above, hanging on the wall, are his sword and lion's skin. Behind him stands Athena, about to place a wreath on his head. She is accompanied by Hermes. At the foot of the couch stands the hero's mother, Alcmena.

B 492.—On this oinochoè we see a later stage of the story of the Erymanthian boar (p. 326). Hercules is here bringing the boar to Athena as an offering, who extends her hands to signify her approval of the gift.

B 497 (Case 52).—Hercules and his companion Iolaus dining after their labours. They recline on white couches; food is placed by their sides. There are imitation inscriptions, and branches from which are suspended the sword and bow of Hercules, and above Iolaus a quiver.

B 309 (Case 55).—On the shoulder of this hydria is a representation of Hercules seizing the Cretan bull, as on one of the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Ch. VII.).

B 324 (Case 57).—On this hydria we see Polyxena again—a favourite and appropriate subject on water-jars, as she was drawing water at the fountain when Achilles sought to catch her. On this vase, as on many others, there are inscriptions scattered about which have no meaning. "The fact was, that the foreigners to whom the ware was sold were ignorant of the Greek language, and were satisfied if they but saw Greek letters, and the impostors played a harmless swindle by palming off vases with no intelligible words, but heterogeneous sprinklings of Greek characters" (Huddilston's *Lessons from Greek Pottery*, p. 37).

B 416.—On this kylix is an inscription which is often found on drinking-cups—"hail and drink."

B 541 (lekythos, Case 59).—Two heroes casting lots before a statue of Athena—a very common subject on vases.

B 342 (Case 63).—On this hydria we see two sirens, face to face, the body of each composed of a large eye; and Dionysus, seated between two large eyes.

On the walls above the cases in this room, and in the next, are facsimiles from Etruscan tomb-paintings. For descriptions of them see pp. 465-69.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRD VASE ROOM

(*Red-Figure Vases, chiefly Fifth Century*)

"The heart and the high spirits of a Brygos, a Titian, a Rubens are uncommon. In our land it is now some time since the Lady banished Comus. Romance and Revel are not received notes in our religion, and a kind of haughty shyness is the mark of our manners. To find the image of a people less ashamed of life, and who could yet marry grace and dignity with their mirth, we must burrow in Greek graves, and it is a pious kind of sacrilege to steal from the dead housekeeper these brittle relics from the jolly prime of the world. The wine and the oil are dry, and the cup is often broken, but the laughter and the poetry still flicker on its sides. Tomb has delivered them to museum, and it is time that the book-worm should not be the only heir of his brother" (D. S. MacColl).

THE vases in this room are painted with red figures on black ground, instead of with black figures on red ground. In the black-figure style, the design consisted, as we have seen, of black silhouettes on a red ground, and details were rendered either by the addition of purple or white, or by the use of the graving-tool. In the red-figure style, the first process was the same as in the black-figure style. The artist sketched in his design in outline. Next, he enclosed the figures thus incised with a black line, drawn with the brush about the eighth of an inch broad. The external spaces were then filled with the same pigment; this work would, no doubt, be left to an assistant. It was in filling in the details of the figures that the master-hand found its most congenial employment. The vase was then baked, and the glaze (of saltpetre and soda) was added.

The greater elaboration of the drawing which the red-figure style made possible is very marked. Hair, for instance, instead of being represented by a black mass, is drawn by fine

lines. Eyes and other features are made more lifelike and mobile. Expression is called in, instead of mere gesture, to give the artist's meaning. In the finer red-figure vases there are also elaborate inner markings which enable the artist to express the bodily forms beneath the draperies. This greater command of resources naturally made the new style popular, and the red-figure vases of the central period, exhibited in this room, include the finest work in this kind that the Greeks executed. But, as Ruskin points out, the new method, together with the possibilities of development described above, contained also the seeds of decay. "In the black-figure style the merit of the composition was strictly dependent on the purity of the terminal lines, and the position of this terminal line is executively the safeguard of noble art in all ages. But the outlining of the figures with a broad band in the red-figure style gradually induced carelessness in contour, while also the interior lines of drapery, etc., being now painted, became coarse if too quickly laid (the incised line, on the contrary, might be hasty and wrong, but was always delicate). Hence, in concurrence with gradual deadening in conception, arose a bluntness in work which eventually destroyed the art" (*Catalogue of Examples*, 1870, pp. 23, 26). It should, however, be noted further that in spite of the gradual approach to more lifelike representation which we shall observe in this room, the art of vase-painting remains to a large extent symbolic; it frankly retains many absurdities and conventions; its aim is still to hint and to suggest, rather than to present; grace, not realism, is its ideal; it combines "the minimum of statement with the maximum of reference to the elements of dignity and grace."

It is customary in catalogues of Greek vases to distinguish various red-figure styles. One classification tells of "archaic," "severe," "large," "strong," "fine," "florid." Another is based on the style of various groups of artists, whose signatures appear on vases and whose differing characteristics may thus be examined and analysed. Thus (1) the School of the Transition from black figures to red is associated with the name of Epictetus (see below, Table-cases A and B); (2) the culminating art of the red-figure style is connected with the names of Euphronius, Duris, Hieron and Brygos (see Table-cases D and E); (3) the later style, freer and more florid, is represented by Meidias (see Pedestal 4).

The new method which we have described led to alteration in subject. In the black-figure period the subjects were comparatively few and were almost entirely mythological. Instead of confining themselves to these stock subjects, the painters now gave freer play to their fancy, and we shall be struck in the vases here collected with their much wider range of subject and greater variety and originality of treatment. This point can best be illustrated during the detailed examination of the vases, to which we now proceed.[1]

Case A.—**Athenian kylixes of early or severe style** (500-480 B.C.) by Epictetus, Pamphæus, Hischylus, and other painters who have signed their names on the vases. In the red-figure period, the kylix—the most graceful and simple of all vase forms—is the favourite, and the first few cases in this room are devoted to vases of this shape. The kylixes, having designs both on the exterior and in the interior, could not be satisfactorily exhibited without sacrificing the one or the other. In many cases, therefore, the interiors have been photographed, and photographic facsimiles, printed on terra-cotta paper, are exhibited beside each vase.

In this case we may notice first the **process of transition** from the black-figure style to the red, for on some of the vases both kinds of figure exist side by side. Thus, on E 2 the boy lifting the amphora is a red figure ; the galleys sailing round the river, with fishes to indicate the sea, are in black. Similarly, in E 3 and 4, the interiors have black figures ; the exteriors, red figures. Another interesting point may be noticed as illustrating the gradual development of the new style. In the earlier kylixes—in most of those, for instance, in Cases A and B—the medallion in the centre of the cup is enclosed in a plain circle, and is ornamented with a single figure. The painters show considerable ingenuity in making these figures fill up the whole space of the circle. Thus, we have figures flying (E 13), carrying (E 35), lifting (E 6), running (E 30), kneeling (E 52), stooping (E 32), and dancing (E 7). In most cases, however, the flexibility of the human

[1] For a study of the vases in this room the Trustees have published not only the *Catalogue*, vol. iii., with numerous figures in black and white, but also two beautifully illustrated folio volumes—Dr. A. S. Murray's *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum* (with facsimiles of sixty-two designs), and the same editor's *White Athenian Vases* (similarly illustrated).

figure is in the earlier vases more apparent than real. The figures look not unlike jointed dolls. Gradually, however, as in most of the vases in Cases D and E, a border with an elaborate pattern comes to be substituted for the plain circle, and the design expands into compositions of two or more figures; the artist succeeds in imparting to them greater freedom of action, and the draperies become rich and varied. We may now proceed to notice some of the specimens in this case, which, for one reason or another, are of special interest:—

E 437 (stamnos).—This vase is in the finest style of **Pamphæus**, by whom it is signed. This artist lived just at the transition from the black-figure to the red-figure style. He first excelled in the former, in which he indulged to excess his sense of refinement and grace, in which qualities he was unsurpassed (see B 300, p. 347). The subject on one side is the combat between Hercules and the Achelous (cf. B 228, p. 316). The river-god is here represented with a satyr's head and long bull's horns on the forehead; his form, human to the waist, terminates in a fish's tail; his hair falls down his back; his beard is long and shaggy. In this type, says Sir Charles Newton (*Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21), we see a continuation of the three forms separately enumerated by Sophocles at the commencement of the "Trachiniæ," where Dejanira says: "For there came to woo me a river-god, e'en Achelous, who often asked me of my sire, appearing visibly in three shapes; now as a bull he would come; now as a writhing speckled snake; and other whiles with human trunk and forehead of an ox, with streams of his fountain's water gushing from his shaggy beard on every side."

E 9.—On the exterior is Peleus seizing Thetis between two winged and bridled sea-horses. On either side two Nereids rush away with gestures of fear. Notice the quaint representation of successive stages in the transformation of Thetis as simultaneous: while Thetis moves away from the grasp of Peleus, she also appears in the form of a lion mounted on his back. Also Hermes and the Nereids bringing the news to their father, Nereus. The scheme of decoration is worth noticing. "The sea-horses form decorative groups beside the handles, by which their bodies are interrupted: their tails, passing beneath the handles, cross each other, each pair of tails thus forming a handle ornament" (*Cat. of Vases*, vol. iii.). This ingenuity of composition shows a great advance on the earlier style.

E 11 (kylix).—In the designs of the exterior it is interesting to notice how the figures are drawn to cover as much space as possible. This is an artistic advance on the older method of filling up with eyes, palmettes, etc. But in the present case the artist has only conquered this decorative difficulty at the cost of distortion. Thus the extended arms of Dionysus are out of all proportion. (Artist, Pamphaeus.)

E 12 (kylix).—In one of the exterior designs two wind-gods are

carrying off the dead body of Memnon, the prince of Æthiopia, and supposed son of Eos, the Dawn. He brought a contingent to the assistance of the Trojans, and was slain in battle by Achilles. But Eos appealed to Zeus for permission to carry the body of her goodly son from the battlefield. The execution of this design shows a remarkable advance in power of expression. The lifeless character of the corpse is shown by a general limpness, by the closed eye, and by the left arm hanging helplessly. "Surely in the whole realm of Greek vase-painting there is hardly to be met with a finer conception. No wonder that it has been ascribed to the greatest of vase-painters, Euphronius. There is a largeness and breadth of style, especially in the figure of Memnon, which instantly suggest that name. And yet the vase bears on its foot the signature of Pamphaios, while the interior design, a figure of Silenos, is unmistakably an example of his ordinary work" (Murray's *Designs on Greek Vases*).

Pedestal I.—**The Knucklebone Vase** (E 804)

This curious and beautiful vase is moulded in the shape of an astragalus, or sheep's bone, such as were used in the favourite game (see p. 58). The vase was found in Ægina, and obtained thence by Lord Aberdeen, who presented it to the Museum in 1860. The designs are remarkable for their grace and delicacy. An attempt has been made to give the dancing figures an allegorical significance, and to identify them with a personification of the Breezes (see *J.H.S.* xiii. 131). But who in that case is the somewhat vulgar fellow with upturned nose and shaggy beard? More probably he is the old dancing-master, who is teaching the dames represented on the other side of the vase skirt-dances in imitation of the flight of birds. Dances of this kind are referred to in Xenophon's *Banquet:* "Supposing your young people yonder were to tread a measure to the flute—some pantomime in dance, like those which the Graces and the Hours with the Nymphs are made to tread in pictures" (vii. 5). Whether this be the idea here, or whether the girls represent the Breezes, the dainty designs are very appropriate to the astragalus, being thoroughly in keeping with its playful, light, and unsteady character.

Case B.—**Athenian kylixes of early or severe style: 500-480 B.C.** On the top of this case we may notice the following vases:—

E 290 (amphora).—One of the subjects here—identified by Mr. Cecil Smith (*J.H.S.* iv. 96) as Hercules driving off Geras (old age)—illustrates a trait which Mr. Mahaffy in his *Social Life in Greece* notes as very characteristic of the Greeks, namely, their hatred and horror of old age. In the lank form, lean shrunken limbs, and pinched expression of the wrinkled face, the artist has succeeded in producing a sufficiently characteristic and repulsive conception of old age, and it is not thought inconsistent with the heroic character of Hercules to beat the unwelcome intruder. To the Greeks old age was figured like the lean pantaloon, "wretched and hideous old age," in the words of Mimnermus, "hateful and dishonouring, which changes the fashion of a man's countenance, injuring his sight and clouding his mind." This vase is one of several which are inscribed with the pet name of Charmides (see below).

E 293 (amphora).—Eros, hovering along the ground, stretching out his arms to catch a hare running. Many representations of Eros and a hare will be observed in this case: the hare was a customary love-gift among the Greeks.

E 289.—Badly broken—most of the ancient vases have been found in several pieces. In many cases the restoration is so complete as hardly to be noticed. But in other cases, as in this vase, the chipping has gone too far.

E 571 (lekythos).—Eros holding a hare beside an altar. This vase—like E 290—is inscribed Χαρμίδης καλός: "Charmides is beautiful." These inscriptions on Greek vases offer many points of curious interest, which are indicated lower down (p. 359). Here we may note in passing that vases inscribed with the name Charmides are presumably by the same artist. Mediæval and modern artists often put some private mark of identification on their works, as, for instance, the pink of Garofalo or the butterfly of Mr. Whistler. Similarly, the Greek vase-painter put the name of some person on his vase as a pleasant means of identification.

Below are kylixes in the style of **Epictetus**, by whom several of them are signed. "His drawing," says Dr. Murray (*Designs on Greek Vases*), "is always precise and fastidious. He loves slim, youthful forms, where his qualities of drawing have perfect scope. He prefers to draw his figures on a small scale, where his minute touches produce at times a startling vividness." "He seems anxious," says Miss Harrison (*Greek Vase Paintings*, p. 16), "it should be clearly understood he is no mere potter. He signs ἔγραφσεν (painted) not ἐποίησεν (made): other potters made the cups which he painted. The subject was nothing to him, the motive everything. He is in love with posture and gesture."

E 38 (painted by Epictetus, made by Python).—On the outside are

two subjects:—(*a*) Hercules, who, on his visit to Egypt, was doomed to death by a soothsayer to appease the gods and stay a famine in the land, is shown slaying instead the king Busiris with his attendant priests. Busiris is falling back, his leg bent under him, with blood streaming from two wounds. All the Egyptians have shaven heads, with a patch of hair, indicated by brown dots, left over the ear, thick lips, and snub noses: in stiff Egyptian attitudes. (*b*) The other drawing on the outside shows two men reclining and waited on by a cup-bearer and a flute-player. No subject is commoner on the kylixes of this period than the symposium or banquet—a subject specially appropriate to the use of the cups themselves. Just as on the funeral lekythi funeral scenes were depicted, so on wine cups scenes of conviviality were shown. These vase-pictures, showing young men reclining at a wine-party—sometimes playing cottabos (see pp. 419-420), sometimes listening to a flute-girl, sometimes conversing—recall many a page in Plato: as, for instance, the opening scene in the *Symposium* itself:—

"Socrates took his place on the couch; and when the meal was ended, and the libations offered, and after a hymn had been sung to the god, and there had been the usual ceremonies, as they were about to commence drinking, Pausanias reminded them that they had had a bout yesterday. . . . All agreed that drinking was not to be the order of the day. 'Then,' said Eryximachus, 'as you are all agreed that drinking is to be voluntary, and that there is to be no compulsion, I move, in the next place, that the flute-girl, who has just made her appearance, be told to go away. On this day let us have conversation instead; for I mean to propose that each of us in turn shall make a discourse in honour of love.'"

Pedestal II.—**The Castellani Rhyton** (E 788)

This beautiful rhyton (or drinking-horn), in the form of a sphinx, from the Castellani collection, was found in a tomb at Capua in 1872, together with other vases in our collection (E 65, E 140, and E 795). The sphinx is admirably modelled, and the drawings on the cup are in the finest style. Between the feet of the sphinx is a small spout connected with the interior of the vase; this may have been used for cleaning it out. The design represents the favourite Athenian legend of the birth of Erichthonius. His mother, Gaia (the earth), confided him to Athena, who in turn concealed him in a chest, which she gave in charge to the daughter of King Cecrops with injunctions as to secrecy. Here Erichthonius is represented sitting, wrapped up in a mantle, on a rock of the Acropolis. One of the daughters of Cecrops holds a sceptre before him—a symbol of the power which is one day to be his. Victory is

offering a libation to Cecrops. (For a discussion of the subject, see A. S. Murray in *J.H.S.* viii. 1.)

Case C.—**Vases of the finest period,** many of them signed (500-450 B.C.), **from the collection of A. van Branteghem,** a well-known amateur, which was sold in 1892. (An illustrated catalogue, edited by W. Fröhner, was published at Brussels.) The pieces purchased for the British Museum include some choice specimens of the polychrome kylix. Cups of this kind, painted in various colours on a cream-coloured ground, are rare, because the style, introduced by Euphronius and his set, had a short vogue. The colours were found friable after contact with wine; polychrome decoration was therefore transferred to the outside of vases, as in the lekythi noticed below (see on this subject Miss Harrison in *Greek Vase Paintings*, p. 27). We now notice in detail some of the more interesting of the vases:—

D 7 (probably by Sotades).—The subject is the death of Archemorus, whose story was connected with the foundation of the Nemean games. Lycurgus, King of Nemea, had an infant son, Opheltes, of whom the oracle had given warning that on no account should the boy be set upon the ground before he could walk. The child's nurse was thus instructed; but it chanced one day that the Seven Champions against Thebes halted in the Vale of Nemea, and, meeting the nurse, begged her to show them a fountain where they might quench their thirst. She led them to a spring in a bed of wild parsley (or celery), and there she set down the child. But the dragon that guarded the spring stole out and killed the child. The prophet Amphiaraus told the Seven Champions that the child's death was an omen of coming doom to themselves. So they called his name Archemorus ("the beginner of doom"), and in his memory the Nemean games were instituted, with a crown of wild celery for the prize of victory. On this vase we see one of the Champions throwing a stone at the serpent, which rises out of a bed of reeds.

D 5.—A very beautiful kylix, most delicately moulded in form, and finely painted (signed by Sotades). The subject is the legend of Polyeidus and Glaucus. Glaucus, son of King Minos of Crete, had been smothered in a pot of honey. Polyeidus, a magician, was called in to restore him to life, and, when he declared this to be beyond his art, was imprisoned by Minos in the tomb with Glaucus. The tomb on our vase is shown, in sectional view, as a conical tumulus. Glaucus, closely wrapped in a cloak, sits on the floor. On the left is Polyeidus, thrusting with a spear at one of two snakes; for, when in the tomb, Polyeidus saw a serpent approaching, which he killed, and thereupon another serpent, with a herb in its mouth, touched its dead companion,

which was thus restored to life. Which things Polyeidus saw; he took the herb, and, touching Glaucus with it, restored the boy to life.

D 6.—Another very delicate vase, also by Sotades: a girl gathering apples.

E 46 (kylix).—A boy running after a hare. This vase, like so many others of the same period, is inscribed with a name to which is added καλός, "Leagros is beautiful."

[The **inscription of favourite names**, though adopted by some of the black-figure masters (see, *e.g.*, B 210 in Room II. Case 48), only came into general use among the earlier red-figure masters, and among them it was confined to Athens. The precise meaning of the custom, and therefore the conclusions to be drawn from it, are matters which have not yet been conclusively determined. A few points, however, may be explained. In many cases the inscription was impersonal: ὁ παῖς καλός, "the boy is beautiful"—an inscription corresponding, as Miss Harrison points out, to the mugs of our childhood inscribed "for a good boy." It may be assumed, therefore, that where a name is given, "Leagros is beautiful," the person celebrated is also a youth. The German archæologists call these dedication names "pet names," but this may suggest a meaning which is not proved, and is not indeed altogether probable. The custom, it should be said, was not confined at Athens to pottery. Aristophanes tells us that Sitalkes of Thrace was so fond of the Athenians that he wrote upon his walls Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί ("the Athenians are beautiful"), like those lovers, says an old commentator, who scrawl the name of the beloved on walls, trees, or foliage. Elsewhere Aristophanes makes play with the custom when he tells how Philokleon, bitten with the ballot, wherever he found written up δῆμος καλός, would write below, κημὸς καλός ("lovely is the ballot-box"). In Lucian's Dialogue between Melissa and Bacchis, Melissa says, "I sent my maid to the Potters' Quarter, where she found written on the walls 'Melissa loves Hermotimus, and Hermotimus Melissa.'" In the case of these vase inscriptions it seems probable that the youths whose names were inscribed were not the pets of obscure potters, but were noble youths—the *jeunesse dorée*, in fact—of Athens. "The potters' quarter, the Kerameikos, was the parade place of the young horsemen. These wealthy youths were, no doubt, among the best customers of the potters. Vases, and rare ones, were needed at their banquets, and for their favourite game of cottabos." The choice of a particular name for inscription on a vase was partly dictated by personal admiration, partly by commercial shrewdness—the bid for the custom of the youth with the laden purse (Harrison's *Greek Vase Painters*, p. 18). "Leagros is beautiful" does not, therefore, quite express the idea in English. "Leagros is a swell" would, says Miss Harrison, if it were not slang, about express it. The American expression, "Leagros is just lovely," perhaps comes even nearer to it. Particular potters seem to have had a fondness for particular names. The dedication served as a sign-manual and an advertisement for the brand. "Leagros καλός" is thus the Gladstone bag, the Langtry soap,

of antiquity. The custom resembles also the dedication of books to particular patrons. The custom revived in the pottery of the sixteenth century in Italy, when it was "Lucrezia bella," "Angelica diva," that the majolica-maker cared to celebrate, and, oddly enough, as the custom is in Greece confined to something less than a century of Athenian life, these Italian dedicatory inscriptions end abruptly in 1550 A.D. It remains to notice that the καλός names may afford some clue to the chronology of vases. In the first place, if these names were those of real youths, inscribed during the period of their golden youth, then all vases dedicated to the same youth must belong to the same decade. Secondly, if particular artists affected particular names, then, in the absence of an artist's name, the dedication name may give a clue to the school—for instance, vases of Euphronius may be recognised by his favourite inscription, "Leagros is beautiful." Thirdly, some of the names on the vases are historical characters, and if an identity between them can be assumed, approximate dates for the vases can be fixed. Thus we know from Herodotus that a certain Leagros fell in battle about 476 B.C. He would, therefore, have been a beautiful youth about 495 B.C. His son, Glaucon—a name which also appears on vases—had a command at Corcyra in 432 B.C., and would have been a youth about 455 B.C. Another vase in our collection is dedicated to Hipparchos. A man of that name was slain in 515.]

E 268.—An amphora with twisted handles in the late stage of the severe style. On one side, Hermes; on the other, Athena. The figure of the goddess is reproduced by Ruskin at § 67 of *Aratra Pentelici*, to illustrate his remarks on the Imagination of the Greeks. What he says is worth quoting as a hint to the spirit in which we should approach all these specimens of Greek art. He distinguishes between Idolatry, which consists in the attribution of spiritual power to a material thing, and Imagination, that is to say, the invention of material symbols which may lead us to contemplate the character and nature of gods, spirits, or abstract virtues and powers, without in the least implying the actual presence of such beings among us, or even their possession, in reality, of the forms we attribute to them:—"For instance, in the ordinarily received Greek type of Athena, on vases of the Phidian time, no Greek would have supposed the vase on which this was painted to be itself Athena, nor to contain Athena inside of it, as the Arabian fisherman's casket contained the genie; neither did he think that this rude painting, done at speed as the potter's fancy urged his hand, represented anything like the form or aspect of the goddess herself. Nor would he have thought so, even had the image been ever so beautifully wrought. The goddess might, indeed, visibly appear under the form of an armed virgin, as she might under that of a hawk or a swallow, when it pleased her to give such manifestation of her presence; but it did not, therefore, follow that she was constantly invested with any of these forms, or that the best which human skill could, even by her own aid, picture of her, was, indeed, a likeness of her. The real

use, at all events, of this rude image, was only to signify to the eye and heart the facts of the existence, in some manner, of a Spirit of wisdom, perfect in gentleness, irresistible in anger; having also physical dominion over the air which is the life and health of all creatures, and clothed, to human eyes, with ægis of fiery cloud, and raiment of falling dew." It will be observed that Athena, as the goddess of peaceful wisdom, does not wear her helmet, but holds it in her hand. (For some remarks on this motive, see under E 324, p. 383.)

Pedestal III.—**The Camirus Vase** (E 424)

This celebrated vase, which merits careful attention for its many artistic beauties, was found in 1862 by Salzmann and Biliotti in a tomb at Camirus, Rhodes. The person with whom it was buried must have been of some importance in his day, for in the same tomb were found a gold reel with reliefs, an alabaster box, and a chalcedony intaglio. The principal subject here is Peleus seizing his bride, Thetis, when she was bathing in the sea (represented by a dolphin swimming): the same subject frequently occurs on vases. The present vase is a magnificent specimen of the polychrome style. "Though not highly finished in details, such as the hands and feet, this picture," says Middleton, "is a perfect marvel of skilful touches rapidly applied, and of extreme beauty of form and general composition." Thetis crouches in the attitude of the well-known statue, known by the name *Venus accroupie*. She is naked, but with her left hand raises from the ground a mantle wherewith to cover herself. A marine serpent has coiled round the leg of Peleus—symbolical of the power of transformation possessed by Thetis. Above the head of Peleus, Eros hovers in the act of crowning the hero in token of his victory over the capricious sea-goddess who has so long eluded him:—

"The incident (says Newton) is well told, and in the general motive there is a passionate tenderness which transcends the limited range of expression in the earlier monochromes, and which, if attempted by any ordinary artist of the later school, would have been overlaid with more or less of affectation and mannerism, such as we see in the celebrated Meidias vase. The features of Peleus himself and of Aphroditè are drawn with exquisite delicacy, and the artist has thrown into their countenances as much expression as perhaps has ever been obtained in ancient vase-painting. The figure of Thetis, being painted in a perishable material, has unfortunately suffered more than any of the others, and her face is nearly obliterated, but the form is beautifully

modelled. Perhaps the most masterly piece of drawing in the whole composition is the back of the Nereid who is flying to the right, which on the vase has a *morbidezza* which no engraving can adequately express, because this figure, in the original design, is adapted to a concave surface, while on a plate the same outline is transferred to a plane. This careful adaptation of the figures to the surface on which they are delineated is observable throughout the composition. It is not through accident but design that the figure of Thetis herself, the central point of interest, is placed on the lower part of the vase, and that the figures of Peitho, Aphroditè, and the flying Nereid are on a higher level. These figures are intended to be in the background, and their position relatively to the rest is suggested by the receding surface of the vase as it narrows upwards; while the figure of Thetis, placed in the centre of the foreground as the principal point of interest, acquires still greater importance from being painted on the part of the vase nearest to the eye."

The same beautiful adaptation of means to ends may be observed in the arrangement of the colours:—

"So soon as the vase-painter began to introduce difficult foreshortenings and more intricate groups in his compositions, he was obliged, in order to make his design intelligible, to introduce more prominently colours which up to this time had been only applied to accessories, and thus it was that his style became polychrome instead of monochrome; and to heighten the effect he uses gold, not as the mediæval painter used it, for a background, but to heighten the effect of subordinate details. . . . The central figure in this composition, Thetis herself, is painted in opaque white, and the mantle which she is about to throw over her naked form is a kind of sea-green. Above her head flutters Eros. He, too, has his body painted in opaque white, his wings being picked out with gold. The cap of Peleus is gilt, but his body, and that of several subordinate female figures on each side of the central group, are painted red, with no gilding except on necklaces and armlets. By thus reserving white colour for the two figures round which the main interest of the subject centres (Thetis and Eros), the painter has given due prominence and emphasis to the principal group; and this brilliant mass of colour in the centre of the composition may be considered as a sort of foreground, which helps to send back the eye to the two subordinate figures in the distance. Here we see the rude and simple expedient by which, in the absence of aerial perspective, the vase-painters indicated the background of their compositions. Figures more distant from the eye are always represented seated or standing on a higher level than figures in the foreground" (C. T. Newton in the *Portfolio*, 1874, p. 183).

The excellence of design and execution which we may thus find in this vase-picture is rarely to be met with in extant specimens of polychrome art. The date is probably

350-320 B.C. It is of Rhodian fabric, and must have been executed when the celebrated painter Protogenes flourished at Rhodes. Perhaps the native artist who drew this beautiful composition on the clay with so sure a hand may have learnt the principles and design in the school of the great master whom Apelles delighted to honour (C. T. Newton in *Fine Arts Quarterly*, 1864, p. 1).

Case D.—**Kylixes in the style of Kachrylion, Euphronius and Duris: end of fifth century.** Here we may notice:—

E 41.—Signed by Kachrylion, a painter whose style is midway between that of Epictetus and that of Euphronius. His manner is still somewhat archaic, but he aims at being expressive. "His faces have none of the characterisation that is so remarkable in Euphronius. But, like Euphronius, he tells a story vivaciously. There exists a vase moulded by him and painted by Euphronius, and some have thought he was master of Euphronius" (see Murray's *Designs on Greek Vases*, p. 9; and Harrison and MacColl's *Greek Vase-Painting*, p. 16). The subject on the interior here is believed to be the meeting of Theseus and Ariadne (see Harrison and Verrall, p. cxxiii.).

E 49.—This vase is signed by Duris. Banquet scenes are his favourite subject. On the exterior here three men are reclining on couches. The central figure holds up a kylix, as if proposing a toast; a boy comes forward to fill it from his oinochoè.

E 44.—This is the only vase in the Museum which is actually signed by **Euphronius** (on one of the handles). It is, however, a work of his ripest period, and is constantly quoted in books about vase-painting. Euphronius was renowned both as a potter and a vase-painter, and was the greatest artist of his time in both branches of the art. He sometimes described his own vases in descriptions as brilliant, and his estimate of himself was endorsed by his rivals. There is a vase at Munich with the inscription, "Such a vase as Euphronius never made"—a clear recognition of his fame. In some respects he retained the archaic style, as, *e.g.*, in representing the eye in front on a face seen in profile. His drawing is large and spirited. He tells a story vivaciously. His draperies are full of refinement and beauty, and his faces are remarkable for their successful characterisation. A technical peculiarity of his figures is their large prominent noses (Murray's *Designs on Greek Vases*, p. 10; Horner, p. 63). In the inside of this vase is a group of two figures—a bald middle-aged man and a female lyre-player, sometimes called "Alcæus and Sappho." There is a marked striving after perspective effects, as seen in the frontways feet of the woman and the half-turned body of the man. The part of the woman's chiton above the waist is drawn with close wavy lines in light brown; it is transparent, and the entire outlines and details of her body are visible through it. But notice the frankly decorative treat-

ment of the woman's feet, which the artist turns at the end into a pretty pattern. On the exterior, we have on one side Hercules bringing the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus (see Room II. p. 326); on the other a chariot stopped by Hermes. Here we see Euphronius as the prince of story-tellers. The vase shows him, too, as a painter who takes the old material and re-informs it with new life. His subjects belong to the good old black-figured *répertoire* of types. But everything here is individual and alive, from the chamois horns of the bow of Hercules to the wrinkled double chin of the mother of Eurystheus. The old father comes up second, true to life with his wrinkled face and bald pate (Murray's *Designs for Greek Vases*, p. 10; Harrison and MacColl, p. 19). In the chariot scene, the figure of the youthful driver is fine, with body bent forward and hair streaming back.

E 768 (psycter).—This vase is in the finest style of Duris, signed. The revels of the satyrs are depicted with great vivacity. Notice the one who is almost standing on his head to drink.

Pedestal IV.—**The "Meidias" Vase** (E 224)

This celebrated vase, called by Winckelmann the most beautiful in the world, is signed by Meidias, and is the only example that has come to light of that painter, who must have been one of the best artists of the time. The drawing is in a somewhat florid style, but is very fine. Gilding is used, it will be seen, on raised ground for jewellery, fruit, etc. The figures are very numerous, but are skilfully composed, and the draperies are graceful. We may note here very clearly an interesting point of technique which appears on many of the better class of red-figure vases. Underneath the draperies, the sketch-marks of the limbs are clearly visible. Thus, in drawing a draped figure the painter sketched the nude figure completely before he added the drapery. In method, as well as in general effect, the finest Greek vases sometimes recall our own Leighton.

The vase is divided by a band. The subjects on the lower part are (*a*) Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides, with (*b*) various Athenian tribal heroes (see *J.H.S.* xiii. 119). The subject of the upper part is the Rape of the Leucippidæ. These daughters of Leucippus were priestesses of Athena and Artemis, and were betrothed to others, but the twin brothers, Castor and Pollux, being invited to the marriage, carried them off and married them (see Harrison and Verrall, p. 161, for a detailed description and discussion of the scene).

Case E.—**Kylixes in the style of Hieron and Brygos: finest red-figure period, 480-450 B.C.** Here we may notice:—

E 61.—Signed on one of the handles by **Hieron.** Some of this painter's designs are as beautiful as any that have come down to us. We may see in his cups a complete break from the amphora tradition. On the amphora, the shape of the vase, with its obverse and reverse, led to two distinct designs, and this kind of arrangement was at first followed on the kylixes also. Hieron was among the first to fling his design clean round the cup (Harrison and MacColl, p. 22). Peculiarities of his style are the massive chin and jaw of his figures, and the puffed-out folds of his draperies. He was especially fond of love-scenes such as are depicted on this vase.

E 68.—In the interior a very young dancing-girl, Callisto, dances before a youth. She wears a wreath of ivy, and her hair flies free with the rapidity of her movement. The youth, Philip, reclines on a couch. By his side a table with myrtle-twigs and drinking-cup. Above him his flute-case. He has stopped playing on the double flute, and marks the time with his hand.

E 65.—Signed (round the foot) by **Brygos,** the last of the Euphronius set, and an excellent specimen of his style; much admired for its skilful composition and vivacious drawing (for notes on some of his peculiarities, see Harrison and MacColl, p. 23). In the interior is a scene of welcome home or departure; a seated warrior holds his wine-cup, which a maiden fills with a ladle. On the exterior, Iris and Hera attacked by satyrs. Behind the altar stands Dionysus in rich Oriental costume, and holding his characteristic two-handled wine-cup, the cantharus. On the other side of the vase Hera, assailed by four satyrs, is protected by Hermes in front and Hercules behind. Notice that the fourth satyr is in a crouching position, so as to fill the space beneath the handle (see Murray's *Designs on Greek Vases;* Harrison and MacColl, p. 24; Horner, p. 92).

E 70.—In the centre, a banquet scene; an illustration of a kylix being thrown in the game of cottabos (see p. 419).

On the top of this case is a very fine vase:—

E 140 (cotylè).—The sending of Triptolemus. Signed by Hieron, and in his finest style. This vase deserves close study for its mythological significance as well as for its severe beauty. We have already told the story of Demeter. The subject of this vase is a supplement to it. When once more Demeter had suffered the earth to yield its fruits, "she visited Triptolemus and the other princes of Eleusis, and instructed them in the performance of her sacred rites." The episode of Triptolemus, to whom Demeter imparts the secrets of agriculture, like the details of some sacred rite, that he may bear them abroad to all people, was a favourite subject with the vase-painters. On this vase we see Triptolemus, a beautiful youth with flowing locks and a

myrtle crown, seated in the chariot given him by the goddess and about to start on his journey through the world. In his left hand he holds a bunch of corn-ears—symbolical of his mission. In his right he holds a bowl into which Persephonè pours a draught of wine: a common motive in scenes of departure on vase-paintings. On either side of his car is a winged serpent—the serpent symbolical of the soil, but winged, as sending up the dust committed to it, after subtle fusing, in colours and odours of fruit and flowers. Behind Persephonè, a nymph slightly raises the skirt of her dress (a symbol on vase-paintings of departure); the name Eleusis is inscribed above her, and she thus personifies the place from which Triptolemus set forth. Behind his car stands Demeter with a torch in her right hand, corn-ears in her left. She wears a splendid garment with fine embroidery. Beneath each handle of the vase is a seated figure; the one to the left is Eumolpus, with his sceptre in his hand as King of Eleusis. He was the founder of the Eumolpidæ (the sweet singers), to whose care was given the golden key laid on the tongue of the initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, and who had to produce and interpret the sounds which proceeded from the shrines. The swan beside Eumolpus symbolises his function. The other seated figure is Poseidon. The remaining figures are Zeus, Dionysus, and Amphitritè (a full discussion of their mythological import in this connection will be found in Harrison and Verrall's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. l.). In presence of this severely beautiful representation of one of the most beautiful of Greek myths, it may be interesting to read what Ruskin says in comparing the earlier representations of Greek deities on vases with the later:—

"The gods are at first thought of only as vital embodiments of a given physical force, but afterwards as high personal intelligences, capable of every phase of human passion. They are first conceived as in impetuous and ceaseless action; afterwards only in deliberate action or in perfect repose. They are first conceived under grotesque forms, implying in the designer, with great crudeness and unripeness of intellect, a certain savage earnestness incapable of admitting or even perceiving jest; together with an almost passive state of the imagination, in which it is no more responsible for the spectre it perceives than in actual dreaming. Afterwards, they are conceived by deliberately selective imagination, under forms of beauty which imply in the designer a relative perception and rejection of all that is vulgar and ludicrous" (*Catalogue of Examples*, 1870, p. 25).

E 284 (amphora).—Sacrificial scenes: the drawing is of the late stage of the good period. Signed by Polygnotus (not to be confused with the famous painter).

Also a stamnos.—Heracles slaying the centaur. Also signed by Polygnotus. This is one of the vases acquired at the sale of the collection of Count Tyszkiewicz—the Old Collector whose Memories have recently been published (the vase is figured at p. 186 of that *book*).

Case F.—**Athenian lekythi: with polychrome designs on white ground,** mostly made for funeral ceremonies. The vases in this case form a class by themselves and are of great interest, alike (1) for their technique and (2) for their associations. (1) They are, it will be seen, painted in many colours on a white ground. Ordinary clay was used, and the vase was moulded in the usual way. The body of it, and sometimes the shoulder, was then covered with a white coating; the lip, neck, handle, foot, and a small portion of the base were painted black. The vase was next fired, and the painting of the design followed. A preliminary sketch was made in outline with a pencil of gray or bluish colour. Guided by it the artist next put in, with a fine brush and in monochrome (black, yellow, or red), the silhouette of all the objects of the design. Finally, with a broader brush he filled in the drapery, etc., with polychrome work—in brown, violet, blue, black, and green. This technique gave exceptional opportunities for purity of outline drawing; and it is from these polychrome vases on white grounds that we obtain the most vivid hints of what the best Greek fresco painting must have been like. For purity of drawing, the Aphroditè on the Swan in this case (D 2) is famous.

The shape of the polychrome vases is an elongation of the ordinary lekythos which was used for oil. The polychrome lekythos was very breakable, easily overturned, the handle inconvenient to hold, the lip almost impossible to pour from, the whole vase needlessly large for the oil contained. It was in fact fitted, not for daily use, but for decoration.

(2) And such was in fact the case. The majority of the white Athenian lekythi were made for funereal purposes. This we know alike from literature and from the designs on the vases themselves. The comic poet Aristophanes makes a young man call the old woman's lover "the best of painters," which he explains as "he who paints lekythi for the dead." Elsewhere he is described as "laid out for burial," only "you did not crown me nor put a lekythos beside me." In one of the designs here (D 56), a tomb is shown with a lekythos and other vases inside; in another, the vases are placed on the steps (D 71); in others (*e.g.* D 76) the mourner brings a lekythos. It seems, therefore, that at Athens, though other funereal vases were not discarded, the lekythos came specially into favour for such purposes. The subjects of the designs are

accordingly funereal. With the marble stelæ which we have already examined (Ch. XIII.), these white vases are the most important and trustworthy materials we have for the study of Greek views of death and practices of burial. In a general way the qualities which we found in the tombstones—the reserve, the good taste, the sobriety—are conspicuous also on the funereal vases. It should be noticed, by the way, that the shape of the vases came to be adopted for tombstones; several of the latter are marble lekythi (see, *e.g.*, No. 681 in Ch. XIII.). Some of the subjects on the vases—*e.g.* the scenes of parting on D 51 and 57—resemble those with which we are familiar on tombstones. But most of the vase-subjects are essentially pictorial, and an expression of emotion is sometimes admitted on the vases which would be foreign to the spirit of sculpture. A student might reach some interesting conclusions by noting how Greek craftsmen adopted these subjects to their mediums (see some remarks in A. S. Murray's introduction to *Athenian White Vases*). As in the case of the tombstones, many of the vases were doubtless turned out by inferior craftsmen, and the artistic merit is very unequal:—

"They deserve nevertheless to be closely studied; imperfect as they may be, they still strikingly remind us, among other things, of the Athenian type, naïvely rendered, such as the long nose, the strongly marked chin—all the features that archaic masters copied with such care, and that disappeared from later sculpture. At the same time, underneath the carelessness of the work, is distinctly felt the artistic tradition, that impressed itself upon the humblest draughtsman. In the attitude of the figures, in the arrangement of the draperies, we find the marks of the noble style. No examples could better show how popular was art in Athens, and how it found a place even in the smallest creations of this gifted people" (Collignon's *Manual of Greek Archæology*, p. 320).

In a very fine style is a vase (acquired in 1897) on which an armed youth is seated on the steps of a tomb.

Coming now to the designs on the vases more in detail, we may notice that the vase-subjects carry forward those of the stelæ to a further stage. The stelæ, as we have seen, always stop short of death. The vases, which were actually placed within the tomb, give us pictures of the death-bed or later. The subjects may be arranged under various types:—

(1) The **prothesis**, or lying-in-state. D 62 is a good example of this subject. On a bier, supported by elaborately

carved legs, lies the body of a youth. In the background beside the body his mother bends forward, placing her right hand under the chin of the corpse and raising her left towards a youth who stands at the head of the bier and strikes his forehead with his right palm in a gesture of grief. On the left a girl strikes her forehead similarly and extends her right hand towards the corpse. In connection with what we have said before about the evolution of artistic subjects (pp. 97-98), we may note in these vases the type of the Pietà which became so favourite a motive in Italian painting.

The presence of the soul of the dead is sometimes indicated by a curious detail. Thus in D 54, on the left of the upper part of the tombstone is a small winged figure hovering near the monument and pointing to it. We may recall the beautiful epitaph :—

> I am the image of swift Plato's spirit,
> Ascending heaven—Athens doth inherit
> His corpse below.

(2) The **entaphia**, or offerings at the tomb. This is a very common type. The reader will find it on vase after vase. The scene is ordinarily conceived in a very simple manner. On each side of the tombstone persons approach holding in their hands the objects with which they would do homage to the dead—such as fillets with which to decorate the stone. The most interesting example of this kind is D 76, which shows us the use to which these vases were put; in her right hand the mourner carries a vase of just such a shape as that of the one on which the design is painted (for an interesting note on the inscription, see *J.H.S.* xv. 192).

Another interesting vase is D 56, which shows a tomb conventionally arranged as transparent. On the floor within it are vases of various kinds. Outside are fillets. On the left is a youth playing on a lyre; on the right, another youth resting on his staff. Other examples of the same subject are numerous in this case. In D 53 we may see women making the funeral wreaths. In D 77 and 78 the tombstone is adorned with fillets, such as the mourner in D 76 is carrying. In D 47 are two women mourners preparing to pour a libation. Sometimes one of the persons is a youth clad for war, or for a journey, who seems to have returned to fulfil the funeral rites at the tomb of a parent. In other vases the scene is more

complex. A young lad, for instance, holding a lyre (as in D 56) advances towards the tomb.

(3) A variation on the offerings is the scene of **lamentation.** Of this type also the visitor will find many examples in this case. D 70 and 71 are specially expressive; a woman sits on the tomb and tears her hair in grief. It may be noted that even at the present day in some districts of Greece the custom of chanting lamentations for the dead is still preserved (see Rodd's *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 129).

(4) The next type of subject is the actual burial, or **deposition** — another classic type which was revived by Christian art. A very beautiful example of this is D 58, in which we see Thanatos (Death) and Hypnos (Sleep) bringing a dead warrior to the tomb. The young head is held by Sleep, who places his hands under the warrior's arms and rests the tired head against his breast. On D 59 there is a similar subject: Boreas and Zephyros bringing the body of a young warrior to his tomb. In these cases an image of the reality gives place to an interpretation of the idea of death. But the scene is treated with refined taste, and invested with an ideal character. The scene recalls the lines in the *Iliad* (xvi. 672) on the death of Sarpedon:—

> To swift bearers give him then in charge,
> To Sleep and Death, twin brothers, in their arms
> To bear him safe to Lycia's wide-spread plains:
> There shall his brethren and his friends perform
> His fun'ral rites, and mound and column raise,
> The fitting tribute to the mighty dead.

(5) **Charon** and his boat. In this subject, represented on D 61, we find one of the beliefs of the current mythology. Charon, the ferryman, who rowed the dead across the river of Death, is standing in his boat and extends his right hand to welcome a woman who advances from the left. There is quiet dignity in this representation of the scene. The craftsman may have derived his inspiration from the painting of the subject by Polygnotus, mentioned by Pausanias (x. 28. 2). On a lekythos here from Attica a woman is holding an obol to pay Charon's fee for a youth who has fallen in battle. The old custom of placing between the lips of the dead a coin wherewith to pay Charon's fee for the ferry has survived till the present day, and in some places the Christian Church, unable to root out the superstition, has had to give it a

Christian turn (see Newton's *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*).

(6) Another subject, less frequently found, is the scene of the **Farewell**, which we have seen figured so often upon the tombstones. The most interesting specimen of this subject is D 51—an Attic lekythos found in a tomb in Cyprus in 1890 in scattered pieces, but now practically complete:—

"It had suffered not only from the wanton violence of the robbers who had violated the tomb, but also from the damp which filtered through the sandy gravel bed and coated it with a hard, white incrustation. Much of the brilliancy of the red colour has therefore been sacrificed to necessity of cleaning. The design is of singular beauty. A soldier receives his helmet from his wife. His tall, rather slender figure, concealed by no clothing, and his short crisp beard and hair show him to be in the prime of life. The lady is fully draped, but, as so often in the vases of this class, within the drapery are drawn with exquisite grace the delicate outlines of her lovely form. Her head, bound with a simple red snood, is slightly bowed, and her face bears a gentle expression of tender sorrow. Between them is a goose pecking the ground—a token of domestic life, an accessory of the house, recalling the passage in the *Odyssey* (xix. 536), where Penelope says: 'Twenty geese I have in the house that eat wheat out of the water-trough, and it gladdens me to look on them'" (see J. A. R. Munro in *J.H.S.* xii. 315).

(7) Another kind of subject sometimes represented on the vases is also more frequent upon the tombstones. This is **the toilet**. A seated woman receives robes, or ornaments, or libations from her attendants. Did not the tombstone remind us of the funereal intent of the painting, we should believe ourselves looking upon a scene in ordinary life.

Examples of this subject are D 48-50. At first such designs were perhaps painted as mere domestic scenes. Then, as in D 50, the funereal purpose is shown by the sashes and wreaths carried by the maid being intended for the tomb. "In ancient Athens, as in some Eastern countries to-day, the visits to the dead and the decoration of the grave were not only among the duties, but in all likelihood among the chief interests and pleasures of women, who otherwise seldom went abroad"[1] (*J.H.S.* xvi. 165).

[1] "The tombs of the Romans and the Greeks were places of gay resort upon the public way; the urns within them held a handful of ashes and a few pinches of dry dust; flowers were trained upon the walls, and in the miniature gardens were set up three couches and a table for the feasts

In taking leave of these funereal vases, and the associations they call up to us, let us also say our word of farewell:—

> You come not, as aforetime, to the headstone every day,
> And I, who died, I do not chide because, my friend, you play;
> Only, in playing, think of him who once was kind and dear,
> And if you see a beauteous thing, just say, "He is not here." [1]

Some of the pictures on the lekythi have, however, nothing to do with death. The curious picture on D 60 shows some huntsmen chasing a hare, at which a youth throws a stone. In D 24 is Victory holding a wreath over a flaming altar. This can hardly be associated with the idea of death, though in Christian art the design would be appropriate enough. In D 20 the woman, with her cap hung up on the wall, may be noticed. D 11 (a pyxis found at Eretria) is interesting, as the subject—a marriage procession—is rare. The bridegroom, with long hair and a purple fillet and holding a crutched staff, looks round at the bride, whose wrist he holds.

On the top of this case, in a separate shade, are two beautiful and remarkable vases. On one side is **the "Pandora" Vase** (D 4). This cup (found at Nola in 1829 and bought at the Bale sale in 1881) is of special interest, both for its technique and its subject. It is one of the rare polychrome kylixes already noticed, and the design is in a fine broad style. "The mastery of line in the drawing of Hephæstus commands universal admiration." The design is in simple colour, brown and purple on a white ground; the circlets on the heads of the figures and the hammer head are in slight relief, and bear traces of gold. The subject—the Birth of Pandora—occurs on only two known vases, both of which are in the British Museum. The other vase (F 113) is of late coarse work, and the subject is treated grotesquely. On the cup before us the treatment is full of grave dignity.

The Birth of Pandora is part of the story of the Fall, as imagined by the Greeks. According to Hesiod, Pandora, the first woman, was

anniversary of death. Below, the road, the crowd, the chariot of the rich, the cry of the fruit-seller, the tramp of the soldier, the laughter of boys and girls. There was no peace there; there was only the evident and determined will to hide from the living the conditions of death. What Swinburne has called 'the lordly repose of the dead,' the peace of the body on earth, the departure of the soul to a place of refreshment, *light, and peace in heaven*, is a solely Christian conception" (Marion Crawford, *Rulers of the South*, i. 357).

[1] Epilogue to Ionica.

created out of earth by Hephæstus, at the command of Zeus, to be a source of sorrow and suffering to mankind, because Prometheus had stolen fire to heaven, and conveyed it to men. Athena was to teach Pandora skill in weaving; Aphroditè poured upon her head the charm of beauty, with terrible desire and weariful longing of love; and Hermes was bidden to give her all furtive ways. And when she had been thus shaped, Athena girded and adorned her; the Graces and divine Persuasion hung golden chains about her flesh, and the Hours crowned her with spring blossoms—

> And for name of her this was the choice,
> *Pandora*, because in Olympus the gods joined together then,
> And *all* of them gave her, a *gift*, a sorrow, to covetous men.

Here in the centre of the composition we see the newly-born Pandora—a stiff figure, even such as the Greeks themselves first created out of the clay. Athena—with her ægis over her long robe—stands with her arm about Pandora, as though she had just finished arranging her dress. Hephæstus, carrying his hammer in his left hand, touches the head of Pandora, on which he has just placed a golden circlet. "For mythology the great interest of the beautiful design centres in the inscription above the head of Pandora; it is (A)nesidora—she who sends up gifts from the soil. The name is of the utmost importance, for it points to a meaning in the myth which might otherwise have remained unnoticed. . . . For the Greeks there was another Pandora, called by a new name, Anesidora—the first woman, mother earth—she who gives all gifts to men" (see *J.H.S.* xi. 279, and Harrison[1] and Verrall, p. 452).

Aphroditè on the Swan (D 2).—This vase, one of the most famous in the collection, was found in 1864 in a tomb at Camirus in Rhodes, but is undoubtedly an Athenian work of the finest period. Its fascination seems to be due, says Dr. Murray, "partly to the singularly beautiful combination of lines in the composition, partly to the sweetness of the conception as a whole, and partly to the nameless grace which pervades the drawing" (*White Athenian Vases*, p. 9).

"In its sedate beauty," says an enthusiastic writer, "its austerity, its reserved, grave dignity, it is not only the most lovely, and 'ideal' image of the goddess that ancient art has left us, but it is also that

[1] "No myth is more familiar," says Miss Harrison elsewhere, "than that of Pandora; none perhaps has been so completely misunderstood. Pandora is the first woman, the beautiful mischief; she opens the forbidden box, out comes every evil that flesh is heir to; hope only remains. The box of Pandora is proverbial, and that is the more remarkable as she never had a box at all." Hesiod and all Greek writers in telling the myth speak of a πίθος, a pitcher standing on and often buried in the earth (see p. 275). Pandora, it is suggested, symbolises the earth; the fashioning of her, the smiting of the earth to release the earth-spirits (see *J.H.S.* xx. 99).

which most fully embodies all familiar Greek characteristics. It is so finished an achievement in its own line that it need not fear to stand by the side of the perfect 'Venus and the Mirror' of Bellini, and this is more than can be said of any of the Venus types of sculpture, which, as we well know now, though they are the echoes of bygone masterpieces, all belong to the decadence of Greek art" (*Athenæum*, June 5, 1897).

Another critic sees in this vase the furthest reach of natural beauty attained by any of the vase-painters: "not only the placing of the features is fine, but with the same simplicity of means, the forms of the features are more closely rendered, and the flow of line in the profile marks a high accomplishment in drawing" (D. S. M. in *Greek Vase-Paintings*, p. 6). It will be seen from the sketch-marks how the artist has corrected himself in the drawing of the honeysuckle; but otherwise his sureness of hand and confidence of intention are perfect. Notice also as a detail that the finger-nails are carefully drawn in. The dedication name on the vase is Glaukon, and this brings the work within the circle of Euphronius, but there is no sure ground for attributing it to that painter himself.

The subject is Aphroditè (so inscribed) riding on a swan through the air. In her right hand she holds a long curling tendril with a honeysuckle flower at the end of it. Aphroditè is often thus represented in Greek art. She is in such representations, Aphroditè Ourania, Aphroditè of the Heavens, Love as Queen of the Heavenly Host. The swan may have an astronomical significance, as symbol of the Star of Venus. In a vase at Berlin the background behind her is thickly studded with gold stars. The stars on the robe of the goddess here are decorative, but perhaps not without the other reference. She holds a sprig of blossom, and the leading idea would thus seem to be the Advent of Spring—when a livelier iris changes on the burnished dove—the spring, in which a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love:—

"'And always, year by year went well with them who began each year with thy worship, Heavenly Aphroditè, for mortals who care for the immortals have themselves thereby the better fortune.' Of such an Aphroditè we could have no fairer image than the Lady on the Swan —serious, lovely, sedate, even in her swift transit" (J. E. Harrison in *Mythology of Ancient Athens*, p. 216. See also *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xii. 317).

In his lecture on "The School of Athens" (*Aratra Pen-*

telici, ch. vi.), Ruskin takes this drawing of Aphroditè as characteristic of Greek art, and contrasts it with a Venus of the School of Florence :—

"She is flying in heaven, her power over the waters symbolised by her being borne on a swan, and her power over the earth by a single flower in her right hand. The Venus Urania of the Greeks, in her relation to men, has power only over lawful and domestic love; therefore she is fully dressed, and not only quite dressed, but most daintily and trimly; her feet delicately sandalled, her gown spotted with little stars, her hair brushed exquisitely smooth at the top of her head, trickling in minute waves down her forehead; and though, because there's such a quantity of it, she can't possibly help having a chignon, look how tightly she has fastened it with her broad fillet. Of course she is married, so she must wear a cap, with pretty minute pendent jewels at the border, and a very small necklace, all that her husband can properly afford, just enough to go closely round her neck, and no more. The breasts are broad and full, though perfectly severe in their almost conical profile (you are allowed on purpose to see the outline of the right breast, under the chiton); also the right arm is left bare, and you can just see the contour of the front of the right limb and knee; both arm and limb pure and firm, but lovely. The plant she holds in her hand is a branching and flowering one; the seed-vessel prominent. These signs all mean that her essential function is child-bearing. She is entirely calm, and looks straight forward. Not one feature of her face is disturbed, or seems even to have been subject to emotion. The Italian Aphroditè looks up, her face all quivering and burning with passion and wasting anxiety. The Greek one is quiet, self-possessed, and self-satisfied. . . . The calmness of the features in the one face, and their anxiety in the other, indicate first, indeed, the characteristic difference in every conception of the schools, the Greek never representing expression, the Italian primarily seeking it; but far more, mark for us here the utter change in the conception of love; from the tranquil guide and queen of a happy terrestrial domestic life, accepting its immediate pleasures and natural duties, to the agonising hope of an infinite good, and the ever mingled joy and terror of a love divine in jealousy, crying, 'Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm; for love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave.'"

Pedestal V.—**The Amazon Vase**

"This magnificent vase may be regarded as one of the finest specimens of Greek ceramography that has come down to us; certainly among the known specimens of the Attic 'free style' it is absolutely unsurpassed in its combination of artistic merit and mythological interest." It was found at

Agrigentum (Girgenti) in 1830, and is unbroken, except that the neck has been detached and is rejoined. It was formerly in the possession of Samuel Rogers, in whose collection it was seen by Waagen, who noted "the beauty and variety of the attitudes," and "the spirit and delicacy of the execution" (*Treasures of Art in England*, ii. 81). "In some of the groups the composition is strikingly effective, and has probably been derived from a great fresco of the early fifth century B.C. But the drawing is in most cases over-refined and occasionally weak, while the proportions of the male figures are sometimes quite incorrect. Yet the effect of the vase altogether is one of singular charm" (*British Museum Return* for 1889, p. 67, and Forman Sale Catalogue, No. 357. Mr. Forman paid £122 for it; the price in 1899 was £200).

The subject which forms a frieze round the vase is a combat of Amazons with Attic heroes. (1) Andromache is about to be slain by Theseus, who is attended by Peirithous and Phorbas; Hippolytè and two other mounted Amazons ride up. (2) An Amazon thrusts with her spear at a Greek; behind him Acamas advances, and on the other side is an Amazon running. (3) Melaneus falls, wounded by an Amazon; on the right is Sthenelos. The composition of the group of mounted Amazons is very fine, and the delicacy of workmanship shown in the representation of the armour is astonishing.

Case G.—**Stamni in the "severe" style: 500-480 B.C.**—Among the notable vases here are the following:—

E 155.—On one side of this beautiful vase is the punishment of Ixion, King of the Lapiths. As a mortal he had committed a grievous crime, that of slaying by treachery a kinsman, his father-in-law. For this crime he was refused purification on earth, but was forgiven by the gods. But Ixion, presuming on their indulgence, insulted Hera, and was then condemned to be tied to a wheel which for ever revolved —a type of eternal punishment. On this vase we see the culprit before the throne of Hera; his arms are held fast by Ares and Hermes; on the right, Athena has prepared the winged wheel. The drawing on the other side of the vase has been variously interpreted. By some it has been identified as the death of Laocoon—a subject obviously suggested by the serpent; but Mr. Cecil Smith objects that the central figure in both drawings is the same, and gives an ingenious interpretation so as to make both designs belong to the story of Ixion. The serpent he interprets as the angry soul of the murdered person maddening the culprit. The figure on the left is Thanatos, and the youth whom he is taking away was the victim of Ixion's sword. Ixion had

taken refuge on the altar; but the priest rushes through the sacred grove to drive away the blood-guilty stranger. The painting would thus depict three successive moments in a scene—the crime, the criminal smitten with madness, and his attempt to obtain purification. The difficulty is that the victim is here shown as a youth, whereas in the legend he was the father of Ixion's wife (*Classical Review*, ix. 277).

E 296.—Notice the figure of Eros, with a bird in his hand, trundling a hoop.

E 73.—This vase, found in the same excavations with the famous Camirus vase, is a good deal broken, but is remarkable for beauty of design and clearness of expression. In the medallion inside is the "Surprise of Thetis." Some of her transformations are indicated by the sea-monster and sea-serpent on either side of her. We have already noticed this primitive symbolism whereby successive stages in a series of events are represented as contemporaneous as characteristic of early Greek art (p. 92). In the border, the sisters of Thetis fly in panic to tell Nereus and Triton. The grouping of this frieze is a good illustration of the principle which has been already explained in the case of the Parthenon (p. 177); Nereus and Triton must be imagined as sitting side by side, and the nymphs as running to them in two rows. On the outside are representations of combats:—(*a*) The famous combat of Diomedes and Æneas, as described by Homer (*Iliad*, v. 277). (*b*) On the opposite side is the contest of Hercules with Cycnus, son of Ares, described in Hesiod's "Shield of Heracles." (See *Journal of Philology*, vii. pp. 215-226, where Prof. P. Gardner illustrates in detail the literary taste of the vase-painter and the close correspondence of his design with passages in the poets.)

E 440.—The subject of this vase, which is in the style of Brygos, is Homeric and very interesting. Odysseus is returning home from Troy, and passing the sirens between Sicily and Italy. To avoid being enticed by their music to destruction on the rocks, Odysseus had been enjoined to fill his ears with wax:

"And they bound me hand and foot, upright in the mast-head of the ship, and from the mast they fastened rope-ends and sat themselves down and smote the grey sea water with their oars. But when the ship was within sound of a man's shout from the land, we fleeing swiftly on our way, the sirens espied us, the swift ship speeding toward them, and they raised their clear-toned song."

There are six rowers and a steersman, with two steering oars which work on cords attached to the ship's side. The pilot has his mouth open and hand raised, as if exhorting the crew. The ship has a large eye, where the ropes are passed for the anchor. Odysseus, weathered and bearded, is fastened against the bottom of the mast, with his arms behind his back. His head is thrown back looking at the sirens, which are represented as birds with women's heads. One is perched on each rock, a third falls headlong into the ship. This third siren is drawn *with a blind eye* (*i.e.* without the pupil, cf. eye of the Phineus,

E 291), and it is suggested that this may be intended as a prophetic indication of the fate of the sirens who cast themselves down in despair when their song was unheeded. On the other side of the vase are three loves hovering over the sea; one holds a ribbon, the second a flower-spray, the third a hare; for the sirens lured men to lawless love. In many respects the vase-painter follows the Homeric tradition; in others he departs from it. He employs previous art types and applies them, so far as they will fit, to literary subjects (see an interesting discussion by Miss Harrison on this subject in *Greek Vase Paintings*, p. 30, and more fully in her *Myths of the Odyssey*, ch. v.). The vase is of some further interest as showing an attempt to represent water naturally. The sea is rendered by wavy lines, drawn in black on a red ground, and something like the effect of light playing on the surface of the water is given (C. T. Newton in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21).

On this vase there is also a fragmentary white vase (D 1), found at Naucratis and attributed to Euphronius.

Pedestal VI.—**The Achilles Vase** (E 468)

On one side of this vase (which is painted in the style of Duris) is the combat of Achilles and Hector in the presence of Athena and Apollo; on the other, the combat of Achilles with Memnon in the presence of Thetis and Eos. These designs are on a band at the top of the vase, above which is a decorative pattern.

Case H.—**Amphoræ, in the "severe" style: 500-480 B.C.**

But there are also several exquisite little vases in this case:—

E 697 (aryballos).—Aphroditè with Eros on her shoulder: a very pretty and dainty little picture.

E 773 and 774 (pyxis).—Toilet scenes: folding doors indicate a room. In one a woman is winding a ribbon round her hair; in the other a woman is seated on a stool, wrapt in thought, while a girl is fastening her sandal.

The beautiful little perfume-box (E 774) is particularly interesting as illustrating the use of Greek vases as ornaments. Several vases are set about the lady's boudoir. On the left is a gilt box (pyxis) with a tall lid, and a tall oinochoè: these are placed on a low table. On the right two tall vases (lebes) stand on a plinth. Except the pyxis, all the vases are decorated with painted figures, and contain flowers or olive-branches. This pyxis (774) and the others near it are ordinary domestic scenes. Mythological names are inscribed over the figures, but this is only done by the potters in order to give their glare pieces *a fictitious interest.*

Another charming casket is E 775: two little loves, with gilt wings and crowns, are harnessed to the chariot of Aphroditè.

E 270.—A poet reciting: notice the way in which words proceed from his open mouth—the first words of a metrical poem.

Pedestal VII.—**The Victorious Citharist** (E 460)

This vase (an **oxybaphon**, or bell-crater), one of the finest in the collection, celebrates the victory of a citharist in a musical contest at Athens. The winner—a bearded figure, richly draped and crowned with a wreath of olive—steps on a small dais, striking the chords of his lyre. On one side sits the judge, wreathed with myrtle. In front of the winner is a figure of Victory. Behind him another Victory floats down, bearing a vase, the prize in the contest. Away in the corner sits Athena, recognisable by her spear and ægis, looking on, but not otherwise taking part in the scene. She is often thus conceived as the protectress of her people, ever present, though invisible, at those functions which were performed in her name or honour (C. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* ix. 3).

The design of this vase was adapted by Flaxman for a vase by Wedgwood representing the apotheosis of Homer (see a specimen in the Ceramic Gallery).

Case I.—**Vases in the "severe" style: 500-480 B.C.**

Here are several interesting vases:—

E 466 (krater) demands careful study; though the drawing is a trifle forced, the design is one of the most interesting and poetical in the collection. It is a charming picture of the sunrise: a naïve personification of a natural scene:—

"To the right the sun-god Helios is uprising in his chariot, with four winged horses, just as he rises in the east pediment of the Parthenon. To the extreme left—again somewhat as in the Parthenon pediment—the moon goddess, veiled and tranquil, rides silently away, sinking behind the hill. Helios is wholly human, but to make the meaning clear, an actual sun surrounds his head, as halo. In front of the horses the sea is represented by a series of curved lines, somewhat more realistic than the conventional wave-pattern. Very curious are the four little naked boys, who plunge and swim below the horses' hoofs; they are stars in human shape. Familiar though the idea of a human sun-god is to us, it takes some time to get used to the thoroughgoing anthropomorphism that sees in the stars a troop of swimming boys. One dives headlong; another—it may be the morning star—stands upright and steadfast; two more, already in the water, strike out to swim. For the rest, one is already awake, alert behind the

mountain top. The woodland scene is indicated by a single tree. As part of the very being of the sunrise, Eos pursues the hunter Kephalos. He is accompanied by his dog (who seems to be baying at the moon). In one hand he holds his darts, in the other a stone which he is about to hurl at the on-coming goddess" (Jane Harrison in the *Magazine of Art*, 1894, p. 63. See also the same writer in *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. lxvii.).

E 63 (kylix).—Fragmentary, but interesting as an illustration of Greek athletic customs. In the interior is a gymnastic-trainer, holding his forked switch, with two boxers. The exterior appears to represent a parade of boxers before two judges. The heads of these are preserved. Those of the boxers have disappeared (except one, which is bruised). Each has his right hand raised, and it is suggested that they are taking the oath of fair play as described by Pausanias (v. 24. 9): "Before this image of Zeus it is the custom for the athletes to swear that they will be guilty of no foul play."

E 315 (amphora).—This is one of several "Anacreon" vases (cf. E 18, 266, 267, 314). The type represented is that of an elderly reveller, staggering along in drunken disorder and singing to a lyre. A poet of the Anthology, in an epigram on Anacreon, says of him:—

> O lover of the lovely lyre, who, as thy sweet will sped,
> Hast sailed through all the seas of life with passion and with song.

On the vase E 18 the name Anacreon is inscribed, and the type suggests comparison with the statue of the poet described by Pausanias (i. 25. 1): "the attitude of the figure is suggestive of a man singing in his cups."

The numerous "**Anacreon vases**" are probably reminiscent of some such statue, or picture, showing the poet under the excitement of wine striking his lyre and singing forth his impassioned songs. The poet is often accompanied by his dog (*e.g.* E 314, 315). We learn from a mediæval commentator (Tzetzes) that Anacreon's dog was famous for his fidelity to his master. Accompanying his master and a slave to market, the dog watched for several days a purse which the slave had dropped. Ruskin, in a characteristic passage, refers to the design as "a piece of what may be called mental comparative anatomy":—

"One of the most interesting Greek vases in the British Museum is that of which the painting long went under the title of 'Anacreon and his Dog.' It is a Greek lyric poet, singing with lifted head, in the action given to Orpheus and Philammon in their moments of highest inspiration; while, entirely unaffected by, and superior to the music, there walks beside him a sharp-nosed and curly-tailed dog, painted in what the exclusive admirers of Greek art would, I suppose, call an ideal manner; that is to say, his tail is more like a display of fireworks than a tail; but the ideal evidently founded on the material existence of a charming though supercilious animal" (*The Eagle's Nest, § 157*).

The "custom of putting either the dog or some inferior animal to be either in contrast or modest companionship with the nobleness of human form and thought" may be traced in all schools of painting.

E 301 (amphora).—In the style of Duris. Orpheus slain by the Thracian women. (The continual grief of Orpheus for his lost Eurydice so enraged the Thracian women that they fell upon him in one of their orgies and tore him to pieces—as Milton describes in "Lycidas.") Notice that on the front of the neck of the Thracian women, on the inside of the right forearm, and on the instep of each foot is a check pattern; this is to indicate tattooing.

A kylix from the Bourguignon collection, acquired in 1901, has an interesting subject, a boy with a bird in a cage, probably a fighting quail.

Pedestal VIII

This vase (E 469), a crater in the "large" style, is much damaged. On the body is a combat between gods and giants. On the neck, the sending of Triptolemus (see p. 365).

Case K.—**Red-figure lekythi, chiefly from Sicily: 500-450 B.C.** The most interesting vase here is, however, a kylix on the top of the case:—

E 84 (kylix).—**The exploits of Theseus.**—This vase, which is in the finest red-figure style, was acquired by Dr. Emil Braun from the dealer Basseggio, and was bought for the Museum in 1850. It is of special interest for many reasons. From the artistic point of view we may notice the admirable composition. The subjects are a series of isolated incidents, but the design sweeps round the cup continuously. The design in the circle belongs also to the same subject as that of the designs surrounding it. In most cups of the kind this is not the case. In another respect the vase is unique. The designs on the exterior and interior are the same. This device produces the effect, as it were, of transparency; but this is foreign to the spirit of originality in Greek design, and the effect was, so far as we know, never repeated.

The subject of the designs is one which we have already frequently met with in this room, and which was in special favour with the red-figure vase-painters. After the Persian wars, in which Theseus was reported to have appeared to aid the Athenians at the battle of Marathon, there was a great revival in the fame of this national hero. (1) In the centre is Theseus and the Minotaur. He is dragging the helpless monster out from his palace, which is represented by a fluted Doric column—a common piece of shorthand with the vase-painters. In most vases Theseus is shown actually slaying his enemy. There is an unmistakable though crude attempt to signalise the famous labyrinth by a decorative pattern of squares and lines; the same device is used to symbolise the labyrinth on the coins of Crete. (2) At the

top is Theseus engaged with the wrestler Cercyon. Theseus, unlike Hercules, accomplishes his task without effort. "Cercyon," says Pausanias (i. 39. 3), "killed all those who wrestled with him, except only Theseus; but Theseus wrestled with him by skill and science, and so overcame him; before the time of Theseus size and strength only were employed in wrestling." "On our vase Theseus gets the better of his opponent by a manœuvre which every athlete would appreciate." The artistic effect is very much enhanced by the elegance thus attainable; and this substitution of skill for brute strength is characteristically Attic. (3) Next, we see Theseus in a fine dramatic attitude, preparing to smite Procrustes with his axe. Procrustes, it will be remembered, had two beds; if a long traveller came, he placed him on the short bed and lopped him till he fitted it; if a short traveller came, he put him on the long bed and stretched him. Here the bed is represented, with the usual economy of the vase-painters, by a single horizontal bar. (4) The death of Sciron. Sciron, according to the legend, "lived in Megara, a tyrant hostile to travellers. He was wont to compel passers-by to wash his feet, and then, kicking them with his foot, he sent them to be food for the tortoise (or, as we should put it, food for fishes); but Theseus, hurling him over his head and casting him into the sea, caused him to be eaten by the tortoise." Here Sciron is seated on his rock. Theseus is about to hurl at him his own washing-vase—a pleasant fancy of the vase-painter's to make the tyrant's death the more retributive. Behind the tyrant is a tree; and on the rock, looking upward with an air of expectation, is the tortoise. (5) Next comes Theseus taming the Marathonian bull. (6) The punishment of Sinis Pityokamptes (the pine-bender). It was his custom to make travellers bend down his pine-tree which, when they could not hold it, tore them up into the air. "It is amusing to see that, owing to the similarity of the types, the artist has begun to sketch in Sciron's tortoise, and then remembered, scarcely in time, that he was doing Sinis." (7) The sow of Krommyon. Theseus, sword in hand, and with his cloak worn as a shield, stands awaiting the onward rush of the sow. Beside the sow is Phaia. "Some say," writes Plutarch, "that Phaia was a robber-woman, bloody and wanton, who lived in Crommyon, but was called a sow on account of her character and life." "The attitudes of sow and woman are noticeably parallel. Moreover, every effort is made to give to the woman a rude and beast-like appearance; her hair is rough and disordered; her arms are spotted. Clearly the vase-painter halted between two opinions, whether Phaia was sow or woman; for safety he made her both" (J. E. Harrison in *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. cxv.; Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* ii. p. 57).

There are also on this case some finely modelled rhytons, *e.g.* E 786, a two-handled cup supported by heads of Silenus *and a woman* back to back.

The red-figure lekythi in the case, mainly from Sicily,

resemble the white Athenian lekythi in shape, but the execution of them is inferior. The subjects are not for the most part funereal. On many of the vases we see women pouring out wine for warriors. Others give various scenes of daily life, and are interesting for that reason. We may notice a girl seated in a chair, with head thrown back, about to catch in each hand a ball which she has tossed in the air (E 606), a boy riding (E 589), a woman holding a mirror (E 600), and a girl dancing (E 642).

We must next examine the vases in the **Wall-cases** which line the room. There are many of considerable interest in these cases, but on the whole the best vases are arranged in the table-cases which we have already examined, so that our remaining notes can be more cursory.

Cases 1-5.—**Select Athenian vases of the best period.**—Here we may notice:—

An interesting picture (E 453) of the game of **cottabos**, much in vogue at the drinking parties of young men at Athens, and often figured on vases. One of the reclining figures twirls a drinking-cup by one handle in the air; another balances the cup on his left palm. They are preparing to throw the wine at a mark (for a description of the game see p. 419). There is a similar scene in E 495. In E 455 and 456 we have sacrifices in honour of naval victories. We may also notice here two very pretty little hydriæ (E 204, 205). Both these vases are in the fine style; they are like Leighton pictures.

Cases 6-10.—**Select Athenian vases of the best period.**—Here we may notice:—

A pelikè (E 389) in a fine graceful style, showing two runners in a torch race; a hydria (E 208) in the finest minute style, with a graceful toilet scene; an amphora (E 299) in the strong style; Athena announces a naval victory—she has a spear in one hand, and in the other an *aphlastron*, the ornament for the stern end of a warship. The figure of Athena on E 324 (amphora) is interesting. "To represent the peaceful Athena later archaic art invented a new motive; the goddess takes off her helmet and holds it in her hand" (see Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 14).

Here also is a fine vase from the Tyszkiewicz collection, showing a **torch race** from the altar of Prometheus to the city of Athens, in which the prize was won by a representative of the Antiochus tribe. Another inscription gives the painter's name, Nikias. In connection with representations of torch-races on vases and other antiques, we may notice that there seem to have been two different kinds of these races, *which we may call (a)* collective and (*b*) individual respectively. (*a*) The

former kind is that referred to in Plato's famous phrase about "handing on the torch of life from one generation to another." There were lines of runners posted at intervals. The first man in each line, after lighting his torch at the altar or receiving it lighted, ran with it at full speed to the next man in the line, to whom he passed it on; the second runner similarly transmitted it to the third; and so on down the line, till the last man in the line carried it to the goal. If any torch went out, that line lost. The line of runners which first succeeded in passing its torch alight to the goal was the winner. Hence the phrase of Æschylus (*Agam.* 315): "The first runner and the last win alike." (*b*) In the other kind of race a number of runners, each with a lighted torch, started abreast, and the one who first carried his torch alight to the goal was the winner. Torch-races were held at various Athenian festivals—among others, at that of Bendis (see the interesting bas-relief, p. 248). The origin of the race is to be found in the custom of transmitting a new and holy fire from a hearth or altar where it had been kindled to other hearths or altars (Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. ii. p. 392). The starting-point was the altar of Prometheus, the fire-giver. The course at Athens passed through the Ceramicus, or quarter of the potters, to whose art fire is all-important.

Cases 11-16.—**Kylixes and kraters.**—Here we may notice:—

A spirited drawing of Dionysus mounted on his mule (E 102); athletes at the bath (E 83); one is giving another a souse from a water-jar; and a banquet of the gods (E 82). The palace of heaven is indicated by a Doric column. At the foot of the couch of Zeus sits his consort Hera; they are attended by Ganymede, the cup-bearer. On another couch is Poseidon, with Amphitritè sitting at his feet. On the other side of the handles are Ares and Aphroditè and Dionysus (attended by satyrs) with Ariadne. Very different is the scene on the next cup (E 86). Here is an old shoemaker at work in his shop, on the walls of which various shoes are hung up. With his right hand he cuts the leather with a crescent-shaped knife such as cobblers still use.

In E 125 note the head of Silenus. It is "exaggerated out of proportion, and probably intended to suggest the masks of satyric comedy."

On the bottom shelf of case 14 is a crater (E 477), which is worth noticing for its subject, the death of Procris. For Procris, being told that Cephalus was unfaithful to her, straightway believed the report, and secretly followed him to the woods, for he was a great hunter. And as she moved among the leaves she made a rustling which Cephalus mistook for the motion of some beast of the forest. He let fly the unerring dart which Procris once had given him, and she fell, smitten to the ground. Miss Harrison contrasts the old vase-painter's representation of this subject with the charming picture in the National *Gallery:* "The drawing," says Miss Harrison, "is somewhat coarse, *and the painter seems* to be struggling with a subject that is expressively

too much for him. Procris sinks in death in an odd, ill-drawn attitude; her soul escapes in the form of a bird.[1] Kephalos smites his head in despair, the dog Lailaps watches concerned. Erechtheus, the old king-father, is at hand to sympathise; the curt archaic symbolism of attitude, the utterance of mere gesture, is at fault here. The story was pregnant with modern suggestion. It had to wait, so to speak, for the delicate imagination of the Renaissance painter, Piero di Cosimo, to make us feel the contrast between the dead woman, over-sentient, passion-slain, and the shaggy faun, kindly perplexed, and the dumb, faithful dog; between the soft slack peace of the woodland and the terrible tension of humanity" (*Magazine of Art*, 1894, p. 61).

Cases 17-24.—**Black ware with gilt decorations or moulded patterns: 350-300 B.C.**—These vases, mostly from Capua, are remarkable for elegance of shape and richness of gilt ornament. In some of them the black varnish is carried to great perfection, and the gilt decorations in imitation of jewellery are well done. In this class of vases the influence of vases in metal is easily perceptible both in the shapes and in the manner of decoration.

An interesting class of vases comprises those numbered G 1-26. They are of Athenian fabric, with polychrome reliefs made separately and attached to the vase. There is much spirit in some of these reliefs; G 23, representing the seizure of Cassandra, is full of rude vigour. G 26 is curious: a drinking horn terminating in the forepart of a rearing horse.

Cases 25 and 26.—**Polychrome and moulded ware from Athens: 380-300 B.C.**—Here we may notice:—

A beautiful aryballos (E 705). The drawing is very graceful, and in the style of the Meidias vase. In the centre a nude girl wearing a belt, ear-rings, and bracelets, is about to put on a necklace. On each side of her is an Eros, raising his hand in admiration. Very graceful also is another aryballos here (E 695), though the detail is perhaps excessive; notice the Bactrian camel on which Dionysus rides, attended by an Eastern retinue—as described in the "Bacchae" of Euripides: "I have left the fields of Lydia, so rich in gold, and the lands of the Phrygians; I have crossed the burning plains of Persia, and the cities of Bactria, and the fearful land of Media, and of Arabia the Blest, and all Asia washed by the salt sea, with its strong and populous cities where Greeks and barbarians mingle together." In E 549 (an oinochoè) there is a graceful drawing of a boy crawling to a table to take some fruit. The subject on E 721 (an alabastron from Naucratis) is supposed to be the gathering of incense (a subject found

[1] Elsewhere (*Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 159) Miss Harrison interprets the bird as a siren, symbol of love and mourning.

also on the hydria from the Cyrenaica, E 241). An aryballos, a fragment of an Athenian vase, shows a marriage scene; the bride and bridegroom, Eros, and two figures with torches. This fragment is in the finest red-figure style; the head of the bridegroom is very beautiful.

Cases 27-30.—**Vases of all periods from excavations in the Cyrenaica,** mostly from the collection of the late Mr. G. Dennis, H.M. Vice-Consul at Benghazi.—Here we may notice:—

An aryballos (E 711) showing Danaè receiving in her mantle the shower of gold: gilding is used here with appropriate effect. On a hydria, in very fine style (E 228), Eros, a full-grown boy with short wavy hair and a large fan, seems to be fanning Dionysus. Behind a beautiful Mænad is Pan playing on the syrinx. He has human legs, but the older satyr above him has the legs of a goat. It is interesting to see two stages of the conception on the same vase. Above is Echo completely muffled in a voluminous mantle. Another hydria (E 230) is curious: Eros is "skinning" Aphroditè (to use the schoolboy phrase), while Silenus stands by in astonishment.

Cases 31-35.—**Athenian red-figure vases of the fifth century, excavated in the island of Rhodes.**—In Case 35, which comprises the best specimens, we may notice E 363, a pelikè, showing Thetis and a Nereid bringing new armour to Achilles. The representation of this scene is an interesting example of **humour in Greek art**:—

"Achilles is sulking and sitting immovable, wrapped closely in his mantle. His mother Thetis and her attendant Nereids arrive with his new armour. She places an arm round his neck, and while she is thus in the act of coaxing him to rise and gird himself, one of the Nereids who stands behind looking on cannot control her sense of the ridiculousness of the situation, and has to push up her hand over her face to hide the feeling" (Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, i. 17).

It must be admitted that in the earlier vase-paintings, as in other forms of early art, the humour is often unconscious. One laughs at rather than with the artist. Look, for instance, at the running frieze of Gorgons (p. 471); one is not quite sure whether this is a case of conscious humour or of unconscious grotesque. The vase-paintings of Hercules and the Erymanthian boar are, however, certainly conscious burlesques. To some cases of broad parody we have already called attention. Here we may notice the school scenes (E 171, 172). The *pupil* who faces the master is all attention; but behind the *master's back* another pupil plays with a cat. (The subject of

"Humour in Greek Art" has been illustrated from vases in a lecture by Mr. A. H. Smith to the Hellenic Society: see report in the *Times*, Feb. 27, 1902.)

Among designs remarkable for their gracefulness we may notice E 188 and E 189—a woman playing the lyre.

Cases 36-40.—**Select specimens of the best period: 440-330 B.C.**—Here also is a humorous vase (E 539). A piece of caricature drawn in a free and spirited style:—

A satyr is represented as Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides (a subject which we shall see represented in the Bronze Room). The tree is hung, not with golden apples, but with wine flasks. The snake coiled round it darts its tongue angrily at the satyr's club. The satyr strikes forward to attack in a mock-heroic attitude; he has a wine-skin suspended round his neck as a shield. Caricatures such as this were probably suggested by the satyric drama.

Among other pretty vases in these cases we may call attention to the crater (E 502); the oinochoè (E 564), a graceful drawing of the best style; the hydria (E 193), showing a woman spinning, with the distaff; Europa and the bull (E 334); and a boy riding on a galloping horse (E 337).

Cases 41 and 42.—**Athenian drinking-cups in the shapes of animals' heads and other vases.**

One of the most interesting is E 799—a one-handled cup terminating in a finely-modelled mule's head; the mouth is open and the ears are laid back, as if it were braying. Drinking-cups were often made in the form of an ass's head. There is an archaic cantharos (B 378), made in this form, and decorated with a painting of Dionysus astride his mule. The ass, as water-carrier in the East, is traditionally connected with water. Another interesting example is the drinking-cup in the form of a lion (E 796): "On the back of the lion is the handle of the rhyton and a spout, through which the liquid, perhaps oil, which it was intended to contain was poured, the outlet of the contents being a smaller aperture in the open mouth of the lion. The design of this lion seems borrowed from that of a bronze weight, and this notion is confirmed by the archaism of the modelling generally, which is especially seen in the mane. Both in the pose and in the treatment of the mane this lion is very similar to the two in marble discovered by Sir C. Fellows at Xanthus. It is in admirable condition, and executed with extreme refinement and mastery over the material. The hair is represented by five lines stippled in brown in the clay" (Newton, *Castellani Collection*, p. 3).

Among the lekythi we may notice the woman at the wash-tub (D 29); the woman with distaff and spindle (D 13); and a priestess *pouring a libation (D 23)*; a column denotes the interior of a temple;

the snake is the sacred animal which was supposed to guard the Acropolis.

Cases 43-46.—**Athenian vases of the fifth century. Scenes of daily life.**—Perhaps the most interesting vases here are, however, not Athenian, but Bœotian.

These are numbered E 813, E 814, and were found at Tanagra, where the figurines come from (Ch. XXVII.). They are doubtless of local fabric, and are almost childish in execution. In 814 Hercules is drawing water at a fountain; in 813 a woman is playing some form of the game of cottabos (p. 419). The object was to throw the wine so as to sink the duck. Another interesting drawing here is the dancing lesson on E 185. The pyxis numbered E 771 is interesting. It comes from Naucratis, and when discovered still contained some rouge, thus showing the purpose to which these toilet boxes were put.

Cases 47-51.—**Vases of Athenian fabric: 500-450 B.C. Scenes chiefly mythological.**—Here we may notice:—

In E 410 (pelikè) we see again the birth of Athena (see p. 321).

E 182 (hydria).—The birth of Erichthonius. Gaia (the earth), represented as a woman of huge proportions, is seen from the waist upwards, rising from the ground and holding the infant, who has the usual ornamental cross-belt of Athenian children. The child tears away from Gaia, and extends both hands eagerly to Athena.

E 181 (hydria).—The escape of Perseus, after cutting off the head of Medusa, which he has placed in a wallet slung at his back. Athena, who has guided him to the dwelling of the Gorgons, is also escaping.

E 390 (pelikè).—Orpheus among the Thracians. A very graceful design. Orpheus plays his lyre on a flowery hillside; the Thracian warriors are spellbound.

On another vase (Case 48), a red-figured hydria, of fine archaic style of the school of Euthymides, is represented a later moment of the scene depicted on the vase described on p. 340. Troilus and Polyxena are here in flight after the discovery of Achilles's ambush. Troilus gallops away, urging on his horse with a goad. Polyxena has left her pitcher broken on the ground with the water (coloured purple) gushing out of it (*British Museum Return* for 1899, p. 67. Bought at the Forman sale for £20, Sale Catalogue, No. 339).

E 271 (amphora).—Terpsichorè, the muse of choral dance and song, is seated on a chair playing a harp, which she holds on her lap. In front of her stands Mousaius, an early poet of legendary renown. On the left is Melousa with her flutes. The drawing is in the "large" style. "The red-figure style appears to have owed much at its commencement to the contemporary fresco-painters, and this is particularly noticeable in a class of large amphoræ where the painters have *obviously been aiming* at the largeness of manner which is associated *with the frescoes of* Polygnotus. Apart from largeness of manner the

figures on these amphoræ are actually much larger than is usual on Greek vases. Not unfrequently there is an ungainly want of freedom of movement, and a striking failure in obtaining the true and accurate proportions of the figure. The aim was to conceive a human figure of an ideal mould, transcending the ordinary type with its accuracies and its neatness: these large simple figures were the result. It was soon perceived, however, that inaccuracy in the proportions was not at all necessary to largeness of manner. Pheidias taught that in his sculpture, and the vase-painters soon learned the lesson of accuracy" (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 102). For an example of this later manner we may compare with this vase the crater 460.

Another vase in the same style as the one above discussed is E 149, a cotylè with a representation of a dancing lesson.

E 180 (hydria).—A good example of grotesque. The Gorgon has two protruding tusks and the usual protruding tongue.

E 179.—"A masterpiece of harmony and of design and outline. The single figure of Nikè is drawn with a swing and yet a simplicity of lines which combine with and assist the admirable purity and flow of the form itself" (*Catalogue of Vases*).

Cases 52-54.—**Select Greek vases: amphoræ and hydriæ, of Athenian fabric, 500-450 B.C.**—Here we may notice:—

E 382 (pelikè).—Telephus withholding Orestes from his father, Agamemnon. (Telephus had been wounded by Achilles. Having appealed in vain to Agamemnon, Telephus carried off Orestes, whom he refused to surrender.) The wounded leg of Telephus is here shown in a bandage. Orestes is shown as a fully developed boy of very diminutive size.

E 183 (hydria).—Here the design is in the finest manner. The subject, the starting of Triptolemus, has been already described (E 140, p. 365).

E 494.—These fragments of a bell-shaped crater are very interesting. The pieces of painted pottery were picked up in the early part of the century near Tarentum by Mr. Millingen, and passed into the possession of the Museum in 1846. They were pieced together, and their interpretation has been much disputed. The drawing is in the finest style. The figure of Athena on the right is of the grand Phidian type—broad-shouldered and grandly-featured. "It is interesting to note that the vase-paintings after the time of Phidias adopt for Athena the Parthenos type—the Athena such as Phidias created her, nowise inferior to the words of Homer: 'the fair maiden, grey-eyed, lofty, girt about with the ægis.' The details of the helmet alone are enough to show where the vase-painter got his idea; he has echoed the high sphinx, and even the row of animal busts on the forehead-piece." The scene perhaps represents a private sacrifice to Athena. The dignified bearded man is her priest, the boys are his acolytes. To the olive-tree are hung three little square plates, each painted with a

design. Such tablets used to be hung on trees in this way as *ex-voto* dedications to a deity—especially by vase-painters. This, therefore, may represent a thanksgiving service of some vase-painter to Athena. Notice that there is on the pillar behind the statue of an archaic figure, such as might be dedicated on such an occasion. One of the fragments is signed with the artist's name, Philoktetes (Cecil Smith in *J.H.S.* ix. p. 1; Harrison and Verrall, p. 461).

E 169 (hydria).—This fine vase shows us an incident in the story of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, king of Ethiopia. Her mother had boasted that the beauty of Andromeda exceeded that of the sea-nymphs, the Nereids; for which impiety the country of Cepheus was inundated and a sea-monster sent upon the land. To deliver his country from this calamity the gods decreed that Cepheus must sacrifice his daughter to the monster. But when she was chained to a rock in the sea Perseus rescued her and made her his wife. On this vase we see Perseus looking on at the chaining of Andromeda. A tall slim figure, she is held by two Ethiopian youths. On the right two others make a hole for the erection of posts to which Andromeda is to be fastened. The Ethiopians are all represented with the woolly hair, flat nose, and thick lips of the true Negro type. On the right is Cepheus, an old man, in an attitude of dejection. Perseus, who seems to have arrived unobserved, strikes his forehead in despair. On the left of Andromeda three Ethiopians stand, holding preparations for her toilet. One of the slaves carries on his head a stool with a cushion in like manner to that of one of the maidens on the Parthenon frieze. This vase was found in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci. The subject of the liberation of Andromeda was often selected for the sarcophagi and mirrors of Etruscan ladies on account of its relation to death (typified by that of the monster) and to the liberation of youthful beauty (S. Birch in *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 53-70, where the whole subject is fully discussed).

Cases 55-60.—**Greek vases: 440-330 B.C.**—A large number of small vases call for no particular remark; but we may notice the following interesting specimens:—

E 282 (amphora).—A very interesting vase, characteristic in its naïveté and in its treatment of literary subject. Notice how clumsily the feet are drawn compared with the rest of the figures. On one side are Andromachè and her child, on the other, Hector. Though on opposite sides, the figures are intended to form one group. The husband stands quiet and self-contained as befits a hero. The lady raises her hand for a farewell greeting, the child stretches out his arms towards his father in eagerness. According to the intention of the painter both lady and child are greeting the warrior, who, being on the opposite side of the amphora, may equally well be considered to be on the right or on the left of the pair. This device is very naïve, for it gives the appearance of the wife turning away. Is it an ordinary scene *of parting, or the* parting of Hector and Andromachè? The whole

language of Greek vases, says Professor Percy Gardner, depends on the answer. The truth probably lies between the two alternatives. As an illustration of the *Iliad* (vi. 467, etc.)—one of the most beautiful and famous passages in literature—the painting is altogether inadequate; the characteristic points are not caught. But the vase-painters seldom set themselves to illustrate poems. The design was there before the meaning, and the literary allusion was an adaptation. We may say, therefore, that this is an ordinary scene, but that the painter had the *Iliad* in his mind (see an interesting article in *J.H.S.*, ix. p. 11; on the general subject see p. 378).

E 159 (hydria).—This vase is interesting both for treatment and subject. The drawing is good. Notice, for instance, how carefully the artist has drawn the hands and feet, the nails being faithfully rendered. These are points about which many of the painters were frankly decorative or conventional. The brown inner markings on this vase are very elaborate. The subject seems to be a variation on that of maidens carrying pitchers, of which we have seen so many examples among the black-figure vases. Three athletes are carrying water from the fountain in vases like the one before us. The water runs from a lion's head of admirable execution. The next scene would doubtless be the bathing, as shown on the kylix E 83, p. 384. The dedication name on the vase—Megacles—is interesting in connection with the dating of vases (p. 360). A Megacles is known to have been ostracised in 487 B.C. (the actual record remains), and on a vase at Athens the name Megacles has been erased in consequence and another substituted (*J.H.S.* xii. 366).

E 316 (amphora).—The drawing here is fine, and the attitude of Athena is interesting. The goddess of wisdom is shown in a reflective mood: her elbow resting on her knee, and her chin on the bent fingers of her hand.

E 307 (amphora).—A curious little Athenian interior, finely drawn. A woman is looking at a monkey, who squats facing her on a high cube or box—possibly his crib—and tied by a cord.

Lastly, a red-figure kekythos from Eretria (acquired in 1899) is of special interest in connection with its "καλός" inscription. A young woman is hurrying out of an open door. "There is no indication on the vase of what or of whom she is in pursuit, but the outstretched hands would seem to imply that the desired object is not far distant. In front of her, and almost as if issuing from her lips, is the name Alcmæon, and below this the word καλός. She is probably calling out 'Alcmæon,' and thus the vase is one of those very rare instances where the subject appears to have a direct connection with the name inscribed." Possibly the picture is intended to show us a girl hurrying to write upon the wall of the Ceramicus the name of a lover: see above, p. 359 (see an article by Isabella A. Dickson in *J.H.S.* xix. 202). The name of Alcmæon has historical interest as that of the son of Megacles (see E 159 above); the family was one of the most distinguished at Athens (Herod. vi. 125).

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CHAPTER XX

THE FOURTH VASE ROOM

(Vases of the Decadence: 4th-3rd cent. B.C.)

"The multitude of figures introduced, the complexity of the composition, the inferiority and carelessness of the design, the flourish and lavishment of decoration—in a word, the absence of that chasteness and purity which gave the perfect style its chief charm, indicate these vases to belong, if not always to the period of decadence, at least to the verge of it."—WESTROPP.

IN this room are arranged the later examples of Greek vases in the red-figure style. Perhaps the best way to form a clear idea of the difference between the later and the earlier red-figure vases is to compare a conspicuous specimen of each period. Let us look, for instance, in the Third Room at the "Meidias Vase" on Pedestal IV. This is itself, as we have seen, a somewhat florid example of the best period. But the visitor will feel at once how greatly it differs from such a vase as that on Pedestal XII. in this room (F 278). At a first glance the vase here may seem the more effective; but if we examine the two vases more closely, we shall speedily observe that the work on the earlier one is far more delicate and refined. This, then, is the first characteristic of the later vases. The chief thing now aimed at by the potters and painters was splendour and general effect, rather than intrinsic beauty. First, therefore, the later vases are **larger**. Payne Knight, one of the connoisseurs to whose taste the British Museum owes many of its best antiques, had a theory that beauty and magnitude could not exist together in works of art. That is an exaggeration, but it is, as Ruskin says, one of the primal merits and decencies of Greek work, in all the arts, that it was on the whole singularly small in scale. The vase-painters of the decadence increased the size of the vases, but sacrificed, as we shall see, much beauty

in doing so. Secondly, in order to increase the general effect **colouring** was much more freely introduced. We have seen in the last room how beautifully, and yet sparingly, white and gold were used (Pedestal III., E 424). In the vases of the later period large masses of white are introduced, and yellow is copiously used for enhancing details. Simplicity and refinement give way to exaggeration and showiness. Next, it will be noticed that the **whole vase is covered** either with figures or ornaments. The neck and the handles are decorated, and floral ornaments fill all the unoccupied spaces. This is very characteristic of the later vases. We have seen how in the archaic vases (Ch. XVII.), as indeed in most early expressions of art, there was a horror of vacant spaces. Rosettes and other floral ornaments were scattered about, always in an unmeaning, and often in an incongruous fashion. Then the painters learnt the secret of selecting appropriate subjects, and of so designing them as, with suitable ornamentation, to cover adequately the surface of the vase. Now we find the old fashion returning, and ornaments strewn about for the mere sake of filling space. In the case of the best vases of the late period, such as the one before us (F 278), the general effect is undeniably fine. The vase is a blaze of decoration from head to foot, and there is some grace in the forms. But even on the best of these vases the drawing is very inferior in refinement and delicacy to the earlier work.

In some respects, however, it should be noted that there is an **advance in technical skill.** The figures are drawn in front or three-quarters, instead of only in profile; effects of perspective are sometimes introduced (F 352, p. 412); and there are attempts at shading (F 542, p. 415). On the other hand, many of the old "shorthand" conventions are continued. Landscape is represented by rocks or trees. A woman's apartment is indicated by a door-sash, a gymnasium by a pair of dumb-bells. On some of the vases the influence of painting is clearly marked; in some, as we shall see, the decorator seems to have imitated well-known pictures of the time (*e.g.* F 479, p. 417). Even, however, in the better vases of the late period the **drawing** is **careless.** In the poorer specimens it is coarse in the extreme, and the latest of the painted vases are devoid of any artistic merit whatever. "The extreme degradation to which vase-painting of this period fell, seems to be due, not so much to the general decay of the arts among the Greeks, as to the *fact that the vases* were no longer made by able artists, but

were turned out in large quantities from the hands of an uneducated class of artisans. This was probably partly owing to increasing wealth and love of display, which created a demand for gold and silver plate, rather than for the cheaper but more artistic beauty of painted clay."

To these remarks on the artistic characteristics of the vases of the decadence, a few notes may be added on their **history** and, incidentally, on the **subjects** represented upon them. It will be observed that nearly all the vases in this room came from South Italy. During the period when they were produced (400-200 B.C.), the political power of Athens was at an end, but Greek culture had spread far beyond the boundaries of Greece. Vase-painting seems to have more particularly found a home in the Greek colonies in Italy. Some of these cities, such as Tarentum—the "gay Tarentum" of Macaulay's *Lay* —surpassed the Greek cities themselves in luxury and splendour. Many of the vases here collected were produced for purposes of display in funeral rites, and the splendour of such funeral appurtenances may give us an idea of the magnificence and luxury in which the people lived. It is this gay and luxurious life which is for the most part reflected on the vases. The myths of Olympus and the legends of the Greek heroes have to a great extent disappeared. The more distinctively Attic subjects, such as the birth of Athena and the exploits of Theseus, which meet us at every turn in the second and third vase rooms, will not be found in this Italian room. Toilet scenes and **genre** motives are now the prevailing subjects, and over all is the presence of Eros, the god of love. Sometimes scenes of courtship may be intended, but more often the drawings are mere fancy pictures, like the Dresden shepherdesses of a later age. On another large class of vases the subjects are directly connected with funeral rites. Where myths are used as the subject for decoration, they are frequently taken from plays of Euripides; subjects demanding violent and emotional scenes are specially in favour. Some of the vases have subjects taken from the comic stage. The farces —scenes from which appear on some of the vases here—were very popular in South Italy. It was during the performance of one of them in Tarentum that the Greeks saw the Roman fleet entering the harbour, 302 B.C.

The **classification** of the vases in this room is explained on the printed labels to the various cases. Five main divisions

may be noted: (1) Athenian vases, numbered F 1-148. These mark the transition from the Greek to the Italian style. (2) Lucanian, F 157-187. These come from the southernmost province of Italy, now the Basilicata. These are less florid than some others, and accessory colours are rare. The designs are severe, and the heads are often very ugly, with great staring eyes. (3) Campanian, F 188-268, from Capua, Nola, etc. These vases are generally smaller than those in the next class, which they otherwise resemble. (4) Apulian, F 269-477. This, the largest class, includes the larger and more gaudy specimens already discussed. (5) Etruscan, F 478-505, very rude. A distinct class of vases are the Panathenaic amphoræ; this class is discussed lower down (p. 398).

We now proceed to examine the vases in detail. Although as a whole the vases of the decadence are less attractive than those in the Third Vase Room, yet the collection here includes some works of rare beauty, and many, as we shall find, which are of great interest from various points of view.

Case A.—**Greek vases from South Italy: chiefly of Athenian fabric, fourth century.**—Of these late Athenian vases F 1 is a characteristic specimen; on one side Dionysus and Ariadne: on the other, fair revellers. This case also includes an interesting vase (acquired in 1900), a crater of the best Greek period (end of fifth century B.C.). On one side is a representation of a boxing-match, with a judge interrupting with his rod—a necessary intervention sometimes, for prize-fights in the ancient world were often as merciless as those of later days. A figure of Victory stands by with a wreath; on a pillar are placed an oil-flask and cushion.

Pedestal I.—**Panathenaic Vase** (B 608)

This vase (found at Cervetri) is one of the series of dated Panathenaic amphoræ already referred to (p. 331). On these later vases the figure of Athena, on one side, was always treated in the old conventional style—the artist finding scope for his free drawing in the contest represented on the other side. Athena here stands between two columns. On the column behind the goddess is a little figure of Triptolemus in *his winged car (p. 365)*. This column is inscribed in Greek,

"One of the prizes from Athens." Down the other column is inscribed the name of Pythodelos, the archon. This fixes the date of the prize vase as 336 B.C. On the other side is a foot-race of armed warriors.

Pedestal II.—**Panathenaic Vase** (B 607)

This vase was found with the preceding at Cervetri, and is similarly described. The contest shown on the reverse is different, being a boxing match. In the same case is a fragment of a similar vase. This was found at Paphos in Cyprus, 1888.

Pedestal III.—**The Pandora Vase** (E 467)

On this fine crater—belonging to a late period of the art—the principal design represents the Creation of Pandora, a subject we have already discussed (see p. 372). Below this design is a chorus of comic actors dancing to the accompaniment of a flute-player. The actors are dressed in the characteristic make-up of satyrs. On the other side of the vase there is a graceful pantomimic dance of six girls, to the accompaniment of a flute-player and in the presence of a conductor. This design recalls the dancing girls on the "Knucklebone Vase" (p. 355): note especially the girl on the extreme left here, who raises both arms with the action of flying. Below is a very curious scene—a game of satyrs. Two are riding on the shoulders of two others. A mermaid and a boy-satyr, who has been trundling his hoop, are watching the games. An older satyr holds out a ball, and the mounted satyrs appear to be holding out hands to catch it. There is a representation of a similar game on a black-figure vase, which we have already noticed (B 182, p. 327). A player who failed to catch the ball was obliged to carry one who succeeded. (For a picture of this mounted game of ball as played by Egyptian women, see Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, ii. 65; see also *J.H.S.* xi. 278.)

Pedestal IV.—**The Iphigenia Vase** (F 159)

This crater is a fine example of the Lucanian style, and is *celebrated as one* of the vases in which some reminiscence

of a celebrated picture may be detected. The sacrifice of Iphigenia here depicted was the subject of a picture by Timanthes, which was much admired by ancient writers for its masterly gradations in the expression of sorrow up to Agamemnon, whose overmastering grief of a father was expressed by his covering his face and turning it away from the spectator. Subtleties of expression are not to be looked for in vase-paintings, but in other respects the design here may be a reminiscence of the picture by Timanthes.

Agamemnon, it will be remembered, had made a vow, in the year in which Iphigenia was born to him, that he would sacrifice to the gods the most beautiful being that year might produce, if they would send a favourable wind for the Grecian fleet. The wind was sent, and afterwards, when Iphigenia was grown to womanhood, her father was reminded by the priest Calchas of his vow. But as Iphigenia was led to the altar, the goddess Artemis substituted a hind and carried off the maiden in a cloud.

This story is here very poetically conceived. Iphigenia is standing at the altar ready for the sacrifice, but at her farther side is a deer on its hind legs, so as to be almost concealed from our view by the figure of Iphigenia. She in fact is represented as coalescing with the deer, her form about to vanish into its form (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 390). Behind her on a higher level is Artemis. On the reverse of the vase is a group of young men and girls. It is characteristic of the vases of this period that one side is more elaborately decorated than the other. Another peculiarity is the medallion handles, terminating in swans' heads below, and in heads of the Gorgon above.

Case B.—On the top of this case are three more **Panathenaic Vases.** Two of them are among the find made by Mr. Dennis at Teucheira in the Cyrenaica; others from the same find are on Pedestal 6 and Case E. Mr. Dennis had carried out some excavations in 1866 which had yielded little result, as most of the tombs had been rifled in previous ages. On leaving the spot he encouraged the Arabs to dig on their own account:—

"Shortly after my return to Benghazi they sent me word that they had found some vases of large size, and requested me to come back and purchase them. I started at daybreak on Christmas Eve, and toiling all day through heavy sands or heavier swamps, and under *weeping skies*, reached Teucheira at midnight, when, wet, weary, and *supperless, I threw myself* on the rocky floor of a cavern by the side

of my mare. On waking the next morning a curious sight met my eyes. The ground in front of my cave was strewed with Greek pottery, chiefly plain, black ware, among which stood conspicuous several tall painted amphoras, with smaller figured vases of other forms around them; while the Arabs who had discovered them were squatting amid their treasures, waiting patiently for me to show myself" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd series, ix. 157).

These Panathenaic vases were found just outside the wall of the ancient city, in a spot sacred to the illustrious dead who had won honour for their native place at the games—a kind of Heroes' Corner. The vases, as already explained, are pseudo-archaic. The black figures and affected quaintness imitate the art of two centuries earlier, which appears to have been retained conventionally in the case of Panathenaic vases, just as the archaic head of Athena was preserved on coins till a very late period. But the groups on the reverse side of the vases, and sometimes the decoration of the columns between which the goddess stands, show the freedom of the period to which the vase really belongs.

Many of the Panathenaic vases in European museums come, like those here shown, from the Cyrenaica. This is natural, for Cyrenè is celebrated by Pindar as a city "both excellent in beauty and glorious in the games." It was especially famous for its horses and chariots, for which most of the prizes were won. It was from the Libyans that the Greeks derived the use of the four-horsed chariot (Herod. iv. 189); and a quadriga was a favourite device on coins of Cyrenè—as on one obtained by Mr. Dennis for the Museum (iii. c. 43). The Panathenaic vases immediately before us are:—

B 611.—"One of the Athenian prizes," in the archonship of Euthycritos (328 B.C.), given for a victory in a foot-race; the runners have their left hands extended in front, their right hands behind. The figure of Athena is somewhat more elegant and correctly drawn than is usual. Instead of the concealment of the form, which in other instances is probably a mode of expressing archaism, there appears to be an effort to display the limbs. The present vase, when found by Mr. Dennis in a tomb, was crushed into 120 fragments, but has been skilfully restored to its present condition.

B 603.—This is another of the vases found by Mr. Dennis, and is the earliest of those that are dated. It was an Athenian prize in the archonship of Polyzelos (B.C. 367); the contest is here wrestling. On the other side the goddess advances as usual to strike her foes with *uplifted lance.* The eye, to be strictly in accordance with the general

archaism affected in the figure, should be shown in full face; yet it is here drawn correctly in profile. On the columns between which the goddess stands is Triptolemus in his winged car.

B 609.—This vase was found at Benghazi in 1856, on the coast of the Cyrenaica. It is an Athenian prize for a foot-race, in the archonship of Nikokrates (333 B.C.). On the columns, as in B 611, are figures of the goddess herself. The shape of this vase is peculiar. It is less full in the body, and must have been, therefore, a less valuable prize, as holding less oil.

Below these Panathenaic vases is a collection of rhytons, or **drinking-cups, moulded in the shape of animals' heads,** made in Apulia, 3rd century. Among the animals are the ram (427), the wolf (418), the cow (424), the bull (422), the bear (419), the dog (432), the sheep (428), the lion (435), the boar (430), the horse (421), the gazelle (420), the pigeon (G 175), and the mythical gryphon (433, 434). Among other quaint fancies are a seated Silenus (G 176), and a Persian squatting (G 174).

On the painted vases among this collection the favourite design is an Eros, or cupid. It is noticeable in the vases of the decadence as a whole how universally the god of love appears. No subject, whether it be mythological, Dionysiac, or *genre*, is complete without him. In the small vases here collected he is the sole subject; the type is androgynous. He is a boy, but he wears his hair in a bunch, ear-rings, necklace, bracelets, and beads (*e.g.* 427); and he carries a fan (*e.g.* 426, 434). Lastly, we may notice in this case a tiny vase, made in imitation of a Panathenaic amphora; this was found in Eretria.

Pedestal V.—**Panathenaic Vase** (B 610)

This vase, found at Capua, is another Athenian prize, in the archonship of Niketes (332 B.C.). The prows of ships on which the figure of Victory stands (on the columns) may refer to some naval victory in that year. The drawing here is in a free style with few archaisms. The subject on the reverse is the pancration (wrestling and boxing).

Pedestal VI.—**Panathenaic Vase** (B 612)

One of Mr. Dennis's finds; not dated. On the columns *are rams*—emblems, perhaps, of the obstinate pugnacity *requisite to ensure* success in the sports. The contest here

is boxing. Each combatant holds the left hand open, crossing his arm with that of his opponent; the right hand, which is kept by his side, has the fist closed:—

"The attitudes are bold and defiant. The design shows considerable mastery; the anatomical details are scratched in with a free hand. The black in these figures and elsewhere on the vase is brown, more or less verging to red. The field of the vase being unusually red, as though it had been subjected to great heat, it is probable that the brownness arises from the deficiency of colouring matter, and that the potter endeavoured to remedy the paleness by baking the vase longer than usual" (Dennis, as quoted above, p. 169).

Pedestal VII.—**The Europa Vase** (F 184)

On this fine amphora, in the Lucanian style, is a subject which has attracted artists in all ages—the rape of Europa:—

Zeus—so the story ran—enamoured of Europa, a Phœnician princess, transformed himself into a white bull, and mingled with her father's herd, whilst she was gathering flowers in the meadows. Struck by the beauty and gentleness of the beast, she caressed him and mounted on his back. Thus did Zeus cross the sea and carry her in safety to Crete to be his bride.

Here we see Europa riding the bull across the sea. Her mantle, as Tennyson describes, is "from off her shoulder backwards borne," while one hand grasps "the mild bull's golden horn." The god of love hovers above. To the left, on the sea-shore, is Zeus himself, who there appears alike as spectator and in his transformation as actor (so described in Duruy's *Histoire des Grecs*, i. 218, where the vase is figured; but see the passage next quoted). It is interesting to notice the variety of expedients whereby the sea is represented. "First, the swimming action of the bull suggests the idea of the liquid medium through which he moves. Behind him stands Nereus, his staff held perpendicularly in his hand; the top of his staff comes nearly to the level of the bull's back, and is probably meant as the measure of the whole depth of the sea. Towards the surface line thus indicated a dolphin is rising; in the middle depth is another dolphin; below a shrimp (? lobster) and a cuttle-fish, and the bottom is indicated by a jagged line of rocks on which are two echini" (Newton in *Stones of Venice*, vol. *i. app. 21*).

Pedestal VIII.—**The Persephonè Vase** (F 277)

Here we have an earlier episode in the beautiful myth of Persephonè, of which the later stages came before us in the rooms of Greek sculpture. Pluto is driving his chariot at full speed; he turns to look at Persephonè, who is at his side, and draws her mantle over her face as a veil. Hermes, the divine messenger, runs beside the chariot. In front is Hecatè, holding out a flaming torch. White dots indicate the ground. On the neck of the vase is a head of Aura, the nymph of the breeze, resting on the calyx of a flower from which luxuriant tendrils and blossoms branch out on either side. On the other side of the vase is a combat with centaurs. This crater in the Apulian style comes from Naples.

Case C.—**Vases of Etruscan make, painted in imitation of Greek vases: third century.**—The coarse style of these Etruscan imitations is unmistakable. The black glaze is imperfect; the clay, a dull yellow; the style, dry and lifeless; and the drawing, helpless. The whole has the repulsive and disagreeable effect which is often conveyed by Etruscan art (*Catalogue of Vases*, vol. iv.). The first vase (F 480) is typical. The subject is the suicide of Ajax; it is treated with ludicrous thoroughness. The hero has fallen on his sword, which comes out through his body. It is the sort of suicide one sees in a pantomime. The vase at the other end of the case (F 490) is comically childish in the drawing; perhaps it was the work of a barbarian potter.

Case D.—**Vases made in Lucania and Campania in imitation of Greek vases of the best period: fourth century.**—The vases on the upper shelf, from Campania, with twisted handles, are copies of Nolan amphoræ. Those below are Lucanian. Notice in F 179 the mask hanging from the vine. This was a custom of rural life, as we know from Virgil. Some of the masks used for this purpose are exhibited in the Græco-Roman basement (p. 81).

Pedestal IX.—**A Funeral Vase** (F 284)

This large crater, with medallion handles, is in the gaudy *Apulian style*, and, like so many of the Apulian vases, is of a

sepulchral character. The type is frequently found—the subject being a **Heroon,** or shrine devoted to the worship of an ancestor or a family. In the entrance a young man stands by the side of his horse which paws the ground. The shrine is painted white to represent marble, and the young man with the horse is white also—an intimation that the painter intends to represent a statue. A horse is often introduced, as we have seen, on sepulchral reliefs, to mark the pursuits or standing of the deceased. On either side of the shrine are figures with offerings and libations. Presumably, therefore, designs such as the one before us represent the worship of the dead. On the reverse of this vase are offerings at a tomb.

Pedestal X.—**The Hippolytus Vase** (F 279)

This vase is of interest as the only painting which has come down to us of the story of Hippolytus—a story which is familiar to every one, if not from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, at least from the *Phèdre* of Racine, and of which (says Pausanias) "even a barbarian has heard if he knows Greek":—

Hippolytus, son of Theseus by Hippolytè the Amazon queen, was devoted to the chaste service of the huntress Artemis :—

> My hands are holy ; therefore, O my Queen,
> Accept this chaplet for thy golden hair.
> Thou my companion art ; I talk with thee
> And hear thy voice, though seeing not thy face.

Hippolytus, in his icy purity, worshipped not at the shrine of Aphroditè, but Phædra, wife of Theseus, conceived a passion for her step-son. When her offers were rejected she falsely accused him of unlawful passion for her. Unable to convince his father of his innocence Hippolytus was banished from Athens. As he passed in his chariot along the sea-coast, a huge bull sent out of the sea by Poseidon so terrified the horses that they overturned the chariot and Hippolytus was killed.

Here we see Hippolytus driving at full speed two white and two yellow horses. They have not yet entirely broken from control, but the bull is already rising from the sea, while at the horses' heads a Fury with flaming torch goads them to madness. The aged tutor stretches out his arm to warn Hippolytus of the impending calamity. Above are ranged a group of the deities to whom Euripides makes Hippolytus appeal when compelled to leave *his father's city*—Pan, Apollo, Athena, Aphroditè (with

Eros), and Poseidon. But the gods are neither pleased nor moved; they are "careless of mankind." It is possible that this design may be a reminiscence of a picture by Antiphilus, which is described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 114). On the reverse of the vase, offerings at a shrine. On the neck a female head on a large purple flower, which spreads out into tendrils and blossoms on either side. This form of decoration is characteristic of the Apulian vases. The vase rests on a bronze stand.

Pedestal XI.—**The Lycurgus Vase** (F 271)

The principal subject on this Apulian crater is the madness of Lycurgus:—

> Lycurgus was a king of Thrace who persecuted the worshippers of Dionysus; for which impiety the king was stricken with madness, and when he would have cut down a vine-tree, he slew his own wife and sons.

Here Lycurgus, represented with shaggy hair and beard, brandishes a double-edged axe to slay his wife. To the left a young man and the old tutor are in attitudes of remonstrance and despair. To the right a man and a woman in Thracian costume are bearing off one of the mad king's sons; his head has fallen back, his arm hangs down, and blood flows from a wound in his breast. Above is an altar on which a sacrifice is burning, and various gods are looking on. To the left one of the Furies, with snakes coiled round her arms, is flying downwards. Though the theme is tragic, there is an element, conscious or otherwise, of comedy. The aspect of Lycurgus and several other of the characters is decidedly quaint. Dr. Murray sees in Italian vases of this kind the influence of the stage of the time (there was a play on the subject of Lycurgus): they "reflect an honest and infatuated effort to revive the old tragedies" (*J.H.S.* xi. 228). On the reverse of this vase is the story of Pelops and Myrtilus. This subject is described later on (p. 416).

Case E.—On the top of this case are three more of the **Panathenaic Vases**, brought by Mr. Dennis from the *Cyrenaica*:—

B 605.—This vase is of special interest for the blazon on the shield of Athena, representing Harmodius and Aristogiton. The two patriots are shown with drawn weapons rushing to attack the tyrant Hipparchus. The conspirators chose the Panathenaic festival for their daring deed; so this device is particularly appropriate on a Panathenaic vase. The design is one of several known copies of the famous sculptured group at Athens, by Critius and Nesiotes. It will be observed that the drawing is free and spirited—as also is that of the two athletes on the other side of the vase. But the figure of Athena is as usual quaint and archaic. The head is most disproportionately small, and the skirt is unbroken by a single fold: it stands out in straight lines as little influenced by the form beneath as a modern crinoline. But by an anachronism the painter has represented the cloak as hanging over the skirt in easy folds. The cocks which surmount the columns are also archaic: they often figure on vases of this kind,—as symbols, perhaps, of hard contests and loud victories (Dennis, as quoted above, p. 172).

B 604.—On each column here is Triptolemus. His attitude is very graceful as he sits, half-draped, holding out some ears of corn in one hand, while he rests his other elbow on his car, the upraised wings of which form an elegant background to the picture. Beside one column is the inscription, "One of the prizes from Athens"; beside the other, the painter's signature, Kittos. On the reverse of the vase the pancration. One athlete has succeeded in getting the other's head under his arm, while the latter revenges himself by seizing his foe by the hair.

B 606.—The figure of Athena here resembles that on B 605; notice on the bottom of the skirt two rows of mæander pattern, between which is a curious row of little figures dancing. This vase was a prize in a chariot race. A chariot, on the reverse, is being driven at full speed: the foremost horse has one foot advanced beyond a white column, which represents the goal. "The charioteer, bareheaded, holds the reins in his left hand and a long goad in his right. His attitude and expression are indicative of his eagerness, as well as of the rapid pace, for his hair and beard are blown back by the breeze, and he crouches down in the car, kneeling against the splash-board, as if to present as little resistance as possible to the wind. The horses are well formed, with erect crests, heads finely shaped and well set on, and eyes and nostrils full of fire—apt illustrations of the ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι (the horses with high-arching necks) of Homer. They may be deficient in variety of action, yet among similar groups, often depicted on ancient Greek vases, I do not remember to have seen one more correctly drawn, and more full of life and spirit. They wear collars and head-stalls studded with white" (Dennis, as quoted above, p. 175).

In the table-case below is a collection of **vases and fragments of black glazed ware with moulded designs and figures in relief**; of Greek and Italian manufacture, fourth to *third century*. The vases are of three kinds: (1) South Italian

vases, mostly of the **askos** shape (numbered G 27-86). The body of these vases is in the shape of a lamp, but they have spouts, and were probably used as lamp-feeders. On the top is a moulded relief—generally only a mask of Dionysus or a Gorgon's head. A few other subjects may be noticed :—

G 42 (reproduced at p. 108 of the *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, vol. i.).—Dionysus seated on a rock ; a figure which slightly resembles the attitude of "Theseus" on the Parthenon.

G 48.—Orestes at Delphi. He defends himself with a sword against a snake which darts out upon him, perhaps indicating the presence of an Erinnys. His left arm is placed round the omphalos, which is covered with fillets (*Cat. of Vases*, iv. 245).

G 51.—Eos in a chariot rushing out of the waves.

(2) A more interesting class of vases, here represented by a few perfect specimens and many fragments, is represented by the numbers G 96-117. These are **bowls called Megarian,** because they have mostly been found at Megara, thus showing that in Greece, as in South Italy, the tendency of the time was to supplant painted vases by moulded. "A red clay is employed in their production, which, by means of firing at an excessive heat or the application of black varnish, often assumes a black quasi-metallic appearance." Reliefs are stamped or moulded round the outside, the subjects being mostly scenes in the Trojan war, from the dramas of Euripides and other sources. In this connection reference has been made to the story told of Nero by Suetonius. On the day preceding his murder and in surprise at the news of the revolt of the army, which had been brought to him at dinner, he upset a table with two favourite bowls, which he called Homeric because of the subjects embossed upon them. It is suggested that they must have been of this kind ; hence the "Megarian" bowls are sometimes called "Homeric." The most interesting of the bowls here are G 103 (Hercules with Augè on his knee, see Pausanias, viii. 4. 6), and G 104 and 105. Both of these latter are, curiously enough, illustrations of the same play by Euripides—the *Phœnissæ*. For the interpretation of G 105 see *Classical Review*, ii. 327. The scenes depicted on G 104 illustrate Euripides' version of the Theban story as told in the *Phœnissæ*, and the vase itself is said to have come from Thebes. The scholar will find it interesting to make out the passages *from the play* illustrated on the vase ; they are set forth in the *Classical Review*, viii. 325. But the general visitor will

probably be content to take the statement on trust, especially as the artistic merit of the vase is very small. The treatment of the drapery is of the rudest kind, and the modelling is confused: Antigone, for instance, "might but for the inscription well be taken for a bearded man" (*Cl. Rev.*). Another vase of the same kind has been found which illustrates the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. The number of vases of the later time which refer to plays by Euripides is a striking proof of the popularity which that dramatist enjoyed throughout the Greek world in the third century.

(3) A third group of specimens (G 118-150) are **dishes called Calenian**, because mostly found at Cales. They are like the Megarian bowls, but are shallower; and the reliefs, instead of being round the outside, are medallions in the centre or friezes round the interior. The subjects on the fragments are often repeated, showing that the same moulds were used many times over. The most interesting specimens in the Museum are G 118 and 119. These are duplicates from the same mould (G 119 being the less sharply executed). In the collection of ancient silver, there are two silver dishes, embossed with almost identical patterns (see p. 596). The subject is the apotheosis of Hercules in four groups, each with a Victory driving a chariot (for a further description, see Murray's *Archæology*, p. 108). The close resemblance of the silver dishes confirms the general belief that the black ware before us had been a substitute among poorer people for the vases of silver which only wealthy men could possess. In this connection the saucers numbered G 121, 122 are very interesting. They are ornamented with medallions which are impressions of famous Syracusan coins, the decadrachms with the head of Persephonè. It is suggested that these saucers were imitations of silver ones, in which an actual silver coin was inset. On some of the pieces in this case there are the names of Roman potters or Roman owners (*e.g.* G 127 is inscribed C. Atilius and G 132 C. Gabinius); and on one fragment (G 125) there is a representation of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.

These vases, therefore, probably date from about 200 B.C., and were continued in use down to imperial times, when they were superseded by the red moulded ware known as Samian (see Ch. XXVIII.).

Pedestal XII.—**A Trojan Vase** (F 278)

This crater, from Apulia, is the largest in the collection; in that respect as in others it is characteristic of the vases of the decadence. It is richly coloured. It is covered with decoration of one kind or another from head to foot; notice that even below the Gorgons on the handles there are decorative figures. It is also essentially theatrical in effect. The architectural arrangement, with a statue in the centre; the elaborately embroidered draperies, the gorgeous tiaras, the dramatic action: all these things reflect the influence of the theatrical representations of the time. The body of the vase is divided by a rich band. The principal subjects both above and below are taken from the tale of Troy. Above there are two groups: on the left Ajax and Cassandra, the daughter of King Priam; she has fallen at the feet of the statue of Athena, to whom she appeals with outstretched arms. On the right King Menelaus of Sparta encounters his wife, the beautiful Helen, whose elopement with Paris had caused the war. Helen escapes his wrath, and grasps the statue of Aphroditè. Below there are again two groups. On the left the aged queen, Hecuba, wards off a blow aimed at her by a Greek. On the right the death of King Priam. He kneels at a statue of Zeus, and endeavours to thrust off Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who is thus avenging his father's death. The gods on Mount Olympus are seated above.

Pedestal XIII.—**A Trojan Vase** (F 160)

This crater, in the Lucanian style, also has scenes from the capture of Troy. There is a good deal of grace and even of expression in the drawing. In the centre is the altar of Athena. Ajax is about to seize Cassandra; the vase from which she has vainly poured a libation to the goddess lies fallen beneath the altar. To the left is her sister Polyxena, who has fallen at the feet of the statue. Odysseus stretches out his hand towards her. Queen Hecuba retreats in terror. Above her, a line of dots indicates a distant eminence, and here we see the aged Anchises escaping with his grandson, Ascanius, the son of Æneas, and the supposed ancestor of *the Roman* people; the child looks up wonderingly at his *grandfather who,* with tottering steps and leaning on his staff,

leads him away. A tree laden with fruit divides the group from the rest of the subject. Beyond the tree is a beautiful representation of Athena seated. The protectress of the Greeks, she appears unmoved by the sufferings of the Trojans, and rests triumphant at the conclusion of the war. A column behind her representing the temple is decorated with beads.

On the reverse of the vase is the departure of a warrior; this group also contains some very graceful figures.

Pedestal XIV.—**The Phædra Vase** (F 272)

On this Apulian crater there is a double row of scenes on each side. On the upper scene of the side fronting us, the subject is supposed to be the love-sickness of Phædra, as described by Euripides in the *Hippolytus* (cf. the mirror-case in the Bronze Room, No. 289, p. 445). Phædra sits on a stool to the right, and leans forward, with head drooped to one side, clasping her right knee thrown over the other. A servant, with troubled air, stands behind. An Eros, with immense wings, flies towards her. The other figures are presumably also attendants. (For a discussion of this vase in relation to Euripides, see J. H. Huddilston's *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-Paintings*, pp. 102-107.) The subject below is the familiar rape of the brides by the Centaurs at the wedding-feast of Perithous, king of the Lapithæ. Rich colours and ornaments are employed to enhance the scene. Notice the wine pail which has fallen on the ground during the disturbance. On the reverse is a Dionysiac group in two rows.

Case F.—**Kraters** (mixing bowls), **chiefly of Athenian fabric, from South Italy: fourth century.**—The following designs are noticeable:—

F 69.—On one side Thetis and the Nereids conveying the armour of Achilles across the sea, indicated by an irregular line of wave pattern, above which are four prickly white fish, swimming, and white strokes representing spray.

F 59.—A torch-race: see the Tyszkiewicz vase, p. 383.

F 66.—Victory leads a bull to the altar, placing a wreath on its head. The priest raises his knife to slay the victim. Behind stands a maiden carrying vessels, resembling those which are carried before the victims in the Parthenon frieze (see Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 23). The drawing and composition on this vase are worthy of notice.

F 492.—A curious design. Twelve female heads in profile; below, nine more heads. Perhaps a group of family portraits. The design recalls a picture of a similar subject in the National Gallery: No. 779, by Ambrogio Borgognone.

We now proceed to examine the wall-cases, beginning on the north side of the door from the Third Vase Room.

Cases 1-5.—**Greek vases made at Athens or in South Italy** (420-350 B.C.), including several moulded in the form of human figures or divinities. Among this latter class is one of the most beautiful of all the minor antiquities in the Museum:—

E 716.—Cup moulded in the form of the head of Athena. This vase is distinguished by that grand style which we see not only on statues and bas-reliefs but on some of the mirror-cases, terra-cottas, and coins. Mr. Cecil Smith, from whose description I quote below, sees in it a free rendering of a Phidian original, made at Athens about 430 B.C. It offers in its colouring an interesting and beautiful illustration in miniature of the general effect produced by statues in ivory and gold:—

"The vase is modelled entirely in the round, and the modelling is fresh and crisp. The treatment of the hair is highly plastic and original. Starting from each side of a central parting, this falls around the face in a series of wavy twisted ringlets, each one of which is separately modelled and terminates in a projecting point worked almost entirely in the round; these locks entirely obscure the ears, and hang on each side of the neck down to the shoulders. The whole effect is that of a mass of twisting snakes, of which the flow and movement serve as a striking foil to the dignified and almost dreamy repose of the goddess's features. The general aspect, before the colours had faded, of this calm ivory face against the background of rebellious locks bordered by the shell-like vermilion edge of the hood, must have produced a charming combination of effect. . . . The characteristic snaky treatment of the hair, which in male heads may be compared with the portrait bust of Pericles, is rarely found on female heads: the nearest analogy is perhaps the beautiful series of Syracusan coins, especially the tetradrachm (see III. C. 31, p. 522) by Eukleides" (*J.H.S.* xv. 184). These coins were, as Furtwängler has shown (*Masterpieces*, p. 107), of Attic-Phidian origin. On coins, vases, terra-cottas, and bronzes alike, the Phidian ideal may be seen. "The great creations of the brilliant Attic period are like suns, each the centre of a multitude of smaller stars, on which they pour light and life. The art of Athens in the fifth century was as far-reaching and widespread as her empire." A photogravure of this vase forms the frontispiece to Mr. Lang's translation of the Homeric Hymns.

G 1.—This choice and bizarre wine-jug was found in one of the *tombs of Vulci.* It has a double handle, the lower one for pouring,

the upper for carrying. Notice the elaborate ear-rings on the head of Athena; they are in the form of winged female figures surmounted by rosettes; the necklace is formed of pendants; the whole has been coloured, and the ear-rings gilded. "The design of this graceful freak is bold and original, the modelling excellent, and much taste is shown in the application of the ornaments. It is further interesting from the correspondence in form of the jewels with those found in Etruscan tombs" (Dennis, *Cities of Etruria*, i. 465).

F 107 (lekythos).—The subject here is an unusual one—the infant Hercules suckled by Hera (Paus. ix. 25, 2). It is interesting to note that the act of suckling—the commonest of all motives in Christian art—was avoided by the Greek artists, and is very rare in ancient art.

In the Cases 3-5 there are some curious fancies. F 417 is a rhyton, in which the cup is supported by a moulded group representing a negro struggling with a crocodile. On F 101 there is a drawing of a girl playing with a tortoise which she holds out, by a string tied to its hind leg, to a spaniel. In G 178 the upper part which formed the drinking-cup is broken away. The lower part is in the form of a pigmy with grotesque features; he carries a dead crane on his left shoulder. G 19 and 7 are pretty.

F 108 is a characteristic example of the love scenes which were so popular in the vases of the decadence. Aphroditè is on the lap of Adonis. There is a female figure with a fan such as we see on the Tanagra figurines, and behind the chair is Eros pouring ointment from a vase over Adonis.

Cases 6, 7.—**Greek vases about 400 B.C., chiefly made at Athens and imported to Italy.**—A good many of the vases here collected are very roughly painted. A better style is seen on F 156 (hydria), which is in the style of Assteas, who is supposed to have lived at Pæstum, and whose work somewhat resembled that of Meidias.

Cases 8-13.—**Greek vases about 400 B.C., made at Athens or in South Italy under Athenian influence.**—The influence of the best Greek vase-painters is still in some degree visible. The following are among the more interesting subjects represented:—

F 185 (hydria), Perseus and Andromeda (cf. 390).—Cepheus, the king, is seated on an embroidered cushion above the level of the ground, as if in mid-air, his feet resting on a stool. Perseus stands before him. Andromeda is between two columns, to each of which one of her arms is fastened.

E 485.—Very quaint; a riding lesson.

F 56 (crater).—This is one of the vases in which the influence referred to above is conspicuous. The figure of the youthful Dionysus shows considerable grace.

F 155 (hydria).—In the style of Assteas; wanting in refinement, but vigorous. The subject is supposed to be taken from the *Oineus*, a lost play by Euripides. Agrios (so inscribed) has been placed for execution on an altar, beneath which rises the Erinnys, or Avenging Fury, a black figure with white wings and snakes coiled about her. King Oineus, prepared to inflict punishment, stretches out his hand to the culprit.

Cases 14-18.—**Greek vases made for funereal purposes in South Italy.**—The most usual subject is offerings at a tomb—of the type which we have already discussed (Pedestal 9). A good example among those in these cases is F 352, which in subject and drawing seems to have been influenced by Attic sepulchral reliefs of the fourth century. The central group here somewhat resembles that on the Glykylla relief (p. 240). The beams of the ceiling and the metopes are indicated in rude perspective. The surrounding figures and accessories are scattered about the vase with considerable decorative effect.

Cases 19-23.—The vases here collected are mostly of the same kind as in the preceding cases. There is, however, one very celebrated vase of a different kind:—

F 147 (crater).—This vase, in the style of Assteas, is the only known work of **Python**, by whom it is signed. The principal subject is probably taken from the lost drama of *Alcmena* by Euripides, and represents her salvation by Zeus. Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, was mother of Hercules. When Amphitryon returned from the wars she claimed Zeus as the father of the child, for which infidelity Amphitryon revenged himself by placing Alcmena on a funeral pyre to be burnt. But Zeus sent down rain from heaven to quench the flames, and Alcmena was saved. Here we see Alcmena seated on the pyre, to which Amphitryon and his friend Antenor set fire by means of torches. Alcmena appeals with outstretched arms to Zeus, who has hurled down two thunderbolts, and is now sending a tempest of rain. This is indicated by a rainbow banded in different colour, enclosing a black space thickly dotted by drops of rain and by two rain-nymphs or Hyades pouring down streams of water from vases. Facing Zeus is Eos, whose presence denotes that the scene occurs in the morning. It should be noted that the garments of the Hyades, which are distinctly crimson, are spotted in white lines of dots, which again indicate drops of rain. The artist shows us, as is so often the case in vase-paintings, a sequence of events. Thus (1) Alcmena takes sanctuary and implores divine protection, while (2) her husband, calmly setting light to a pyre which will consume her, is not yet alarmed by (3) the thunder, which —*as if a moment* later—suspends the action of his abettor Antenor, *and preludes (4) a* downfall from the drenching clouds which assures

the rescue. "We may recognise a sequence of feelings even in Alcmena. Her arm is extended, and her fingers stretch in excited supplication; but her countenance is rather expressive of recognition of the presence and interposition of Zeus." This vase, long celebrated as one of the treasures of the Carlisle collection at Castle Howard, was acquired for the Museum in 1890. It had been broken in ancient times and mended with lead (Murray's *Archæology*, pp. 72, 105; and in *J.H.S.* xi. 225; W. Watkiss Lloyd in *Classical Review*, v. 242). The hydria (F 193), which stands on the same shelf, is another version of the same subject, but by an inferior artist.

F 194 (amphora).—Dionysus, in the form of a bull, bringing back his mother Semelè from Hell. Above is a window at which is seen a female form painted white, muffled in drapery. Such figures occur on Greek sepulchral reliefs and are suggestive of the under-world. The resurrection of Semelè is one of the beautiful nature-myths of the Greeks which, in a secondary sense, became invested for them with spiritual significance. "The power of Semelè and Dionysus is distinguished from that of Ceres and Triptolemus, as the fruitful sun and rain on the rocks, giving the miracle of juice in the vine, are distinguished from the nourishing strength of the dark soil ploughed for corn." Dionysus is thus a god of vegetation and is identified with one aspect of the spring, which season he brings with them. He is thus conceived of as rising again, or as bringing his mother with him from the under-world. The bull (in which the spirit of corn was personified) is associated with him; in rending and devouring a live bull at his festival, worshippers believed that they were eating his flesh and drinking his blood. In myths such as this the Greeks came to find the consolations of the belief in immortality. Plutarch, writing to console his wife on the death of their infant daughter, comforts her with the thought of the immortality of the soul as revealed in the myth of Dionysus (Ruskin's *Catalogue of the Standard Series*, p. 25; Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1890), i. 325; ii. 38, 43).

Cases 24, 25.—**Vases of the fourth to third century, made in Campania.**—These are mostly of somewhat coarse workmanship; contrast, for instance, the "Aphroditè on a Swan" here (F 240), with the same subject as treated by the vase-painters of the best time (p. 373). One or two interesting subjects should not escape attention:—

F 223 (hydria).—A girl seated on a rock; Eros holds a magic wheel in both hands by a string. The wheel is often mentioned in classical literature as an instrument of magic. Simætha in the second idyl of Theocritus endeavours by such means to regain the lost affections of her lover, and explains the significance of the wheel:—

> And swiftly as this brazen wheel whirls round,
> May Aphroditè whirl him to my door.
> Turn, magic wheel, draw homeward him I love.

F 500 (hydria).—A quaint illustration of the popular subject, the flight of Perseus, after beheading the Gorgon Medusa. He holds the head by the hair, with eyes closed; on the right is the decapitated body, sitting.

F 218 (hydria).—A representation of Scylla; very interesting as an example of the way in which Greek artists toned down any literary legend that was too horrid for presentation. Homer described Scylla and Charybdis in terms of hideous grotesque. But in the design before us, all repulsive details are omitted. "Scylla is woman-shaped to the waist; she ends in a finely-curved fish's tail. Below her waist projects the head of a fish; this fish has a long snout, with teeth jutting out, and horns. Scylla herself holds in one hand an oar, in the other a cuttle-fish. We remember that it was her wont to 'fish, groping round the rocks for dolphins or sea-dogs, or whatso greater beast she may anywhere take.' We see at once that there is no attempt to copy the Homeric picture; if the artist remembered at all the horrid details of the poet, he at once rejects such as are unfit for his purpose. That purpose was to paint on a vase a beautiful design" (Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 186).

Cases 26, 27.—**Fish plates.**—These plates from Campania have a hollow in the centre, and are painted with fish of various kinds—*e.g.* perch (266), mullet (263), bream (260). It is supposed that they were used for eating fish, the centre serving for sauce. Or they may have been hung up as votive offerings by fishermen in temples of Poseidon, at seaport towns.

Cases 28, 29.—More **Campanian vases.**—Curious subjects here are:—

F 220 (hydria).—A girl has a pair of scales in which she is weighing rival loves. A youth leaning on a staff watches the result of the trial.

F 232.—A female tumbler turning a somersault. In Xenophon's *Banquet* (ii. 7) a female acrobat is introduced, and among other performances she threw somersaults backwards and forwards several times in the midst of swords.

Cases 32-36.—**Vases of black glazed ware,** with subjects painted in opaque colours, or moulded in relief; probably made at Tarentum. The subjects are mostly decorative, and are of little interest. Some of the vases resemble metal (*e.g.* G 95). G 34 and 35 might be mistaken for black teapots.

Cases 37-41.—**Vases of black glazed ware.**—Those here *collected represent* the latest stages of vase-painting, and are

for the most part very poor and rough in workmanship. One interesting subject occurs :—

F 579 (lekythos).—A winged Eros with female headgear and bracelet is arranging a cottabos-stand. (For a description of the game, see p. 419.)

Cases 44, 45.—**Vases with designs painted in opaque red on black ground.**—These recall the vases which we have already noticed (in Room II.) as transitional between the black- and red-figure styles (p. 315). The figures, instead of being left in the red of the clay, are painted in opaque red on an engobe or slip (of pipe-clay) applied to the black glaze with which the whole vase is covered, while the details are rendered, as on black-figure vases, with incised lines. The following vase is specially noteworthy :—

F 542 (phialè).—In a medallion with an arabesque border, Ganymede, or a young huntsman, is seated, with two spears, and a dog. The figure is finely modelled, and the drawing is remarkable from the attempt to show the roundness of the limbs by means of shading by hatched lines, and by the use of white colour to indicate the high lights. The style is that of the frescoes at Pompeii.

The following vase, like a few others, is of a different kind :—

F 508.—Archaistic. The technique, though not the decoration, is an imitation of early Greek vases (see Room I.) of 800-600 B.C. The vase has two upright mouths, one forming a strainer, with handle between.

Cases 46-49. — **Lucanian and Apulian vases.** — The costumes are frequently characteristic of the native races, but the style of decoration and the subjects are Greek. We may notice :—

F 173.—Achilles slaying Lycaon (*Iliad*, xxi. 1-118). "The figures are somewhat youthful and effeminate in appearance, as is not infrequent on Lucanian vases."

F 174.—"A very graceful figure of a female pouring wine into a cup held by a young warrior who stands beside his horse. Another young warrior with long hair holds his spear and rests one hand on his shield, which has the device of a star. The composition and drawing are simple and very beautiful. The costumes are characteristic of Lucania" (Horner's *Greek Vases*, p. 114).

Cases 50-59.—**Vases in the florid style,** exhibiting a great variety of shapes and a limited choice of subjects, repre-

senting the later stage of Apulian work: third century. The subjects are mainly love scenes and toilet scenes. No. 308 (Case 53) may be taken as a type, with its scenes of love-making, toilet, and miscellaneous pets, and other animals (including a duck and a cat). In Case 54 there are two larger and more important vases:—

F 331 (amphora).—The principal subject on this fine vase is the wooing of Hippodameia. Œnomaus, king of Elis, was informed by the oracle that his death would be caused by the man who should wed his daughter Hippodameia. Wherefore the king, being a mighty man in his chariot, refused to marry his daughter to any suitor who should not first outstrip him in a chariot race from Elis to the isthmus of Corinth. Many suitors had been vanquished and put to death by Œnomaus, when Pelops, son of Tantalus, presented himself. Pelops bribed the charioteer of the king, Myrtilus, who gave to his master an old chariot. The axle-tree broke on the course; Œnomaus was killed; Pelops married Hippodameia and succeeded to the kingdom. Here we see Pelops and Œnomaus meeting. On the left is Sterope, wife of the king; she holds a palm fan, and looks back at her daughter Hippodameia, whom she leads forward. The king's daughter is richly attired, wearing a tiara, necklace, and bracelets. On the other side is Myrtilus, moving stealthily away; he has the victor's crown in his hand. Beyond him is Aphroditè; in her left hand she holds a string attached to a magic wheel (see above, p. 413). She holds up two fingers, as if conversing with Eros, who hovers above. The scene apparently takes place before the palace of Œnomaus, represented by the sword hanging up, and by the two heads, which are those of former suitors slain by the king.

F 332 (amphora).—A scene in Hades: probably Hermes about to conduct Persephonè back to the upper world. Pluto, king of the infernal regions, is seated on a throne. Persephonè stands before him. On the right is Hermes, who extends a finger to Pluto, as if addressing him. On the left is Aphroditè with a parasol. The vase-painter is little concerned to give local colour; a sunshade is carried even in the shades.

An Apulian amphora, recently acquired (see *British Museum Return* for 1900, p. 66), has a Euripidean subject—the vengeance of Hecuba, the outcast queen of Troy, for the murder of her son, Polydorus, by his false Thracian host, King Polymestor. The scene (which is doubtless borrowed from the stage and corresponds to the *Hecuba* of Euripides, 1035 ff.), represents the re-appearance of Polymestor, after he had been blinded by Hecuba. "In the middle stands the helpless king, his arms extended in a distressed manner. He is dressed in a short, embroidered chiton and a mantle, and wears a tall headgear that indicates his barbarian *nationality*. Agamemnon is on the left with his sceptre. On the

right are Hecuba and an attendant. The latter places her arm over Hecuba's shoulder and seems to be comforting her, as she shrinks away from the figure in the centre. Her walking-stick is suggestive of the queen's age and of the wandering life which she is entering" (J. H. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-Paintings*, p. 99).

Cases 60-65.—**Vases from South Italy; subjects from daily life or Dionysiac legends: fourth century.**—We may note as curious :—

F 123.—A girl in a swing which is propelled by a Cupid.

He.—The gold is swung, the silver is swung, and swung, too, is my love with the golden hair.

She.—Who is it that swings me? that I may gild him with my favour, that I may work him a fez all covered with pearls. (From a modern Greek swing-festival: Bent's *Cyclades*, p. 5.)

F 274 (crater).—Artemis mounted on a deer rides quickly, her train floating in the wind.

Cases 66, 67.—**Vases from South Italy; subjects from Greek mythology: about 300 B.C.**—Here there are some interesting vases :—

F 479.—"A very fine crater from Civita Castellana, the ancient Falerii. This vase appears to be an imitation of an Athenian fabric. The design is drawn with a fine brush or pencil in thick dark colour, the inner parts being largely painted white. Below the designs is a band of palmettes, of a type which occurs nowhere else." The subject —the infant Hercules strangling the snakes—is also of special interest. "In the centre on the ground are two little nude figures; these are Hercules and his brother Iphicles as children. Two serpents had entered the chamber where they were sleeping, and Hercules gave promise of his future prowess by strangling them. Iphicles meanwhile is terrified, and his old nurse stoops down to rescue him. On the right is Athena with a dove—the usual offering for purification after child-birth. Other gods are present. Above Athena is Dionysus, and facing the nurse Apollo Ismenius (to indicate the locality, Thebes). On the left are Hermes and Artemis. Enthroned above is Zeus, and beside him, Alcmena, the mother of Hercules. She throws her arm round his neck and points vigorously with her right hand down to the infants. But Zeus merely turns his head and looks into her face. This composition is of special interest because it agrees very well with the description given by Pliny (*N.H.* xxxv. 63) of a picture by the famous Greek painter, Zeuxis." *Magnificus est et Jupiter in throno adstantibus diis et Hercules infans dracones strangulans Alcmena matre coram pavente et Amphitryone.* (He also painted a superb Zeus, enthroned amid the assembled gods, with the infant Hercules strangling

the snakes in the presence of his trembling mother, Alcmena, and of Amphitryon.)[1] Zeuxis was for a time resident in the south of Italy and presented a picture called Alcmena to the town of Agrigentum. The painter of this South Italian vase may, therefore, have himself seen the picture or some copy from it (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 376, and in *Classical Review*, ii. 327).

F 270 (crater).—The subject here is supposed to be Orpheus initiating a youth into the Samothracian mysteries (a form of Cabiric worship, see p. 335). The youth is accompanied by his tutor. Orpheus, leaning on his staff, holds back Cerberus by a chain. The three-headed guardian of Hades is painted white with purple collars. Behind Orpheus is his wife Eurydicè, as if waiting to be conducted back to the upper world. Above are Pan, Hermes, Eros, and Aphroditè, answering to the four Cabiric dieties (see *J.H.S.* xiii. 85).

F 157.—Dolon, a Trojan, famous for his swiftness, being sent by Hector to spy out the Grecian camp, was seized by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Iliad*, x. 314). His capture by them is the subject on this vase; the element of grotesque is here again strongly marked.

Cases 68-72.—The last cases in this room are of special interest, as they contain several **vases with subjects taken from the comic stage.** These throw much interesting light on the Greek drama. Greek comedy arose, as is well known, from the phallic rites which were performed at the festivals of Dionysus; and even on the Attic stage a good deal of coarseness and indecency survived. In the comic performances among the Italian Greeks, and especially the φλύακες or farces, these elements were yet more marked. The make-up of the comic actors included not only ridiculous masks, but, as will be seen on several of these vases, grotesque paddings of the body in front and behind. Types of the comic actor with these protuberances, and with protruding lips and snub nose, may be seen on the vases numbered 124, 289, 233. The actor on F 99 is made up as Hercules (see the *Frogs*, 549). As examples of burlesques upon old legends, we may notice the following vases:—

F 269 (crater).—Contest of Ares and Hephæstus in the presence of Hera. Ares is fighting to free his mother, but in vain. Hera is not caricatured at all, but both the gods wear the breeches and tunic of a stage buffoon, retaining, however, their proper headgear: Ares, the helmet; Hephæstus, the smith's shaggy cap. It will be noticed that

[1] There is no Amphitryon here, nor is it easy to see where the husband *of Alcmena* would have come in. Another vase has now been found with *the same subject*. It is in the Etruscan Museum at Florence.

the scene takes place on a stage, in front of which hang two wreaths, and which is approached by six steps. There are similar stages shown on other vases (*e.g.* 189, 151). These vases have therefore an important bearing on the revolutionary hypothesis recently started by Dr. Dörpfeld, that in the Greek theatre there was no raised stage and that the performance took place on the level of the orchestra (see the discussion in Haigh's *Attic Theatre*).

F 151 (crater).—A parody of the myth of Chiron, the centaur, cured of blindness by Apollo. The stage is approached by four steps, on one of which stands the slave Xanthias, who has preceded Chiron and now helps his master up. The hinder part of Chiron is formed by a slave pushing from behind. His eyes are closed to indicate blindness. Behind him is a youth, perhaps Achilles, the centaur's pupil. On the right, in a cave above, are two hideous nymphs seated in conversation (the reference may be to Pausanias, v. 5. 10).

F 366.—Burlesque of the stealing of the Palladion from the Temple of Athena at Troy. The figure of the goddess, painted white to represent a statue, is being carried off by Ulysses, who is accompanied by Diomed.

We may next notice **scenes from ordinary comedies**—comedies of a somewhat broad and boisterous character, it would seem:—

F 188 (crater).—Dionysus holds out some fruit to a comic actor who is dancing before him as if intoxicated. On his head he balances a large basket. Dionysus raises his right hand as if to prevent the basket from falling. The representation of drunkenness has in all ages been a favourite motive on the comic stage.

F 189 (crater).—Scene from a farce: perhaps a father dragging a drunken youth home from a debauch.

F 150 (crater).—An old man visits a lady at night. He presents her with fruit as an offering (as in Theocritus, iii. 10), while a companion stands by with a torch to light him. The lady is bedecked with jewellery and embroidery to receive her visitor, and even the wall is adorned with wreaths in his honour (see Wright's *History of Caricature*).

Lastly, we may notice some vases which are collected in the last case to illustrate **the game of cottabos**—a game which was imported from Sicily and became a favourite diversion at drinking-parties in Athens and other Greek cities. We have seen several illustrations of the game already (*e.g.* E 453, p. 383; F 579, p. 415), and some general remarks on the subject may now be of interest:—

The cottabos-player had to throw with force and dexterity a small quantity of wine, either the dregs of his cup or wine specially poured in for the purpose, in such a way that the bulk of it struck full and

with an audible clash or clatter against a mark. For a successful stroke, it was essential both to hit the mark and to produce a loud clashing noise. The prizes at the ordinary game consisted of eggs, sweetmeats, etc. Often, however, the game was erotic. The player called out the name of his mistress, and the sound produced by his throw was considered an oracle of love; a good hit indicating reciprocal affection and a feeble sound the contrary. Thus in F 579 Love is himself represented as arranging the cottabos apparatus. The game was played in various ways, which we may roughly summarise as (*a*) without special apparatus, and (*b*) with. (*a*) In the former case, the wine was either thrown into a metal basin, so as to produce a clashing noise, or a large bowl was filled with water in which saucers were made to float, and the object was to hit the saucer. (*b*) The nature of the special apparatus employed in cottabos-playing has been made clear by discoveries in recent years. A cottabos-stand was found in a tomb below the public promenade at Perugia, and this discovery caused other bronze stands, which had been previously taken for candelabra, to be similarly identified. One of these stands, found at Naucratis, is now in the British Museum (Bronze Room, Case 8, No. 2559). A disk of bronze was delicately balanced on the pointed top of a bronze rod rising from a supporting tripod. Some distance lower down on the same rod there rested a much larger disk. The part to be aimed at was the upper disk, which, when hit at the proper point, fell down on to the larger disk below, and thus caused a clashing noise:—

"The game of kottabos, as I have sketched it, will probably be considered to be a very dull and childish one, unworthy of the subtle wits and refined taste of the Athenians at a time when the greatest masterpieces in art and literature were produced. Originating, as it appears to have done, in a primitive drinking custom, which required the guests to throw away the dregs of their cups at or beyond a distant line traced on the ground, or, as Mr. Murray has suggested to me, in a drunken game of trying to put out the light on a tall lampstand, it had probably attained to great refinements of play in its later developments, requiring much skill of hand and sureness of aim. . . . The senseless expenditure of wine at kottabos would be thought a monstrous extravagance according to modern notions, but it must not be forgotten that wine was a very cheap commodity in Greece, and that the Greeks drank it very largely diluted in water" (Alfred Higgins in *Archæologia*, li. p. 383).

With regard to the representation of the game on vases, it should be noticed that some of the cottabos-vases have funereal scenes on the reverse. In a tomb at Perugia, adjoining the one in which a cottabos-stand was found, a warrior was buried with his dice. The idea, therefore, may have been that the game of cottabos would enliven the shadowy realm of Hades. In later vases it is the gods, not mortals, who are represented as "cottabising." It was a game, thought the Athenians, worthy of the banquets of the gods.

Thus in the vases immediately before us, F 275 shows

the youthful Dionysus on a couch holding out a small white kylix by one finger inserted in the handle, as if about to throw the cottabos. On F 273 Ariadne is similarly employed; by the side of her couch is a twisted cottabos-stand. On F 37 is another banquet scene with a similar stand.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE BRONZE ROOM

"*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera* (others may beat out more tenderly the breathing brass)."—VIRGIL, OF THE GREEKS.

The stone that breathes and struggles,
The brass that seems to speak,
Such cunning they who dwell on high
Have given unto the Greek.
MACAULAY.

IN this room is a large collection of Greek and Roman articles made of bronze—most of them, objects of art; some, only of utility. It will be convenient to examine the bronzes in various categories:—(1) statues, (2) statuettes, (3) reliefs, mirrors, etc., (4) lamps, candelabra and vases, (5) instruments, implements, utensils, etc., (6) armour, (7) inscriptions.[1]

BRONZE STATUES

The early Greek sculptors appear to have executed their work in bronze and other metals by hammering out plates in relief, and then fastening them on to a wooden model. Pausanias describes a certain image of Supreme Zeus as "the oldest bronze image in existence. For it is not made in one piece, but the parts have been hammered separately, then fitted to each other, and fastened with nails to keep them together. They say that the image was made by Clearchus of Rhegium, and some say that Clearchus was a pupil of

[1] The *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan*, by H. B. Walters, issued by the Trustees (30s.), may be borrowed from the attendant. An attractive companion to study in the Bronze Room is Dr. A. S. Murray's work on *Greek Bronzes*, illustrated from specimens in the Museum (*Portfolio Monograph*, 5s.).

Dædalus himself" (iii. 17. 6). An example of the method thus described by Pausanias is the bronze bust, from the Polledrara tomb, now in our Etruscan collection (p. 476). The invention of hollow casting, in which the metal is kept to a given thickness by an inner core of sand, though practised at an earlier period in Egypt, is attributed by Greek writers to the Samian artists, Rhoecus and Theodorus; for they, says Pausanias (viii. 14. 8; x. 38. 6), "were the first who discovered the art of founding bronze to perfection and the first who cast it in a mould." In the earlier days, he adds, men "did not know how to make bronze images in a single piece as they might weave a garment." The date of these Samian artists is supposed to have been about 580-540 B.C. Great artistic advance became possible when images, woven (as it were) in a single piece, could be reproduced from the sculptor's work in clay. As the art was perfected, the thickness of the metal in the cast was reduced to the minimum consistent with strength and durability. By tooling and chasing of the cast the artistic effect was enhanced, and the images were sometimes inlaid with silver, while various precious stones, or vitreous pastes, were employed to give lustre to the eyes. All the great artists worked in bronze; for colossal statues in particular bronze had no rival, and some sculptors—Lysippus, for instance—used no other material. The bronze consisted of about 75 per cent of copper with an alloy of zinc, tin, lead, or silver. Vast numbers of bronze statues by ancient sculptors are known to us from literary records, but very few have survived. The reason for this is obvious:—

"Bronze decays under influences which do not affect marble, and the intrinsic value of this metal has caused thousands of statues to be melted down, which, had they been in marble, might have been disinterred, and even reconstructed out of many fragments, like the statue of Mausolus. Thus the great works in bronze of Pheidias and Scopas, fused in the mints of barbaric conquerors, must have furnished the coin by which their mercenaries were paid, and, for aught we know, may still be circulating in the copper currencies of the Eastern world. The disappearance of the Greek masterpieces in bronze is almost as much to be deplored as the loss of their paintings. Neither the bronzes of Herculaneum nor the Roman copies in marble of bronze *chefs-d'œuvre* which may here and there be detected in sculpture galleries, give us more than a feeble and inadequate idea of . . . what the style of bronze statuary in the great age was like" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 402).

The only complete statue here (on Pedestal 6) is the **Apollo** (828) from Zifteh, in the Egyptian Delta. This is a late work (about 100 B.C.)—an imitation, according to Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 353), of an original work by Euphranor. "The eyes gaze straight in front of them, the hair is very individual." The loose curls are made separately and put on. The legs are restored.

In a finer style is the right **leg of a statue** (No. 265 on Pedestal 5), wearing a greave on which is a Gorgon's head in relief. With it were found fragments of inlaid drapery now exhibited beside it. There has been much discussion as to the attitude of the statue to which the leg belonged. Was it an armed soldier running, or a hero mounting a chariot, or a Mars? The leg itself—with the muscles carefully marked, even a vein being shown—has been much praised. It is, says Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A., "a unique specimen of the acme of Greek art":—

"To the artist the interest of this magnificent fragment lies in its being of unsurpassed workmanship, and of that culminating period of art when, having freed itself from the archaism which hampered expression, it still retains that severity of style which shows that the idea to be expressed is still the dominant one in the mind of the artist, and that the study of beauty and the utmost skill of workmanship were still to him the means to an end: the means, that is to say, of glorifying to the highest point the subject on which he was engaged. . . . Vigour and elegance of line, firmness of form, complete expression of all the subtleties of life and movement, yet with no insistence on trivialities of detail, perfect symmetry of proportion, and, as I have said, workmanship of unsurpassed beauty, are all combined in this superb fragment, which seems to me second to nothing which the Museum already possesses. The finish is that of a gem or a coin, while the largeness of treatment is such that it might have been hewn with an axe, and the play of the muscles is as full of spring and elasticity as life itself—the heel alone seems to me a masterpiece. The surface, moreover, of this bronze is in the most perfect condition; I should like to think that it never had more polish than we now see on it; the texture is wonderfully like that of the living epidermis" (*J.H.S.* vii. pp. 189-193).

This leg was found in Southern Italy, and was purchased from a shoemaker. "An examination of the surface reveals," says Dr. Murray, "a large number of spots where the sculptor has removed flaws from the bronze, replacing them by very *thin oblong pieces of* bronze, reminding us of the very careful

finishing of bronze statues suggested by the picture on a Greek vase in Berlin, where we see the sculptors at work. It would appear as if the ancient sculptors had left much more to be done at that stage than is the custom in modern times" (*Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 279).

A magnificent fragment of a bronze statue is the **head of Aphroditè** (266) in the centre of the room (Pedestal 1). This is one of the most beautiful and majestic of Greek works in bronze which have come down to us.[1] With it was found a hand holding an end of drapery (in Case 45). The head evidently belonged to a statue, and some have sought to connect it with the Cnidian Aphroditè of Praxiteles. Others see in it an example in bronze of the same majestic style that distinguishes the period of Phidias:—

"The lips, slightly parted, seem to breathe. The nose, like that of some of Leonardo da Vinci's types, is rather wide between the eyes; the forehead is low, but not wanting in majesty; the hair flows in deeply-channeled curves. Those who have studied Greek art feel at once that we have here one of those finely-balanced ideal types in which the ancient sculptor sought to blend superhuman majesty with a beauty so real and lifelike that the whole conception of the work is kept, as it were, within the pale of human sympathy, and the religious impression, which was the main purpose of Greek art [in the best time], is enhanced, not impaired, by the sensuous charm. The first impression, in short, produced by this bronze head is that of majestic, godlike beauty, simple, but not too severe, with just enough of expression to give the face a human interest, and make us feel that the conception is a product of a human imagination inspired by a divine theme, of a mortal striving to body forth his idea of the immortal. . . . It comes nearer to our conception of the work of a great master than any bronze yet discovered; we learn from it more than from any other extant bronze what perfect mastery the ancient sculptor attained over this material, how in his plastic hands it became as clay in the hands of the potter, so that in gazing at the form we forget the material and the absence of colour, and think only of the life which a master spirit has evoked out of the ductile metal" (Newton, *Castellani Collection*, pl. i., and *Essays*, p. 400).

The late Sir Frederic Burton also wrote an enthusiastic appreciation of this bronze. Among other elements of beauty in the work, Burton calls attention to the absence of strict symmetry as assisting the impression of life:—

[1] The recently recovered "Hermes of Cythera" will perhaps bear away the *palm, but it is a work of a later school.*

"The horizontal lines of the features are not always at right angles with the vertical line, nor precisely parallel with each other. The right brow is rather lower than the left, the right nostril rather higher than its companion. The sculptor had to deal with the rigid stone and metal; to inspire these with the sense of vitality and mobility, which in real organised bodies is reached by means beyond his power. In the body and limbs the difficulty was conquerable to him by the slightest variation in the action of the opposing members. But to the godlike countenance, the epitome of the outward expression of humanity, he had to give life and intelligence by the *suggestion* or play of the features which, within due limits, is not inconsistent with the most sublime serenity, and is, moreover, in harmony with those laws by which nature acts upon our perceptions and emotions. Nature herself undoubtedly *seems* to aim at symmetry in all organised forms as well in plants as in animated beings; but happily for our sense of beauty she never quite reaches her goal. In those human countenances which approach most nearly to absolute regularity there is a limit which, if once surpassed, leaves us wearied with a sense of 'statuesqueness' such as nobody can long endure. We are not, indeed, without statuesque statues, but they are not to be sought amongst the noblest Greek works which time has left us. . . . It is instructive to compare this head with the Hypnos (p. 433), the Homer (p. 433), and the splendid portrait bust from Cyrene (p. 432), and all three consummate works in their kind. The mode of using the bronze in these several works for the expression of character and texture shows the capabilities of that material in hands which know how to master it. The diversity of treatment is chiefly observable in the hair: in the lank thin locks of the aged poet; in the crisp close curls of the Cyrenean; in the silky flaccidity of the hair of the sleep-god, which seems one with the downy noiseless owl's wing springing from his temple; finally, in the living, elastic waves, which are kept in check by the diadem that encircles the brow of our goddess" (*Portfolio*, 1873, pp. 130-132).

This beautiful fragment was found at Satala, near Erzingân, in Armenia, by a Turkish Bey, who forwarded it to a friend of his, a police official at Constantinople. He sold it to a Greek vendor of antiquities, from whose possession it passed into that of a Levantine attached to the British Consulate. From him Castellani obtained it, and at last, after these wanderings, it found a home in our Museum, being purchased with other antiquities from Castellani in 1873. Erzingân was in ancient times the site of a famous shrine of Anahit, the Armenian Aphroditè:—

> There, in a gilded carven place,
> Queen Venus' semblance stood, more fair
> Than women who that day did bear,

And yet a marvel for the life
Wherewith its brazen limbs were rife.
Not in that country was she wrought,
Or in those days; she had been brought
From a fair city far away,
Ruined e'en then for many a day.

Oh, cold and brazen goodlihead,
How lookest thou on those that live?
Thou who, tales say, was wont to strive
On earth, in heaven, and 'neath the earth,
To map all in thy net of mirth,
And drag them down to misery. . . .

(William Morris's *Earthly Paradise;* "The Ring given to Venus," quoted by Mrs. Wherry in her *Greek Sculpture with Story and Song*, p. 268.) It should be remembered that the Greeks filled the eyes of their bronze heads with glass-paste or ivory or precious stones. In the loss of these the eyes are represented to us not positively by lustre but negatively by deep shadow. "When the eyes are blank," says Æschylus, "all the love is gone" (*Agam.* 409).

Another general remark may be made. Most of the bronzes which have come down to us have, from lying so long in the earth, acquired a covering of what is technically called a **patina**, which is generally some shade of green, though sometimes also nearly blue, and at other times drab. Differences of soil and of the alloy account for the differences of colour. This *patina antiqua* has been greatly admired by connoisseurs; so true is it, as Millais used to say, that "time is one of the greatest of old masters."[1] But in imagining how Greek bronzes looked in their original state we must remove the discolorations of time. In the clear atmosphere

[1] Modern chemistry has, however, invented various processes for producing this effect of time upon bronze, and connoisseurs should be on the alert accordingly. Not even the most learned, says the late Count Tyszkiewicz, are safe. "Formerly the false patina was *applied*, if one may use the word, to the bronze, and only a beginner could fall into the snare. But now a patina can be produced identical to that of the action of time. The High Priest of this species of swindling is a Roman well known to all collectors on the banks of the Tiber. Belonging by birth to a family of chemists, and a clever chemist himself, he has invented a method of imparting to bronze every kind of known patina, from the beautiful smooth and brilliant sort that is blue or green to the rough patina that is produced by the soil of Rome or the bed of the river"

of Greece bronze statues would have had a resplendence of which those familiar to us in murky London give no idea.

BRONZE STATUETTES

Though ancient bronze statues have for the most part disappeared from the world, the excavation of tombs, temples, and buried cities has yielded a very large number of **statuettes.** The output of statuettes must have been enormous. Some were probably executed from the models of great artists; others by minor craftsmen. They seem to have had various uses. They served as images for worship, as votive offerings, as charms, or were designed simply for the ornamentation of dwellings. They "stood as ornaments on the tops of candelabra, were affixed to vases, formed stands of mirrors, and possibly also were often kept apart in small shrines, such as the Sacrarium represented at Pompeii; serving, in fact, as household gods." It is related of Alexander the Great that he carried about with him on his campaigns a bronze statuette of Hercules by his favourite sculptor, Lysippus; and similar stories are told of Sulla, Nero, and Hadrian. The variety of subjects in the statuettes which have come down to us is infinite—as may be seen by anybody who takes a general glance round this room—ranging from the gods of Olympus to incidents of daily life and the humblest animals. Statuettes were often buried in tombs together with other objects which were used in the funeral ceremonies or which the dead man valued in life, and to this fact the preservation of so many of them is due. There are several hundreds of statuettes in this room. We can notice only a few of the more beautiful or interesting:—

On the farthest pedestal (No. 2), on the east or right side of the room, are **select Greek statuettes,** mostly of the **archaic** period (sixth century). Especially noteworthy here is a beautiful statuette of a female figure (192)—sometimes called Minerva (see p. 444)—standing on its ancient pedestal:—

(*Memories of an Old Collector*, ch. xiii., where will be found some further particulars of this ingenious industry, together with some hints on the detection of such forgeries). There is, however, reason for thinking that *the ancient* sculptors sometimes produced a patina themselves by artificial *means (see Mr. H. B.* Walters's *Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. xxxv.).

This is remarkable in two respects. First, the drapery is ornamented down the front with a mæander border inlaid with silver—an equivalent, in the case of a bronze, to the bright colours with which the border of draperies were often painted in statues. Secondly, in the pupil of each eye is set a small diamond. Looked at in the proper light, the eyes are thus seen to flash and sparkle. This use of diamonds is probably unique in Hellenic art. In ancient times it was considered impossible to cut or polish the true diamond on account of its excessive hardness. Here minute crystals of diamonds are fixed in the pupil of the eye, giving a wonderful look of life and spirit. The crystals are so minute, that without a close inspection they might easily pass unnoticed. Though there is a certain archaic stiffness and formality in the pose, the face has animation and even beauty. With her left hand she draws up her skirt by the embroidered border. Her right hand, now wanting, probably held a flower. "There was much exquisiteness among the Greek women of those days. Satisfied with their own beauty and the perfection of their dress, they liked to dally with a flower in the hand, as if a flower were obviously the one thing best suited to them." This beautiful statuette, which belongs to the sixth century B.C., was found at Verona (Newton's *Castellani Collection*, pl. ii.; Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, i. 169, and *Greek Bronzes*, p. 28; Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, p. 131).

Another statuette here, though in itself very stiff and ungainly, has some historical interest. This is the **Apollo of Miletus** (219):—

We are told that Darius, when he sacked the town of Miletus in 494 B.C., carried off from a neighbouring temple a bronze statue of Apollo, the work of a Greek sculptor, Canachus. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, when Persia was conquered by the Macedonians, the statue was returned to Miletus, and thereafter appears on the coinage of that town, where it is represented as an archaic statue of Apollo holding out a fawn in his right hand. As Pliny also describes the Apollo of Canachus as holding a stag, there can be little doubt that this statuette was copied from that work. In some respects the copy is probably incorrect. The shortness and slightness of the thighs, for instance, in comparison with the lower part of the legs, which adds greatly to the ungainliness of the figure, is a glaring fault which need not be attributed to Canachus. In other respects it enables us to form some idea of that sculptor's style, of which Cicero said, "Who of us does not know that the statues of Canachus are too rigid to be true to nature?" The statuette should be compared with the early Apollo statues which we have already seen (p. 115), and also with a gem, No. 720 (Case 13, Row *c*). The god holds out a fawn as a symbol, for he was among other things a god of the chase. A fillet binds his hair, which in front is arranged in two rows of curls, while long locks fall on both his shoulders. He is so described in the Homeric Hymn:

"The god was like unto a man full of sap and vigour in all the brilliancy of young manhood; and over his broad shoulders streamed his loosèd locks." The same manner of dressing the hair is shown in the marble statue No. 8 in Archaic Room. (Elaborate discussions of this statuette will be found in Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, pp. 10-15; and Frazer's *Pausanias*, iv. pp. 429-431.)

Another statuette which well shows the archaic manner is the **Hercules** with outstretched arm (212)—characterised by an expression of physical energy side by side with spareness and sinewiness of form.

In the later style of Phidias are the **Athena Parthenos** (1051) and the Athena Promachos (191). The former should be compared with the marble statuettes already discussed (p. 188). The latter, which comes from Athens, and is a production of the best period of art, is of special interest as being in all probability derived from the original by Phidias. His **Athena Promachos** (or the "Champion") was a colossal bronze statue erected as a monument of the victory of Marathon. It stood on the Acropolis (see plan in the Elgin Room), and Pausanias tells us that the point of the goddess's spear and the crest of her helmet could be seen from ships approaching Athens from Cape Sunium. The general effect of the statuette before us is appropriate to the conception of the goddess as a fighter in the vanguard. She wears a less elaborate helmet than in the Parthenon statuettes. On the ægis on her breast is the Gorgon's head.

A rare type is that of **Athena as the goddess of health** (1055), in which capacity she was worshipped from early times on the Acropolis (see Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. 281); the base of a statue dedicated to her is still *in situ* in front of the Propylæa (figured in Harrison and Verrall, p. 389). The statue was, according to Plutarch, closely connected with the building. "While it was in process," he says, "one of the most skilful and hard-working of the masons lost his footing and fell down. He lay dangerously ill, and the doctors gave him up. Pericles was in despair, when the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and prescribed a remedy, by using which he easily cured the mason, and in consequence of this he set up a statue of Athena Hygieia on the Acropolis near to the altar which, as they say, was there before." Our statuette may *give us the type*. The goddess holds in her right hand a serpent,

at which she looks down. With regard to the technique of this bronze, Mr. Walters writes as follows:—

"At first sight the figure appears to belong to a good period of art and to be a piece of genuine Greek workmanship. This is due chiefly to the treatment of the drapery, which is no doubt a reminiscence of the Phidian period. But the face is far inferior, and has no pretensions to merit or beauty, except for the quaintly pensive air which characterises it. Again, the helmet is not Greek, but Roman in type. It is distinguished from all Greek varieties of helmet by the projecting beam which goes all round it, and the low crest which, instead of falling clear behind, tails off into the helmet just above the brim" (*J.H.S.* 1899, p. 165).

The serpent was connected in popular belief with the healing art, and as such appears coiled round a staff as the regular symbol of Æsculapius. Among all nations serpents are believed to be gifted with a knowledge of the plants that can revive the dead. We have already noticed a Greek vase on which Polyeidus the seer, having killed a serpent, observed another approach the dead one and restore it to life by means of a certain herb (D 5, p. 358). Mr. Frazer collects similar tales and beliefs from all parts of the world (see his *Pausanias*, iii. 66). The ancients explained the connection of the serpent with Æsculapius by saying that it is the natural symbol of the healing art, since it periodically renews itself by sloughing off the old skin (as represented on a terra-cotta bas-relief, see p. 555).

In the same case we may notice a statuette of a **nude male figure** (213), a figure to which Dr. Murray desires to give prominence, because "among the vast number of statuettes in the Museum it is almost unique in the closeness with which it approaches the youths of the Parthenon frieze in its proportions and in the inclination of the head and rendering of bodily forms" (*Greek Sculpture*, i. 316; *Greek Bronzes*, p. 49).

In the same case are two notable **mirrors**. No. 242, found in a tomb at Sunium, is supported by Aphroditè, who holds a dove in her right hand, and two figures of Eros. The execution is very good, and the whole work is in the best style. Another mirror of the finest workmanship is No. 303, from the Castellani collection.

In Case B, which we will next examine, are statuettes of a larger size. Among the most important is a figure of the *satyr* ***Marsyas*** *(269)*, found at Patras in the course of some

drainage works by a French company. This is of interest as reproducing (though in a later style) an original by Myron (see p. 49), among whose works Pliny mentions a satyr in wonder at the flutes and Athena.

According to the myth Athena invented the flutes, but threw them away on finding that they disfigured her face. They were picked up by Marsyas, who, after learning to play them, had the rashness to challenge Apollo and his lyre, and was flayed for his presumption.[1] A relief on a marble vase found at Athens depicts Marsyas and Athena, in a group as described above, and it is probable that this statuette belonged to a similar group. Marsyas in that case would be in the act of starting back in amazement when Athena threw the flutes to the ground. The action of the figure is thus very effective. Myron, as we have seen (p. 49), was successful in the choice of effective moments. It is the momentary pause which follows the start that is here chosen by the sculptor, just as in the Discobolus he has chosen the momentary pause that precedes the violent motion. It is an attitude which seems to be almost a challenge to Polycleitus and his Diadumenos, as much as to say, "If you wish the arms of a statue to be raised, raise them under some strong impulse like this, and not merely to fasten a diadem" (Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 52; E. Gardner's *Greek Sculpture*, p. 240).

The **Philosopher** (848) is a very fine head; the quality of reflectiveness is nobly expressed. This bronze was found in dredging the harbour of Brindisi. The **Silenus Kistophoros** (284)—Silenus carrying a basket on his head—served as the base of a candelabrum.

The **portrait head**, from Cyrenè (268), is a most interesting example of ancient portraiture in bronze:—

"The type of the features is African, and this head may represent some king of Numidia. It was probably part of a statue, as it was found in the Temple of Apollo at Cyrenè. The eyes have been formed of vitreous pastes, inlaid portions of which still remain in the sockets.

[1] Dr. Murray, in a letter published by Ruskin (*Fors Clavigera*, 1877, p. 363), has ingeniously interpreted the punishment of Marsyas as the drying up of the river, whose "stony channel in the sun" so often, in Greece and Italy, mocks us with the memory of sweet waters in the drought of summer. "It is to be observed," says Dr. Murray, "that Marsyas was a river-god, who made the first flute from the reeds of his own river, and thus he would represent the music of flowing water, and of wind in the reeds. Apollo was the god of the music of animate nature; the time of his supremacy was summer. The time when Marsyas had it *all his own way* was winter. In summer his stream was dried up, and, as *the myth says*, he was flayed alive."

The eyelashes are indicated by indented lines. The lips are formed of a separate piece of bronze, the junction of which may be traced along the edge of the lip. It is probable that the lips were covered with a thin coat of brass, which served to distinguish their colour from that of the face. The hair and beard are finished with great care, and at the same time with masterly breadth of treatment" (Newton, *Guide to the Bronze Room*, p. 49).

Next comes a very beautiful **winged head of Hypnos** (sleep), 267, believed to be an original Greek masterpiece: ascribed by some to Praxiteles (Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 259), by others to Scopas (Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 396). One of the most beautiful works in the collection :—

The left wing is missing. The god of sleep is represented as floating (as Shelley describes)—

O'er city, and sea, and land,
Touching all with thine opiate wand.

Notice "the just observation of nature which has made the wings those of a night-hawk, which moves without noise. It was an observation of Homer's first of all." It was another happy inspiration of the artist to place the wings on the head instead of on the shoulders, as in the earlier representations of Hypnos. "Among mankind it is a general habit in lying down to sleep to rest the temples on the hollow of the hand. Ancient artists had observed this habit. The next step would be to assign the temples as specially the seat of sleep, and to attach to them the silently moving wings of a night-bird" (Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 20). There is a beautiful expression of quiet grace upon the broad face of the god, and the hair is treated with great refinement. This bronze was found in 1856 in a river-bed near Civitella d'Arna, an ancient city four miles from Perugia (see Dennis's *Etruria*, ii. 425).

The **Youthful Bacchus** (1326), found at Pompeii, and purchased by Payne Knight in a broker's shop in London, is in excellent preservation. In the **head of a boy** (850) notice the funny little top-knot of hair. The **head of a poet** (847) has been long celebrated as one of the finest bronzes extant. The expression of the features is admirably rendered :—

"The head was brought from Constantinople at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for the collection of the Earl of Arundel. It afterwards came into the possession of Dr. Mead, at whose sale in 1755 it was purchased by the Earl of Exeter for presentation to the British Museum. The head is crowned with a narrow diadem, and, being inclined forwards, it probably belonged to a sitting figure, holding a volume in his hand. *The head has* been called that of Homer, but on a comparison

with the accepted type of Homer, it will be found that the nose in this head is larger and sharper, the cheeks not so hollow, and the countenance less benign" (*Description of the Ancient Marbles*, vol. ii. pl. 39).

The **Meleager** (1453)—formerly in the Pulsky collection—is very spirited.

In the angles of this case are two **bronze tablets inscribed** with interesting state documents. On one of these (262) is a law passed by the Hypocnemidian or Eastern Locrians, regulating the status of certain colonists proceeding to Naupactus, a town of the Ozolian Locrians (near the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth):—

"The document provides with great care for the religious privileges of the colonists when at home; defines and restricts their liability to taxation; arranges for the enforcement of debts due to the colony in the mother country; provides for succession to property in the colony by heirs in the mother country, and *vice versa*, and makes various arrangements as to procedure. The date of the tablet must be previous to 455 B.C. It was found at Galaxidi, a town not far from Chaleion, which is mentioned at the end of the document as sending out a band of colonists subject to the same conditions" (*Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1899, p. 134).

The other tablet (263) is inscribed with a treaty which marks a stage in the progress of civilised states. The treaty is between two cities of Locris, Oianthè and Chaleion, and the tablet was found on the site of the former city (the modern Galaxidi):—

"The treaty restricts the practice of reprisals as between citizens of the two states. In the absence of a special treaty, it was necessary for the citizen of one state who conceived that he had a claim on the citizen of another, to enforce it by a physical seizure of his property or person. The treaty provides, reciprocally, for the substitution of a judicial process for the primitive method of reprisal so far as concerned seizures by land or in harbour, and at the same time appoints penalties for violations of the treaty" (*ibid.* p. 134).

On the other hand, the treaty provides that it shall be lawful for the citizens of both states to commit piracy anywhere except within their own or their ally's harbours:—

"The date of this inscription is probably not earlier than 431 B.C., and the barbarous character of its enactments about piracy is a confirmation of what we know from other evidence, that the western *Hellenic states* outside the Peloponnese did not participate in the [redacted]*eral advance in* civilisation which took place in the rest of Greece

after the Persian war. The dialect in which this treaty is written is as rude as its enactments" (Newton's *Essays on Archæology*, p. 107).

Here also is a disk (248) with an incised design on each side of **an athlete.** On one side he is preparing to jump, holding out in both hands jumping-weights (*halteres*); on the other he is measuring the length of his leap; the measuring-cord is being stretched out to the extremity of his arms, so as to measure six feet. The drawing, in its severe accuracy and careful anatomy, is a fine example of the early Greek style. The disk comes from Sicily.

On the next pedestal (No. 3) are Roman or **Gallo-Roman bronzes,** chiefly found in France. Notice in the front here a **Gaulish female prisoner** (819):—

"A very small bronze which hardly any one would think of stopping to look at. It happens, however, that a distinguished French sculptor, M. Chapu, caught sight of this figure, and made a sketch of it many years ago when on a visit here. Time passed, and he produced his celebrated statue of Joan of Arc, where she is represented seated on the ground, with both hands clasped vigorously round one knee. There is no doubt that the posture was characteristic of Gaulish women in circumstances of despair. The resemblance extends only to the posture of the two figures; and the most that can be said is that the sight of our small bronze may have helped the sculptor unconsciously to select from among other conceptions then floating in his mind the one which he finally worked out. The moral of the story seems to be that the most insignificant of our statuettes may, on a propitious occasion, render a true service to an artist. And the reason no doubt is this, that many of them reproduce the conceptions of men more gifted than the actual makers of the statuette" (Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 6).

The **Gaulish Chief** (821) is a fine national type, in the national costume. The **Mars** (798), found near the Rhine, is curious as showing the Gaulish conception of a classical god. Many of the details are borrowed from classical models, but there is nothing classical in the ungainly proportions of the figure and the barbaric roughness of the face. Nearer to the classical model is the **Bacchus** (808), found at Chessy, in the Department of the Rhône.

The finest bronze in this case is the **Hermes** (825), standing on its original pedestal, which is beautifully inlaid with silver. This statuette, formerly in the possession of Payne Knight, is one of the gems of the collection:—

It was found intact in 1732 in a cave near Lyons by a couple of weather-beaten labourers. The golden torc, or bangle, round the neck must have been added by the Gaulish owner, who had deposited it in the cave, where for many centuries it was preserved. The god is represented in his character of patron of merchandise, as indicated by the big purse, made out of the entire skin of an animal, which he holds in his right hand. The caduceus, held in the left hand, is of silver. The chlamys is a modern restoration from similar specimens. Both head and body are very fine, and the whole work is believed to be modelled on an original by Polyclitus (Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*, p. 232; Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 49; *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, i. 33).

On the opposite pedestal (4) are **Greek mirrors** supported on the heads of female figures **and other select Greek bronzes.** Among the statuettes here the most beautiful is the **Aphroditè** (1084), from the Pourtalès collection. This exquisite little work is believed to be modelled on the style of Praxiteles, of whom we are told that, though he owed his greatest fame to works in marble, he also produced statues of the greatest beauty in bronze. The attitude appears to be a variant of the Diadumenus, applied to a female figure.

The **Apollo** (271) from Thessaly is also a graceful work, which seems, however, to carry to an extreme the attitude of indolent ease, characteristic of Praxiteles. The finest of the mirrors is one which shows Aphroditè with winged Loves who support the mirror. See below (p. 442) on the subject of mirrors generally.

On the pedestal at the other end of the room (7), on this side, are **statuettes from Paramythia** (near Dodona, in Epirus), illustrating Greek work of the early part of the fourth century. The history of the discovery of these bronzes is curious. They were rescued in 1792 from a coppersmith at Janina, who had bought them for the value of the metal. A Greek merchant, who had seen similar objects in the museum of a collector at Moscow, purchased them and resold them to the Empress Catherine. She, however, died before the transaction was completed, and her successor declined to take the things. The bronzes were then divided between two Russian purchasers, one of whom sold his share to Payne Knight, from whose collection they passed to the British Museum. Few of the bronzes were found unmutilated. The barbarians who destroyed them, insensible of the value of workmanship, *understood that of* the materials. They broke off heads and

arms to which silver emblems had been attached, but threw aside the bronze. The great number of bronzes found on one spot suggests their destruction in a time of war or commotion. This may have occurred in B.C. 167, when the Romans, after the conquest of Macedonia, gave up the seventy cities of Epirus to destruction. The Epirots themselves were sold as slaves; their gods, as we have seen, survived to grace the cabinets and museums of St. Petersburg and London (see Walpole's *Travels in the East*, p. 481, and *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, vol. ii. § 80).

The **Poseidon** (274) is usually identified with the School of Lysippus:—

"Lysippus was famed above his contemporaries for minute finish down to the smallest details. Another ancient statuette could not be found where this is more admirably exemplified. The hair and beard are full of the most beautiful workmanship carried into the minutest details, while the powerful bodily forms are rendered with an extraordinary refinement, extending to the observation of the finer muscles in the feet, and even to a vein in the left arm. The animation he was said to have imparted to his statues is conspicuous in the bronze" (Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 80).

The figure of **Zeus** (275) may perhaps belong also to the School of Lysippus. The intense expression of the face and minute finish of the hair and beard are remarkable. The **youth pouring a libation** (278) is another very beautiful figure. The **Apollo** (272) is the feminine type of the god; the eyes are of silver. The drapery in the **Serapis** (276) is simple and elegant.

In the Wall-cases 31-53 there are large numbers of **statuettes,** mostly **Roman or Græco-Roman.** A selection of the finest is brought together in Cases 44-47; the remainder are arranged according to subjects. It is impossible here to notice these in detail, but students will find the arrangement convenient for the comparison of different types. Thus in Cases 31 and 32 are Cupids and Venuses. We are here among Roman works, and Roman taste preferred the undraped and sensuous type of **Aphroditè** to the stiffer and draped version of early Greek art. "Are there not," asks Plato in the *Symposium*, "two Loves? The elder one, having no mother, who is called the Heavenly Aphroditè—she is the daughter of Uranus; the younger, who is the daughter of Zeus and Dione, whom we call common (Pandemos)." This

distinction of the philosopher between the higher and the lower Love has its counterpart in art. Perhaps the most beautiful representation of the Heavenly Love which ancient art has left us is the painted vase of Aphroditè riding on the swan, which we have already seen (p. 373). Of the lower Love, Aphroditè Pandemos, we have a representation here which shows her riding on a ram (1121). The gradual disappearance of drapery can be traced in the succession of statues in any museum. The severe grace of which the half-draped type is capable is known to all from the "Venus of Melos" in the Louvre. Of the undraped Aphroditè the most perfect type was the Cnidian statue by Praxiteles. It was, as we have seen (p. 43), a version or perversion of this type which found most favour in Roman and Græco-Roman sculpture, and the same rule holds good with the bronze statuettes. Examples of the "Venus Pudica" are Nos. 794 and 1097-1103. In other specimens (1085, 1094-1096) she is knotting up her hair. In 1083 she is fastening her sandal. Nos. 280 and 1080 belong to the "Euploia" type (see below). No. 829 is curious. The goddess is represented as recently emerged from the sea and occupied in putting on the ambrosial garments prepared for her by the Graces. Her veil forms a kind of nimbus or crown which is surrounded by seven ornaments representative of the planets. Beside her a variety of emblems forms a kind of pile. Two cornucopiæ, each supporting an Eros; a mirror and stephanè for Aphroditè; a torch for Hecatè; a syrinx for Pan; a hammer for Hephæstus; a tambourine for Dionysus; a bow and quiver for Apollo and Artemis; and a club for Hercules—a piece of pantheistic symbolism characteristic of imperial Rome.

In Case 33 the subjects are Serapis and Jupiter (see p. 64); in 34, Minerva and Cerberus; in 35, Mars, Apollo, Poseidon; in 36 and 37, Bacchus; in 38, Satyrs and Fauns; in 39, Mercury; in 40 and 41, Hercules. The large goose (No. 1887) in Case 42 was found at the Hippodrome in Constantinople. The head of Polyphemus (1447) will be familiar to some readers, as it is reproduced for the frontispiece to Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*. The sculptor has "added a central eye and treated the human eyes as if they were withered by blindness."

In Cases 44-47, as already said, are **select bronzes**—*bronzes of individual* beauty or importance, and not merely

interesting for their place in a collection of types. We may notice :—

Aphroditè, of the type known as **Euploia**—*i.e.* Aphroditè who grants good passages to sailors—(282) remarkable for the severe beauty of the goddess. She lifts her left foot as if to fasten or unfasten her sandal, which, however, is not represented. The left arm rested on a column or rudder. We have discussed this type in the case of a marble statuette from Cyrenè (p. 137).

Hermes (283), formerly in the collection of the Duc de Chaulnes, remarkable for the simplicity and beauty of treatment. Probably a fragment from a statue of the best period of Greek art.

Boy playing "morra" (826); probably part of a group. He holds his right hand behind his back, and is about to throw forward his left with the thumb and two fingers extended. This game, which is of remote antiquity, is still a great favourite in Italy, and especially with the Roman populace :—

"Walking almost anywhere in Rome, the ear of the traveller is often saluted by the loud, explosive tones of two voices going off together, at little intervals, like a brace of pistol shots. Turning round to seek the cause of these strange sounds, he will see two men (or boys) in a very excited state, shouting as they fling out their hands at each other with violent gesticulation. Ten to one he will say to himself, if he be a stranger in Rome, 'How quarrelsome and passionate these Italians are!' But what he has seen was not a quarrel; it is simply the game *morra*, which is thus played. Two persons place themselves opposite each other, holding their right hands closed before them. They then simultaneously, and with a sudden gesture, throw out their hands, some of the fingers being extended and others shut up on the palm, each calling out in a loud voice at the same moment the number he guesses the fingers extended by himself and his adversary to make. If neither cry out aright, or if both cry out aright, nothing is gained or lost; but if only one guess the true number he wins a point. The points are five, and as they are made they are marked by the left hand, which, during the whole game, is held stiffly in the air about the shoulder's height, one finger being extended for every point. No game has a better pedigree than *morra*. It was played by the Egyptians more than two thousand years before the Christian era. In the paintings of Thebes and in the temples of Beni-Hassan, seated figures may be seen playing it, using the same gestures as the modern Romans (see the illustrations in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 32; ii. 55). From Egypt it was introduced into Greece. The Romans brought it from Greece at an early period, and it has existed among them *ever since*, having suffered apparently no alteration. The ancient

Roman name was *micatio*, and to play it was called *micare digitis* (to flash the fingers), the modern name *morra* being merely a corruption of the verb *micare*" (Story's *Roba di Roma*, i. ch. vi.).

Bust of **Lucius Verus** (835), see p. 32. **Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides** (827): he has plucked the golden apples, and the serpent that guarded the fruit hangs dead on the tree. This statue was found among the ruins of an ancient temple on the site of the ancient Byblus on the coast of Syria. **Jupiter** (909), found in Hungary, and of interest as giving some idea, though in a late and inferior style, of the famous Zeus of Phidias (see on this point Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 63).

A **bowl**, with a handle terminating in a ram's head (882), is finely modelled. In the middle of the bowl is a relief of Scylla destroying the companions of Odysseus. Scylla—who "yelped terribly"—is here represented with dogs issuing from her waist, as in the statue in the Ephesus Room (p. 137). We saw among the vases (p. 414) a picture in which the horrors of the Homeric personification of the treacherous rock are softened down to sinewy grace. Here there is more attempt to depict the terrors of the scene: "Scylla caught from my hollow ship six of my company, the hardiest of their hands and the chief in might. And looking into the swift ship to find my men, even then I marked their feet and hands as they were lifted on high; and they cried aloud in their agony, and called me by my name for the last time of all." The eyes of the men and dogs are inlaid with silver. This bowl was acquired in 1897 from a villa at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii.

In Cases 48-53 the collection of statuettes is continued. In 50 and 51 are figures of Lares, the Roman domestic deities. In 52 and 53 are some very curious objects—**symbolic hands** (874-876). These were intended to serve as a protection against the evil eye—a form of superstition which is still very common in Italy. Notice that in 875 and 876 the two smaller fingers are bent, the others extended. The hand in this attitude of sacerdotal benediction was an amulet against the evil eye long before the Christian era. This is one of the many cases in which the Christian Church adopted pagan superstitions and turned them to its own purposes. Amulets of simple hands in this attitude are often met with. Those before us are examples of a more elaborate charm which in a *diminutive form may still be bought in Roman shops*. Various

protective symbols are, as it were, piled up on the hands, many of the objects being symbolical of different deities, and the whole being invested by its possessor with the same kind of reverent significance as attaches to a crucifix in the hands of a modern devotee. The most elaborate of the hands is No. 875; at the bottom, shown in section, is a woman with a child at the breast. The group may perhaps represent Isis with Horus, and the charm have been specially designed to protect mothers and new-born infants against the fascination of the evil eye. The serpent, the frog, and the crocodile are common amulets. The ram's head is symbolical of Jupiter. The remarkable table with three flat cakes upon it seems to be an offering of bread to the Almighty Jove, and one cannot but be struck by the coincidence of these three cakes with those on the altar of Melchisedec. The scales are connected with the worship of Osiris. The tortoise (says Pliny) is highly salutary for repelling the malpractices of magic. The pine-cone and the fig-tree had a phallic meaning. (For further particulars on this very curious subject see Story's *Roba di Roma*, vol. ii. ch. ix., and ch. ix. of Elworthy's *The Evil Eye.*)

BRONZE RELIEFS, MIRRORS, ETC.

We may now pass from statuettes to another department of Greek work in bronze which is very finely illustrated in this room. This is the art of bronze sculpture in relief—the relief being sometimes cast from moulds and sometimes beaten up by hand. In the latter class of work, commonly called **repoussé** (or pushed out) work, the design is drawn on a thin plate of metal, and relief is then given by pressing or pushing the parts from the back of the plate till the required projection is obtained. The details are then carefully finished on the upper face by the means usually employed by chasers. The Greeks attained great skill in this branch of art, though they do not seem to have carried it to the extent to which it is found in the Middle Ages, and examples of Greek work in this sort are comparatively rare. Our Museum is particularly rich in them, and the so-called "Bronzes of Siris" described below are probably the finest specimens extant. Some of the Greek bronze reliefs served, as we shall see, for mirror cases. In other cases it is not always easy to determine with precision

the purposes to which the reliefs were put. "Were they used to decorate furniture? Did they belong to pieces of armour? Or were these metallic plaques, often very thin, designed to be sewn upon stuffs or upon strips of leather? All these hypotheses are probable, and are justified by the workmanship of the plaques themselves, which are often perforated with holes, for the purpose of affixing them to some other material" (Collignon's *Greek Archæology*, p. 352).

Some of the bronze reliefs served, as we have said, as mirror cases. The custom of burying with the dead all that was dear to them when alive has led to the discovery of large numbers of Greek **mirrors**. These are infinitely superior in beauty to the Etruscan mirrors (Ch. XXII.) and show that Hellenic art did not disdain to ornament these accessories in the toilette of women with most exquisite care:—

"Of the beauty of Greek bronze work, exemplified especially in the series of hand mirrors in the British Museum, it is not easy (says a well-known metal-worker of our own day) to name the exact quality that compels our admiration. It is not the extraordinary fineness of the work, or the conception of subject, or the shape, or any one thing; it is its perfection, the almost superhuman completeness of it, that astonishes us" (Lecture by Mr. Nelson Dawson, reported in the *Times*, May 10, 1900).

According to their form, Greek mirrors may be divided into two classes:—(1) Simple mirrors in the form of disks, with a carefully-polished convex front surface that reflected the image, and a concave back ornamented with incised designs. These disks were provided with a handle in the form of a statuette with pedestal, which allowed them either to be held in the hand or to stand upright upon a table. These statuette-handles generally represented Aphroditè, as the ideal of a beautifully-adorned woman. Of this kind of mirror some exquisite specimens may be seen in the pedestals which we have already examined. (2) A second form of mirror consisted of two combined into a sort of case. These mirrors consisted of two metal disks, the one enclosed within the other, which are sometimes held together by a hinge. The upper disk, or cover, was ornamented on the outside with figures in relief, and on the inside was polished or silvered to reflect the image. The second disk, forming the body of *the case, was* decorated on the inside with incised designs.

Of this second kind of mirror we shall see specimens in the case which we are now to examine.

In Table-case A are the famous **bronzes of Siris** (285)—so called from having been found near the river of that name (at the ancient Grumentum, now Saponara) in Southern Italy. The bronzes are supposed to have been attached as ornaments to mask the buckles on a cuirass by which the breast-plate and back-piece were united on the shoulders:—

It was near Siris that Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, was defeated, and it has been suggested that these bronzes may have belonged to the armour worn by the king on that memorable field. However this may be, the bronzes of Siris are marvellous examples of the finest repoussé work. "In some parts (as *e.g.* in the chest and face of the Greek) the thin plate of bronze has been beaten out nearly half an inch till it reaches the thinness of note-paper. In some points the bronze has failed and separate pieces have been made and attached to their place. Then again the minuteness with which the whole surface has afterwards been gone over is endless; most elaborate patterns have been incised on the shields; the beard has been worked with almost microscopic faithfulness, and yet with perfect freedom of touch; the minutest folds of the drapery have been followed from their origin to their final disappearance into some larger fold, or into airy nothingness."

The subject is a battle between Greeks and Amazons. The two compositions, necessarily balancing each other closely, are modulated with a variety of subordinate effects, which produce an agreeable diversity within a general sameness. The figures in the one are reversed from the other, so as to form companion groups such as would be needed on the two shoulders of a cuirass. In both groups the Greek warrior is nude, but that does not prevent the artist from making use of drapery as a foil to the nude forms. The Greeks have each their chlamys, which in the combat has flown loose, except for an end of it, which is twisted round the left arm. The rest of the chlamys floats behind the figure, and is very skilfully used to introduce contrasts of fine folds here and there as a background hard against the nude forms, which would otherwise be too statuesque perhaps. Thorwaldsen said that "in his judgment these bronzes afforded the strongest possible proof of this truth, that the grandiose does not consist in mere mass, since these diminutive works are truly great, while many of the modern colossal figures are, notwithstanding their dimensions, petty and mean." These famous bronzes were found in 1820, and in 1833 were purchased from the Chevalier Bröndsted by public subscription for £1000, the Trustees of the Museum contributing £200 (Bröndsted's *Bronzes of Siris;* Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 334; *Greek Bronzes*, p. 82; and *Handbook of Greek Archæology, p. 232).*

These beautiful works of art are now attributed in the Official Catalogue to the School of Scopas: "The style much resembles that of the Mausoleum frieze."

Close by in the same case is another of the gems of our collection, the **figure of a youth** (286), seated on a rock and looking eagerly downwards; the eyes inlaid with silver—a beautiful work justly celebrated for the largeness and simplicity of its style. (For a discussion of its attribution to Lysippus, see Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 345, and *Greek Bronzes*, p. 82.) There is a story in connection with the discovery of this bronze which illustrates the fierce joys and contests of collecting. The figure was found in an open field near the Lake of Bracciano by the peasants. There was a certain priest who received any antiques that they came across in their work, and who sold them for their benefit in Rome. Count Tyszkiewicz, the famous collector, who was often trying a fall with Castellani, the yet more famous dealer, was in the habit of visiting this priest:—

"The *frate* brought out," says the Count, "a bronze of the most extraordinary beauty, the most wonderful thing of its kind I had ever seen. This lovely figure was in perfect preservation, and of an astonishing *patina*. The price asked was very low, 2000 francs (£80). I paid it without bargaining, wrapped up my bas-relief in silk-paper, and put it in my pocket. Bursting with pride at my acquisition, I rushed off to Alessandro [Castellani], who received me with the words, 'I have a bronze to show you—*such* a bronze!—the most beautiful bronze in the whole world!' So saying, he led me into a room where he kept all his most precious treasures, and displayed a beautiful statuette of Minerva, with the pupils of her eyes made of tiny diamonds. 'Isn't that the most beautiful bronze you ever saw?' he asked, radiant with delight. '*One* of the most beautiful, certainly,' I replied; 'but I *have* seen better. And, what is more, I have a bronze in my possession still more beautiful than yours.' With that I took the *frate's* figure out of my pocket. Castellani became green. He did not attempt to deny the superiority of my bronze, but without loss of time tried to get me to sell it to him. I treated him as he had treated me about the gem, and refused. He offered £800. I refused again. In the end I let him have the bronze for £400, on condition he threw in the stone which I coveted" (*Memories of an Old Collector*, p. 82).

Collectors pass away. Museums remain. Both bronzes are now in this room. For the Minerva, see p. 429.

On the same side of this case are some very beautiful

female heads in relief which served as mirror cases. These "grand steadfast faces" (299, 302) are in the finest style of Greek art. [Some bronze work, perhaps even more beautiful, may be seen in "The Waddesdon Room"—the room containing the collection of master-works in many sorts bequeathed to the nation by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild in 1898. Nos. 1 and 2 in the catalogue of that collection are pairs of circular medallions with loose rings, which formed the handles of a litter. They were found in a tomb near Amisos, the modern Samsun, in the province of Trebizond. They are Greek work, in high relief, of the third century B.C. The head of a Bacchante, wreathed with ivy leaves, on No. 1 is of incomparable beauty.]

Mirror case from Corinth (289), remarkable for beauty of composition and workmanship both in the relief on the outside and in the incised design on the inside. The subject of the former is uncertain; it may be Phædra confessing to one of her attendants her love for her step-son, Hippolytus. The subject of the incised design is Aphroditè playing at the game of "five stones" with Pan. (For interesting discussions of the artistic qualities of this mirror case, see Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, pp. 127, 230.)

Another mirror case, from Megara, represents **Victory sacrificing a bull** (290). This subject, which greatly attracted ancient taste, has been already discussed (see p. 82). The version before us is remarkable for delicacy of execution and refinement of design. The knife of Victory is separately modelled; passing through the hand, it is fastened by soldering at the back (*J.H.S.* vii. 276).

Next we may notice a fine relief, representing **Boreas carrying off Oreithyia** (310)—a subject often represented by Greek artists. After the destruction of the Persian fleet by the god of the north wind, it would naturally become a popular myth. The stages of the story, as it may be traced in literature and art, are somewhat as follows: "At first the north wind riots among the waves. This, anthropomorphised, is Boreas among the sea-nymphs. Then he individualises: he loves one sea-maiden, Oreithyia, whom he carries off to become his wife" (Harrison and Verrall, *Monuments and Mythology of Ancient Athens*, lxxviii.). Here Boreas, as a wind-god, has buskins and large wings; Oreithyia seems to be looking back to the world from which she is snatched away:—

As the wild God rapt her from earth's breast lifted,
On the strength of the stream of his dark breath drifted,
From the bosom of earth, as a bride from the mother,
With storm for bridesman, and wreck for brother,
As a cloud that he sheds upon the sea.

SWINBURNE.

This bronze was found by Sir C. Newton at the bottom of a grave in the island of Calymnus :—

"Standing over the grave with this group in my hand, I thought of the Eurydice of the fourth Georgic :—

Invalidasque tibi tendens, heu! non tua, palmas.

When I found it, minute portions of gilding were still adhering to the hair of the female figure; and the earth of the grave, on being sifted, yielded many particles of gold leaf. The composition of this relief is exceedingly beautiful, the execution rather inferior to the design; and we miss in it the refinement and delicacy of modelling which distinguishes the bronzes of Siris (see above) beyond all other works of the same kind. However, bronzes in embossed work are so exceedingly rare that the group of Boreas and Oreithyia may fairly rank among the most precious objects of this class which have been discovered. Sifting the earth, I found a number of small pearls and other fragments of a necklace. The presence of these remains shows that the grave was that of a female; and the subject of the bronze group was probably selected to commemorate allusively the untimely fate of the person in whose grave it was found. Before I left Calymnos, the Greek who had recommended me to dig in that particular spot waited on me for *bakshish*, and told me that about twenty years ago he opened that very grave in the early morning, and without the permission of the owner, who surprised him at his work. He would not tell me what he had found in it; but I gathered that it had contained gold ornaments. It would appear, then, that being interrupted before he had finished his work, he left the few inches of soil at the bottom of the grave unexplored, and thus missed the prize which I found. Such are the chances of excavation" (Newton's *Travels*, i. 330-333).

This relief was originally attached to a vase.

In the same case is a disk (856) with a relief representing **Hermes making the lyre.** One lyre he holds in his left hand; another is beside the altar. The strings of both are inlaid with silver. The design recalls the Hymn to Hermes, where the poet describes how Hermes found a tortoise and recognised *the soul of music* in its shell :—

"He cut to measure stalks of reed, and fixed them in through holes bored in the stony shell of the tortoise, and cunningly stretched round it the hide of an ox, and put in the horns of the lyre, and to both he fitted the bridge and stretched seven harmonious cords of sheep-gut. Then took he his treasure, when he had fashioned it, and touched the strings in turn with the plectrum, and wondrously it sounded under his hand, and fair sang the God to the notes, improvising his chant as he played" (Mr. Lang's version of *The Homeric Hymns*, p. 136).

Of the instruments shown on this disk one is the lyre with a tortoise-shell for sounding-board; the other the cithara with no such sounding-board. Mr. Lang suggests, on savage analogies, that the tuneful shell was primarily used without chords as an instrument for drumming upon.

On the top of this case are some delicate bronze vases of very graceful shape. They were found at Galaxidi, the port of Delphi.

On the other side of the case are some more very fine **mirror cases.** The cover of one of these (288) represents in relief a youth with a cock, and a girl with a bird, with Eros between them. The scene is idealised from ordinary life. We have already noticed in discussing the funereal reliefs how frequently a bird is the accompaniment of a young girl (p. 244), while cock-fighting was very popular with the Athenians (p. 192). On the inside disk of this mirror is an incised design of Pan with a nymph. These incised designs on mirrors occur more frequently in Etrurian than in Greek work, but the latter is by far the finer. The figure of a Mænad on another mirror case (300) is in the grand Greek style. The construction of the mirror cases described above (p. 442) is shown in No. 291, which is closed and has its hinge and handle complete. On the outside is a relief of Artemis striking down a young giant.

The sentiment which clings to these antique mirrors, found in the tombs of their once fair owners, and often accompanied with other articles of their adornment (as in the Sarcophagus of Seianti Thanunia, p. 464), has been gracefully expressed by a poet of our day (Sir Rennell Rodd):—

No trace to-day of what in her was fair!
Only the record of long years grown green
Upon the mirror's lustreless dead sheen,
Grown dim at last, when all else withered there.

Dead, broken, lustreless! It keeps for me
One picture of that immemorial land,
For oft as I have held thee in my hand,
The dull bronze brightens, and I dream to see

A fair face gazing in thee wondering wise,
And o'er one marble shoulder all the while
Strange lips that whisper till her own lips smile,
And all the mirror laughs about her eyes.

We may also notice here some **children's toys**—a kind of rattle wheel (878, 879); the bust of a boy with top-knot (1717), and a tiny Roman model of a skeleton (1682):—

This was intended for handing round at feasts—a custom brought to Rome from Egypt. "At their convivial banquets," says Herodotus of the Egyptians (ii. 78), "among the wealthy classes, when they have finished supper, a man carries round in a coffin the image of a dead body carved in wood, made as like as possible in colour and workmanship, and showing this to each of the company, he says, 'Look upon this, then drink and enjoy ourselves; for when dead you will be like this.' This practice they have at their drinking parties." The custom was brought to Rome and modified. "While we were drinking," says Petronius (*Satires*, c. 35), "a slave brought in a skeleton of silver. It was so constructed that its limbs and spine should move in all directions. It was thrown on the table several times, so that it should take up all sorts of positions, and then Trimalchio (the host) said:—

Eheu nos miseros quam totus homuncio nil est,
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet Orcus,
Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene."

LAMPS, CANDELABRA, ARMOUR, AND VASES

The next group of objects in bronze which we have to notice consists of lamps, candelabra, vases, etc.—the former mostly Roman, the latter Greek. In all these objects of minor art and industry, the Greeks, and to a less extent the Romans whom they taught, knew no distinction between arts and crafts. Many of the designs and contrivances which may be studied in the cases of this room are familiar from modern survivals and adaptations. The **lamps** are arranged in the wall-cases (54-60) following those last described. Particularly elaborate is the large lamp (2513) in Case 56, ornamented with dolphins, lions, and satyric masks, of bold and original design. *It was found at* Paris in excavations of the ancient Roman

baths, of which the site is now partially occupied by the Hotel Cluny :—

"From Athens to Rome, from Rome to Paris this lamp was probably the delight and admiration of its happy owners up to the time when it attained the supreme honour of being buried by the side of its master. Such is the destiny of great works! They seem created for eternity, and their vicissitudes only serve to prove that no one has a right to claim their exclusive possession, for were they not meant to be the heritage of the entire human race? After Athens, after Rome, after Paris, the Greek lamp now illumines London" (H. de Triqueti in *Fine Arts Quarterly*, 1864, p. 272, where a full description of the lamp and of its discovery will be found).

In the adjoining case (55) is the figure-head (830) of an ancient galley, found embedded in mud at the depth of eight feet of water during some dredging excavations at Prevesa, the scene of the battle of Actium. This interesting relic from the sea was acquired in 1839 by Sir Howard Douglas, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles, and was subsequently presented to the Museum by Queen Victoria. Note also a Roman seat (**bisellium**), inlaid with silver (2561) :—

"In the front and at the back resting on crossbars are supports (*fulcra*), which have been wrongly restored in this position. They really served as the ends of the framework on which the cushions of the chair were placed. There are in this collection and in other museums several specimens of these bronze *fulcra*. They all represent the head and shoulders of a mule, turning sideways and backwards, with ears put down, and a vicious expression, which is rendered in a peculiarly natural manner. The head is in almost every case decorated with a garland of vine leaves entwined with tendrils and bunches of grapes, while the shoulders are covered with a curious leather collar, the top of which is turned down just where it joins the shaggy skin of some wild animal which is thrown over it. The type is fixed and the workmanship very careful" (W. C. F. Anderson in *Classical Review*, iii. 323).

Candelabra, tripods, etc., are arranged in Wall-cases 1-7. In Case 8 is an interesting object (2559), resembling at first sight a candelabrum. This is a **stand for playing cottabos**, a game which we have already discussed in connection with representations of it on Greek vases (p. 419). In Cases 8-11, objects connected with the **bath** (strigils, etc.), with fountains and water-supply, including bronze stop-cock, of excellent construction.

Armour (Cases 12-19).—The specimens of ancient armour which have come down to us are comparatively few. Here, however, we may study several helmets, cuirasses, greaves, etc. The **helmet** originally consisted of the hide of wild beasts, the hunter's trophy becoming the warrior's armour, as we may see in the vase-paintings of Hercules wearing the hide of the Nemean lion. A tight-fitting leather cap formed the transition to a helmet of metal, which at first seems to have been of plain semi-globular form. Front, back, and cheek-pieces, visor, and a crest (to protect the skull) were gradually added. Of the visored Corinthian type, a fine specimen is No. 251 (Cases 16, 17). Front, neck, and cheek-pieces are made of one piece with the helmet and completely cover the head down to the shoulders; only mouth, chin, and eyes remain uncovered. This helmet has an interesting inscription round the edge, recording that it was dedicated to Zeus by the Argives as spoil won in battle from the Corinthians; the date is probably about 460 B.C., but the occasion of the battle is unknown. The helmet (which passed to the British Museum from the Payne Knight collection) was found in the bed of the river Alpheus near Olympia in 1795, and was procured there by Mr. Morritt of Rokeby, the friend of Sir Walter Scott. Another form of Greek helmet was lighter and more graceful. The neck-piece was severed from the front-piece by an incision, and the latter was a complete visor, with small slits for the eyes. In the battle it was pulled down so as to cover the skull with the cap, and the face with the visor; at other times it was worn pushed back, so that the visor rested on the top of the head (as we see in the statue of Pericles in the Elgin Room). Various types of Greek and Græco-Italian helmets may be seen in this collection. Several are finely ornamented. On No. 2828 is a socket for a crest. On No. 2830 there is on the brow an imitation of carefully-curled hair. No. 2839 is a helmet in the form of a Phrygian cap. No. 2843 is a model of a gladiator's helmet. On No. 2817 is the head of a youthful satyr in relief; the cheek-pieces are fastened on by hinges. No. 2832 is finely ornamented with incised designs.

The **cuirass** is described by Pausanias (x. 26. 5) as having originally consisted of "two iron plates, connected by means of buckles, one of which covers the chest and stomach, the *other the back.*" This cuirass was made of thick plates, and

went down only as far as the hips. The older style of cuirass may be seen in the figure of a kneeling warrior in the casts from Ægina (No. 162). Subsequently the plates were made thinner, and followed more easily the lines of the muscles. From a passage in Xenophon, where a visit of Socrates to Pistias, an armour-maker, is described (*Memor.* iii. 10), we may gather that considerable importance was attached to nicety of fit. Pistias refers to some customers who prefer ornamented and gilded cuirasses. Mere "ornamented and gilded annoyances," says Socrates, "if they do not fit," and Pistias quite agrees, for his speciality is in well-made and properly proportioned goods. For a sample of a Greek cuirass see No. 2846. No. 2843 is a breastplate from South Italy. The shoulder-pieces to cover the clasps by which the breastplate and back-piece were united were often elaborately ornamented, as we have seen from the case of the "Bronzes of Siris."

The **greaves**, of which there are several specimens (*e.g.* Nos. 249, 2860), are generally decorated at the knee with a Gorgon. Being at once a charm to the wearer and a terror to others, the Gorgon was a natural device for armour. Among miscellaneous armour, etc., are horses' muzzles (Nos. 2878, 2879), belts (Nos. 2852, 2856), the top of a Roman standard (No. 2908). In Case 15 part of a trophy is arranged (cf. No. 1613, a small bronze trophy). Here also is a pair of wings, found on the floor of the Temple of Athena at Prienè. They probably belonged to a statue of Victory, which, it is suggested, may have been held in the hand of the colossal temple-statue of Athena (No. 1728 in the *Catalogue of Bronzes*).

Greek and Roman **vases** are in Cases 20-30. Especially fine are the hydria, with a relief representing Dionysus and a Mænad (Case 24, No. 312); and a hydria with a relief of Eros and Psyche (Case 25, No. 313). In the case of some of the vases, Dr. Murray points out that "the bronze of them is so thin that they can do little more than stand with their own weight. They must have been produced expressly for show at the funeral ceremonies." A similar economy is noticeable in many of the objects found in ancient tombs :—

"Many of the ornaments, for example the bracelets, are made of sheets of gold so thin that they could not have been used in real life; *they are clearly substitutes* for the real jewellery, which the living

doubtless kept for themselves, while they satisfied the demands of piety by burying the sham jewellery in the grave, deeming these splendid but unsubstantial baubles good enough to deck the unsubstantial figures of the shadowy dead. In a similar spirit of economical piety the Chinese burn paper houses, paper furniture, paper ingots of gold and silver for the use of their departed kinsfolk in the other world" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii. 107).

INSTRUMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, UTENSILS, ETC.

Next we may give a cursory glance at the miscellaneous objects in bronze to be seen in this room. They would repay a closer attention, for such objects throw valuable light on the customs and manners of ancient life. Visitors who are not already familiar with museums are often surprised and interested at finding how well equipped were the ancient Greeks and Romans in many of our modern conveniences and appliances, and how many specimens of such things have survived the lapse of centuries. In Case C, for instance, is a large collection of **surgical instruments,** such as tweezers, spatulæ, probes, forceps. Although the identification of some of these objects is doubtful, enough is clear to show that the Greeks and Romans had attained to considerable skill in medical science. In many cases the patterns of the instruments are the same as those now employed. There are also **toilet requisites,** ear-picks, depilatories, and other implements of the "manicure." Also **writing implements,** both styli for writing on wax tablets, and ink-pots; and various objects used in **daily life,** such as locks, keys, knives, padlocks, hinges, graters, nails, hooks, fish-hooks, thimbles, needles, foot-rules, and compasses. In this same case are parts of two double-cylindered **force-pumps,** which will interest engineers. They were found among the remains of a foundry at Bolsena, and are identical in principle with one found a few years ago at the Roman city of Silchester in Hampshire:—

"They differ slightly between themselves, but both are based on the system invented by Ctesibius of Alexandria [to whom the origin of the pump is ascribed by Vitruvius, about 224 B.C.]. The two plungers in the cylinders were worked with a reciprocating motion, by means of a rocking beam now lost. They alternately draw in water through valves at the bottom of the cylinder, and force it into the vertical pipe *in the middle, from* which a continuous delivery is obtained. In the *one case the valves* are simple flap-valves—called by the Greeks *assaria*,

farthings, from their obvious resemblance to coins. In the other, they are the more advanced spindle valves, in the form of cones, which fall back into their seat by their own weight. Double pumps, worked on this principle, were used as fire engines" (*Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1899, p. 135).

"An examination of these pumps may serve to take some of the conceit out of engineers of the present day when they see how much the Romans knew 2000 years ago. It is consoling, however, to know that the Romans knew nothing of the *lift* pump. Atmospheric pressure was not estimated then. That was left to the Spaniards to conceive and the Italian Torricelli to determine" (*Engineer*, July 16, 1894).

On the top of this case is a selection of **statuettes, mostly of the Roman period.** At the end is a fine figure (849) of a seated philosopher (discussed by Dr. Murray in the *Classical Review*, v. 241). We may also notice a bust of **Ælius Cæsar,** from the Castellani collection. The eyes are inlaid with silver, the pupils being formed of garnets. "The bust," says Newton, "is in very fine condition, and, though rather mannered in execution, brings out the characteristics of the likeness in a very forcible manner." Noteworthy also is the **Mars** (1077) from the Bunsen collection. The figure is in the attitude of a famous Doryphorus (or athlete with a spear) of Polyclitus.

In Case D are seals and stamps; also bracelets, armlets, ear-rings, brooches, and other **articles of adornment.** Among these are several ornaments of the late Roman period, with coloured enamels. The designs and general appearance are very much like the cheap pebble ornaments which holiday-makers of to-day bring back from Scotland or the seaside as mementoes of a happy day.

On the same side of the case are fragments of **reliefs in bronze** (187) found at Eleutheræ, on the borders of Attica and Bœotia. These represent the earliest specimens of true Hellenic art in bronze, free from external influences. The question of their place of origin (Corinthian or Chalcidian) has been much debated by archæologists. The dots were made by a solid circular punch. It is interesting to contrast this early stage in repoussé work (middle of sixth century B.C.) with the perfection which the art reached in specimens we have already seen.

On the other side of the case is a large collection of **fibulæ**, or pins, of various kinds and periods. The remorseless industry of archæologists is well illustrated by the scientific

study that has been bestowed on ancient pins, which have been most elaborately classified. A treatise on the various kinds of safety-pins obtainable at Mr. Whiteley's would probably attract few readers to-day; yet in some future ages remains of our articles of utility and adornment may perhaps be submitted to rigorous study. Any one, however, who ever dips into the subject of ancient objects of use or adornment will soon find himself interested; for in this, as in every other development of human handiwork or thought, the process of evolution may be traced. Here, however, we must content ourselves with noticing the evidence afforded by these specimens of the antiquity of the principle of the modern safety-pin, and with pointing out the distinction between Greek and Roman fibulæ. In the former the shape is semicircular, with a spiral at the head; in the Roman fibulæ the spiral is replaced by a cross-piece, on which the pin works as a hinge (see introduction to the *Catalogue of Bronzes*, pp. lviii.-lxii.). A few remarks on Roman brooches will be found in the chapter on Roman Britain (p. 762).

Here also we may notice a large collection of **rings and seals.** None of these appears to be earlier in date than the later times of the empire. Under the Republic, finger rings were of iron. The substitution of other metals for this purpose is recorded by ancient writers as one of the luxurious tendencies of their day. Many of the rings here shown were also used for sealing documents, for sealing up doors, or for keys (*e.g.* Nos. 2607, 2608).

On the top of the case is a collection of **animals in bronze.** Many of these were used merely as ornaments, just as similar objects are used to-day. In other cases they may have served as table objects. Thus the donkey with panniers (1790) recalls a passage in Petronius, where he mentions a bronze donkey serving to carry olives on a dinner table.

ARMOUR (*cf.* pp. 450, 451)

In Table-case E are, on one side, examples of weapons; on the other, inscriptions; and on the top, bronze vases of various forms. Among the **weapons** we may specially notice a hunting-knife (868), of Græco-Roman work, on the iron *blade of which* scenes from the chase are inlaid with brass.

Also "The Sword of Tiberius" (867), the iron blade of a Roman sword, in perfect preservation, enclosed in its sheath; the latter is made of bronze, tinned so as to resemble silver:—

"On the upper part of the sheath is an embossed plate representing a victorious general standing before a seated figure; on a shield near the latter is inscribed 'Felicitas Tiberi,' while behind it is a figure of Victory with a shield inscribed 'Vic. Avg.' It is probable, therefore, that this represents Germanicus appearing before Tiberius, after his great victories on the Rhine. Part of the tang of the sword remains, but the handle is wanting. With it was found a medallion, apparently representing the head of Germanicus, but whether it belonged to the sheath or handle is not certain. This remarkable relic was discovered in 1848 in a field in the lower part of Mayence by M. Gold, of that city, who sold it to Mr. Henry Farrer, at whose sale in 1866 it was purchased by Mr. Slade and presented to the British Museum" (*Catalogue of the Collection of Glass found by Felix Slade, Esq., F.S.A.*, p. 168).

INSCRIPTIONS

Among the votive and other **inscriptions** are several of curious interest. The ornate axe-head (252) was dedicated by one Kyniskos, "the butcher." It is supposed that he was one who killed beasts for sacrifice. The votive wheel (253), found near Argos, probably commemorates a victory in a chariot race in the Nemean games. An athlete's disk (3207) has an inscription recording in Homeric style that with this disk the owner defeated "the lofty-souled Kephallenians." Nos. 329-332 are tickets of Athenian jurymen, giving their name and parish. The tablets 333, 334 contain decrees in which the city of Corcyra (Corfu) appoints consuls. The tablet (333) appointing the Athenian consul is adorned with the owl of Athena. Another interesting inscription records a treaty of alliance between the Eleans and Heræans on an oblong bronze plate found at Olympia, whence it was brought by Sir William Gell in 1813. Those who violated the treaty were to pay in atonement a talent of silver to be dedicated to the Olympian Zeus. If any one injures the inscription itself he is to pay the same fine. The date of the inscription is believed to be 499-496 B.C. With more faith in the durability of treaties than some modern statesmen have professed, the high contracting parties here bind themselves for a hundred years.

Among the Latin inscriptions is a tablet (904) with a dedication to Sextus Pompeius Maximus, a priest of the sun-

god Mithras. A bust of the god is figured on the bronze, together with a sacrificial knife and a bowl for libations. We have already referred to the popularity of this worship in later Roman times (p. 15). The curious object numbered 902 has a very human interest. It is a **slave's badge.** It was hung round his neck as a warrant for his arrest if he ran away. "Keep me," says the badge, "and do not let me run away, and bring me back to my master Viventius on the estate of Callistus." So runs the inscription, preserved for these many centuries and now stored in "this northern island, sundered once from all the human race. But the Rome of slaves has perished, and the Rome of freemen takes her place."

CHAPTER XXII

THE ETRUSCAN SALOON

What dark-haired daughter of a Lucumo
Bore on her slim white finger to the grave,
This the first gift her Tyrrhene lover gave
Those five-and-twenty centuries ago?
What shadowy dreams might haunt it, lying low
So long, while kings and armies, wave on wave,
Above the rock-tomb's buried architrave
Went million-footed trampling to and fro?

Who knows? but well it is so frail a thing,
Unharmed by conquering Time's supremacy,
Still should be fair, though scarce less old than Rome.
Now once again, at rest from wandering,
Across the high Alps and the dreadful sea,
In utmost England let it find a home.

J. W. MACKAIL in *Alma Mater's Mirror*.

IN this saloon are collected various memorials of a once famous and powerful nation—the neighbour, the forerunner, and in part the teacher, of Rome. The Etruscans of Roman history—the Tyrrhenes of the Greeks, the Rasena as they called themselves—appeared in Italy before the beginning of written history. "Ages before the straw hut of Romulus arose on the Palatine, there existed in that land a nation far advanced in civilisation and refinement, and Rome was indebted to Etruria for whatever tended to elevate and humanise her, for her chief lessons in art and science, for many of her political, religious and social institutions, for the conveniences and luxuries of peace, and the weapons and appliances of war." "At a time when Latins and Samnites were comparatively rude and war-like barbarians, Etruscans were already displaying their innate faculty for art and their innate admiration for art-products by *importing and imitating* the pottery of Athens, and the silver

work of Phœnicia." They were themselves artists and craftsmen of no mean order; and it is to the Etruscan strain in their blood that the Italians of later ages owe much, perhaps even most or all, of what has been greatest and noblest in their art. "For all practical purposes, when we talk of Italian poetry, we mean Tuscan poetry; when we talk of Italian art, we mean Tuscan art."[1] Yet of the history of the Etruscan people very little is known, and traces of its power and influence are for the most underneath the ground. Of their power, indeed, evidences remain to us in many of the old Etruscan cities—in the walls, for instance, of Fiesole and Orvieto, in the ruins of Veii, and in the great gates and fortifications of Volterra—

> Where scowls the far-famed hold,[2]
> Piled by the hands of giants,
> For god-like kings of old.

But for the most part the original Etruscan civilisation is entirely overlaid. Remains of Etruscan cities are found in tracts, now desolated by malaria, which are furrowed yearly by the plough or forsaken as unprofitable wildernesses. Yet once the princes, or lucumos, of Etruria held sway not only over a considerable portion of Italy, but were lords also of the western waves.

Their sea-power was broken at the battle of Cumæ, near Naples (474 B.C.), when Hiero I. of Syracuse defeated the Etruscan fleet. The fame of this battle is preserved in one

[1] Readers who are interested in following up this subject should consult a very suggestive article by Grant Allen in the *National Review* for September 1893. See also his Guide to Florence. Etruria, says Ruskin, is the Athens of Italy as Rome its Sparta: "The Athenian race is native, and essentially with the Etruscan earth-born. How far or by what links joined I know not, but their art-work is visibly the same in origin; entirely Draconid,—Cecropian, rolled in spiral folds; and it is the root of the Draconian energy in the living arts of Europe" (*Bibliotheca Pastorum*, i. pp. xxii., xxxiii.). Reference may also be made to Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. p. ciii.

[2] The gloomy and melancholy tinge in Etruscan art is well seen in these great walls and massive gateways. It is also exactly reproduced at a later date in the frowning doors and heavy cornices of the palaces of Florence. "If we compare these solid works with the springing airiness of light Venetian Gothic, we can feel at once the great gulf fixed between the joyous Venetian and the sombre Tuscan; and we can feel at the same time the exact identity of taste and feeling in the modern Tuscan and the *ancient Etruscan*" (Allen).

of the Odes of Pindar. "I pray thee, son of Kronos," sings the poet, "grant that the Phœnician and the Etruscan war-cry be hushed at home, since they have beheld the calamity of their ships that befell them before Cumæ, even how they were smitten by the captain of the Syracusans, who from their swift ships hurled their youth into the sea." One of the most interesting objects in this saloon is a bronze helmet worn by an Etruscan lucumo at that very battle (No. 250, Case 93). The **helmet**, which resembles those worn by our Parliamentarians in the seventeenth century, has an inscription in Greek, recording that Hiero had dedicated it to Zeus [at Olympia] as one of the spoils of the battle of Cumæ. It was found twenty-three centuries later (1817 A.D.) at Olympia in the bed of the river Alpheus. On land the political power of the Etruscans was finally broken by the Romans at the two battles (310 and 285 B.C.) of the Vadimonian Lake (now the small Lago di Bassano, a few miles from Orte). The characteristic Etruscan life, however, still survived for nearly three centuries. "Calm under the yoke, and sadly resigned to their fate, the Etruscan nation made no effort to strive against its destiny. They tried to forget, in luxury and the love of art, the loss of their liberty; and preserving amid their sensual pleasures the ever-present idea of death, they continued to decorate their tombs with paintings, and to bury in them thousands of objects, which in workmanship and material indicate extreme opulence." The proscriptions of Sulla, and the enforced settlement of his veterans, completed the ruin of Etruria. "Throughout large districts the population entirely changed; everywhere the chief people perished from off the face of the land, and with them most that was distinctive in the manners and institutions, and even in the language of the country. The civilisation of Etruria disappeared from the sight of men, to be re-discovered at the end of twenty centuries among the buried tombs of forgotten lucumos."

Of their external history little has ever been ascertained; their literature has completely perished; their language still awaits a satisfactory key. In the death-like oblivion which has thus shrouded this once mighty people, one thing alone has saved some memory of them—their lively sense of death. They built strong and spacious **tombs**; they decorated their sepulchres with pictures of their present life, and dedicated to the service of the dead numerous and costly articles both of

use and of ornament. Owing to this great reverence for the dead, and firm belief in a future life, the internal history of the buried Etruscan nation has, by the excavations of the last hundred years, been recovered for us :—

"We can now enter into the inner life of the Etruscans, almost as fully as if they were living and moving before us, instead of having been extinct as a nation for more than 2000 years. We can follow them from the cradle to the tomb,—we see them in their national costume, varied according to age, sex, rank and office,—we learn the varying fashions of their dress, their personal adornment, their peculiar physiognomy, . . .—we see them in the bosom of their families, and at the festive board, reclining cup in hand amid the strains of music, and the time-beating feet of dancers,—we see them at their favourite games and sports, encountering the wild-boar, looking on or taking part in the horse or chariot race, the wrestling-match, or other palæstric exercises,—we behold them stretched on the death-bed—the last rites performed by mourning relatives—the funeral procession —their bodies laid in the tomb—and solemn festivals held in their honour. Nor even here do we lose sight of them, but we follow their souls to the other world—perceive them in the hands of good or evil spirits—conducted to the judgment-seat, and in the enjoyment of bliss, or suffering the punishment of the damned. We are indebted for most of this knowledge, not to musty records drawn from the oblivion of centuries, but to the monuments which are still extant on the sites of the ancient cities of Etruria, or have been drawn from their cemeteries, and all stored in the museums of Italy and of Europe" (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3rd ed., i. xxvii.).

But in spite of this wealth of knowledge there still remains much that is mysterious about the Etruscan people. Their origin is veiled in profound obscurity. Some have sought the original home of the Etruscans in the valleys of the Grisons and of Tyrol across the Rhæatian Alps ; others lay stress on the strongly Oriental type of countenance shown in the earlier specimens of Etruscan art, and favour the belief of the Etruscans themselves that they were of Lydian origin. But the problem is still unsolved. "The Etruscans," said the ancient historian Dionysius, "are like no other nation in language and manners" ; and the great historian of to-day has "nothing to add to this statement" (Mommsen). Archæological research tends to show that the Etruscans, whoever they were, did not enter Italy from the north, and to confirm the old legend of their Eastern origin. But it has as yet nothing definite to tell us about who they were, or *whence precisely* they came. Something of this aloofness and

mystery will strike the student of Etruscan art in its earlier and more characteristic phases. The Etruscan collections in the British Museum are not so large nor quite so rich as some others. But even the passing visitor, if he cares to examine these rooms in systematic fashion, may gain from the monuments of the Etruscans collected in London a distinct idea of what these mysterious people were when they were alive.[1]

THE CERVETRI SARCOPHAGUS

Nothing is better calculated to afford us a vivid and arresting impression of the ancient Etruscans than the large sarcophagus on the left, which will strike the eye of every visitor as he enters from the Bronze Room :—

"What visitor has not been startled, on first entering, at the sight of a loving pair, as large as life, reclining on a couch in the centre of the room? The life-like character of these figures, who appear engaged in animated conversation, their strange forms, and still stranger cast of features—differing widely from both the Greek and the Egyptian, yet decidedly oriental and akin to the Calmuck; the unusual material for statuary, which is soon recognised as burnt clay—cannot fail to call forth wonderment. What do they mean? Whence do they come? What people do they represent? To what age do they belong?" (Dennis).

The monument in question, discovered at Cervetri (the ancient Cære) in 1850, and acquired for the Museum in 1873 from the Castellani collection, is a sarcophagus in which were deposited the bodies of one or both of the pair whose effigies recline on the lid. Its date is probably about 600 B.C., and it is the earliest known specimen of a type of monument characteristic of the Etruscans. The idea is that of a man and a woman reclining at a banquet, as we shall see them represented on the tomb-paintings, and as, indeed, they are shown in the relief on the back of this very sarcophagus. The woman's right hand is raised as if she held out something which the male figure advances his right

[1] The Etruscan bronzes are described in the "Catalogue of Bronzes," by H. B. Walters, issued by the Trustees. The best preparation for a study of this or any other Etruscan collection is a perusal of *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, by George Dennis (John Murray, 2 vols.), a book which is not only full of information, but is written in a most attractive style.

hand to receive. The story of life and death, of which these strange and uncouth creatures are the monument, may perhaps be made out from the reliefs below :—

(1) The relief on the front represents a battle between two warriors, each attended by one male and two female figures. At either end of the scene is a winged figure; these probably represented the souls of the two warriors. A lion is represented fastening on the leg of the falling warrior. Possibly (says Dr. Murray) some Asiatic legend of a warrior attended by a lion had found its way to Etruria. The only alternative that suggests itself is that the presence of the lion may have been meant to show by a species of anticipation that the body of the falling combatant was left to be devoured by wild beasts. (2) On the opposite side of the coffin is represented a banquet, at which a male and a female figure recline. We may notice the Etruscan vases which form part of the scene. The caldron on a high stand closely resembles the vases from Falerii, exhibited in Case 70. (3) At one end are two warriors, each of whom appears to be taking leave of two female relations. (4) At the other end are two pairs of females, seated in chairs, in a mourning attitude. It is to be presumed that the four scenes thus represented on the sides of the coffin have relation to one another, and that the subjects are (3) the leave-taking of two warriors before going to single combat; (1) the death of one of them; (4) the mourning for that death; and (2) the funeral feast, or possibly the reception of the slain warrior in the other world.

Perhaps it is one of these same warriors who reclines on the lid. He is naked, and his meagre and emaciated condition seems caused by age and sickness, though perhaps much of the peculiarity of the type may be due to want of skill of the artist in the representation of nude forms. The length and tenuity of the toes are remarkable. The figures were modelled in clay over an inner core of wood, and Dr. Murray suggests that some of the anomalies may be due to defects in the subsequent process of firing the clay. The man's face is represented as a mask. Masks, as we know, were used to cover the face of the dead. The gold masks of Mycenæ in the Athens Museum were thus used; and in this saloon (Cases 88-102, H 148 and 149) there are masks, elaborately incised with hieroglyphics, for placing on the face of corpses. In the case of the woman it is impossible to say whether she is intended to be among the living or the dead: the idea may be that of a banquet in the realms of bliss, or of the woman *tending and comforting* her departed spouse. The style of

these figures (says Newton) is "archaic, the treatment throughout very naturalistic, in which a curious striving after truth in anatomical details gives animation to the group, in spite of extreme ungainliness of form and ungraceful composition." Notice the double pillow on which the man reclines. Ruskin refers to this as a decorative detail which became traditional in the subsequent art of Etrurian lands. "The Etruscan traditions (in one of Lippi's Madonnas) are preserved in it even to the tassels of the throne cushion; the pattern of these and the folds at the edge of the angel's drapery may be seen in the Etruscan tomb now central in the first compartment at the British Museum, and the double cushion of that tomb is used, with absolute obedience to his tradition, by Jacopo della Quercia, in the tomb of Ilaria di Caretta" at Lucca (*Fors Clavigera*, 1876, pp. 187, 358). The same tasselled pillow (the "fringed mattress" of Arnold's poem) is to be seen on the hardly less famous tomb of the church of Brou.

The reliefs on the side of the tomb before us are more decorative and less archaic in treatment than the figures on the lid. A fine feeling for composition prevails throughout them. The reliefs were stamped from moulds; the technical difficulties were not so great, and here Greek and Asiatic influences are perceptible. But the predominant impression which this monument will make upon the visitor, first and last, is that of the figures on the lid, with their pronounced Tartar physiognomy, their grotesque attitudes, their uncanny smile. "The beady-eyed, narrow-mouthed old Etruscans, half-raised on their couches, laugh their eternal, sly, crocodilian laugh, which always seems to be the outward expression of a formidable latent irony" (Naegely). In all the most characteristic works of Etruscan art there is a certain uncouthness which at once fascinates and repels, a weirdness which seems to mock investigation and defy analysis. The Etruscan inscription on this tomb, painted in two lines, one along the edge of the mattress, the other immediately below, has not been interpreted. Its authenticity and that of the sarcophagus have been questioned by some critics, but without any good grounds. "It reached the Museum in the condition in which it had been found at Cære" (A. S. Murray's *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi in the British Museum;* C. T. Newton's *Castellani Collection;* F. W. Burton on the same collection, in the *Portfolio, 1873, p. 133;* Dennis's *Etruria*, i. 279).

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SEIANTI

Immediately opposite (in Cases 56-63) are other terra-cotta chests and sarcophagi. These are of much later date, belonging to the second century B.C., and we see at once the progress made in terra-cotta statuary during the interval. The most remarkable is the sarcophagus (Cases 58 and 59) of a lady whose name is recorded in the inscription as "Seianti Thanunia, wife of Tlesna." Within is the skeleton of the lady herself; on the cover reclines her effigy, gazing into a mirror which lies within its open case. Her ear-rings are painted to imitate gold and amber; she wears two armlets, a necklace, and six rings. "The Etruscans seem to have had an oriental passion for jewellery—a passion which was shared by the Romans, and has been transmitted to their modern representatives, as a Sunday's walk on the Corso will abundantly testify" (Dennis, i. 476). The objects of silver and silver-gilt, which now rest on the sarcophagus, were found suspended from the walls of the lady's tomb; they comprise a silver vase, the body in the form of an ostrich egg, a silver box, a mirror, and a strigil. The date is fixed as the first half of the second century by some coins which were found in a companion sarcophagus now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. Our sarcophagus came from a tomb discovered at Chiusi (Clusium) in 1887. "Though not exactly beautiful, this work must raise Etruscan sculpture in the opinion of those who judge it by the examples commonly seen. The figure has a certain dignity; though somewhat realistic, it is not repulsively so, and the face (especially when seen in profile from the right) is not unpleasing" (A. H. Smith in *Classical Review*, i. 119).

We have said that the archaic terra-cotta sarcophagus which we first inspected was the earliest known specimen of the distinctively Etruscan type of monument. But these couch-sarcophagi were more commonly made in coarse stone instead of in terra-cotta. Hundreds of them exist in many of the museums. Many are placed in the annexe to the Græco-Roman Basement, where we have already had a glimpse of them (p. 77). The visitor who is making a systematic study of the Etruscan monuments would do well now to revisit that room. The two Etruscan tombs there reconstructed will give an idea of the painted sepulchral chambers in which the *sarcophagi are found.*

ETRUSCAN TOMB-PAINTINGS

(*Vase Rooms* III. and II.)

King Death was a rare old fellow—
He sat where no sun can shine;
And he lifted his hand so yellow,
And poured out his coal-black wine!
Hurrah! hurrah!
Hurrah for the coal-black wine!

To obtain an idea of the best Etruscan tomb-paintings we must now retrace our steps through the Bronze Room and pause in the Third Vase Room. Here on the wall is the fac-simile of a most remarkable picture unearthed in 1830 in the **Grotta del Triclinio**, the tomb of the banquet, at Corneto. Very striking must have been the first sight of this chamber, where a scene of splendid and luxurious revelry is depicted in the silent abode of the dead (see Dennis, i. 318). None of the paintings gives a better idea of the magnificence of the old Etruscans in dress, in furniture, and in all the accessories of sumptuous living:—

"The picture of the middle wall (of the tomb) represents three couches, each containing a man and a woman. In front of two of these are tables covered with vases (and dishes). Wine is handed round to the guests by a young slave. The parti-coloured coverings of the tables and couches are very beautiful, as well as the splendid festal dresses of the guests and their crowns of ivy and olive. An attendant richly dressed is playing on the double flute, whilst the guests are turning towards each other in various attitudes and with lively gestures, and seem much more occupied with the pleasures of society than with those of the table; but the feast is already begun, for one of the ladies is in the act of breaking an egg, and one of the gentlemen is receiving a cup of wine. The ladies are adorned with rich necklaces and bracelets. Ointment and perfumes also, so essential to the luxurious habits of the ancients, are not wanting to this banquet. The clatter of the dishes and the smell of the meats have attracted to the feast a tame leopard, a partridge, and a cock, which are assiduously picking up the crumbs of good things. Above the couches hang crowns or chaplets, with which the guests at the end of the entertainment used to adorn their heads, necks, and arms, when they took their luxurious siesta, or further indulged in the pleasures of the goblet. The feast being concluded, the dance commences. The ballet consists of eight persons, and the musicians are two, a player on the lyre and one on the double flute, but even they take a part in the dance. The prima

danzatrice moves her hands as if she had castanets, while the last holds a wreath of ivy, with which most of them are crowned. They are all handsomely buskined, and accompany the dance with a lively movement of the head and arms. The dance is still kept up in Campania. The dresses are of the most splendid material, embroidered with minute stars and parti-coloured garnitures; their necks are ornamented with costly collars, their ears with pendants and arms with bracelets. The youths are divided from the dancing-girls by olive and myrtle trees, covered with chaplets, in the branches of which are perched various birds; while hares and other animals are gamboling in evident enjoyment" (Mrs. Hamilton Gray's *Tour of the Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 191).

There is great spirit in the drawing, but some of the attitudes are frankly impossible; notice especially the hands of the dancers. It will be noticed that at the banquet women are represented by the side of the men. This was a characteristic of Etruria, where woman was honoured and respected, and treated in a position of equality very different from that to which she was relegated in Greece. Not all the Etruscan tombs, however, had the gay and festive air of this tomb of the banquet. The visitor, if he has inspected the models of tombs in the Basement, will already have received a vivid impression of the gloomier side of the Etruscan religion.

The pictures on the other walls of this room are copies from another tomb, at the ancient Tarquinii. It was discovered in 1827, and called from the number of inscriptions on its walls the **Grotta delle Iscrizione.** It is known also as Grotta delle Camere Finte, from the false doors painted, one in the centre of each wall, as if to indicate entrances to inner chambers. The scenes represented are games and dances:—

(Beginning on our left, we see first) two figures boxing over an upright stick, to the music of a piper, in blue tunic and red boots. Next is a pair of athletes wrestling in spirited attitudes—one having lifted the other from the earth, and thrown him completely on his shoulder. The false door separates these combatants from an equestrian procession. There are four mounted figures, preceded by another on foot, all perfectly naked. From the exultation of the first horseman, who throws his arms into the air, and from the anxiety of his followers to urge on their steeds, it is clear that the scene represents a race, which has just been won; the victor alone having his name recorded. The man on foot in front is probably an umpire. The Etruscans were renowned for their race-horses. The steeds would hardly pass muster at Newmarket or Ascot, though they show no lack of spirit. The *figures between the* next two false doors form a Bacchic dance, as is

apparent from the goblets and vases in their hands, and from the tipsy excitation of their gestures. The procession is brought up by two slaves, who are differently attired from the rest, without chaplets or necklaces, or even boots. Both carry wine-jugs, precisely similar to those which modern excavations have brought to light in such abundance. On the other side of the painted door on this wall is a bearded figure, who from his attitude appears to represent some one in authority, commanding the slave in the corner, who bears several branches of trees in each hand, to follow the Bacchic dance. He appears to have just arisen from the couch, where the slave has probably been fanning him with the boughs. The scene on the right of the entrance [on the end wall of the room here] is difficult of explanation. It represents an old man, naked, holding in one hand a forked rod, and standing before a low stool, on which a boy, also naked, is about to lay a blue fish. It is possible that the stool is a sort of altar, and that the boy is making an offering. The inscriptions are unfortunately of no assistance, as the language is for the most part unknown. (For a fuller description of these paintings, see Dennis, i. ch. xxv., from whose pages the above passage is compressed.)

We now proceed to Vase Room II., where some other tomb-paintings are reproduced (with restorations). The painting on one side of the door as we enter is especially remarkable, for it takes us from scenes of feasting to one of mourning. It is reproduced from a tomb at Corneto, called **The Dead Man's Chamber** (Camera del Morto), discovered in 1831. This is interesting both for the subject and for the style of the drawing. It is one of the earliest of the tombs, and the style is purely Etruscan without any trace of Hellenic influence. The principal subject is an affecting scene of domestic manners, the preparation of a dead body for its last resting-place. Yet "the usage of the Etruscans to honour their dead with dancing and music is not here forgotten. The very chamber of death is represented as not without this somewhat incongruous accompaniment" (Mrs. Hamilton Gray's *Sepulchres of Etruria*, p. 188).

On another wall is a facsimile of the paintings upon another tomb at Tarquinii. This tomb, called the **Grotta delle Bighe** from the chariots represented on the frieze, was discovered in 1827; it is about fifteen feet square and six feet high. The paintings, here reproduced, run round the walls as a frieze. The upper frieze, containing a multitude of figures scarcely more than a foot in height, represents the public games of the Etruscans. At one end are the two-horse chariots, above referred to, preparing for a race. The horses, for variety of colour, are painted red, blue, or white. On the rest of the

frieze, other sports are represented; most of the figures are naked. At the corners stands or platforms are depicted. On the upper platform are the more distinguished spectators, richly attired; below them are the common people, mostly naked and reclining on the ground.

What, it may be asked, have scenes such as this—corresponding to the downs at Epsom or a football match at the Crystal Palace among ourselves—to do with tombs? Two answers may be given. The pictures may represent the solemn games held at funerals; or they may portray the actual pursuits in which the happy dead were supposed to be engaged. Readers of Virgil will remember his description of the delights of the Elysian fields:—

> Here some in games upon the grass their bodies breathing gave;
> Or on the yellow face of sand they strive and play the play;
> for even as they loved
> Chariot and weapons, yet alive, and e'en as they were moved
> To feed sleek horses, under earth doth e'en such joy abide.

A similar question arises with regard to the banquet scenes, which were also a common adornment of Etruscan sepulchres. A scene of this kind is the subject of the lower frieze before us. The guests, who are here all men, recline in pairs on three couches and are attended by naked slaves. Beneath the couches are several blue ducks. The banqueters, like the dancers, are crowned with myrtle. "Their feet are twinkling about in rapid motion, and their extended hands beat time, in the still scarcely obsolete Italian fashion, as an accompaniment. Between each dancer stands a tree of olive or myrtle, sacred to the dead." Or it may be that the trees are introduced merely to indicate that the festivities were held in the open air. The ducks and other animals which figure in these scenes seem only ornamental accessories, introduced as whims of the artist—like the birds in pictures by Carpaccio and other Italian painters. The banquets may represent the funeral festivities, or be intended to realise the enjoyments of the other world. The modern visitor on entering an Etruscan tomb, or inspecting these facsimiles of their paintings, is struck with the inappropriateness of such scenes; but some remarks on this subject by Mr. Dennis are instructive:—

"*Our view is* not bounded by a paradise of mere sensual gratification. *If we cast* ourselves back into antiquity and attempt to realise

the sentiments and creed of a Greek, Etruscan or Roman, we shall perceive how well such scenes as this represent, or at least typify, the state of bliss on which a departed spirit was supposed to have entered. They believed in the materiality of the soul; and their Elysium was but a glorification of the present state of existence; the same pursuits, amusements, and pleasures they had relished in this life they expected in the next, but divested of their sting, and enhanced by increased capacities of enjoyment. To celebrate the great event, to us so solemn, by feasting and joviality, was not with them unbecoming. They knew not how to conceive or represent a glorified existence otherwise than by scenes of the highest sensual enjoyment. The funeral feast is still kept up by most civilised pagans of our own day, the Chinese, and even by certain people of Christendom. The wakes of the Celtic races of our own land have in all probability an identity of origin—in feeling at least—with the funeral feasts of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans" (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 322).

CANDELABRA, ARMOUR, ETC.

Etruria bears the palm for gold-wrought bowls,
And all the bronze that ornaments our homes.
ATHENÆUS, i. 50.

We may now return to the Etruscan Saloon, and resume our examination of the objects there collected. Turning to the left as we enter and going round the bay in which the large sarcophagus is placed, we find in the wall-cases a collection of bronze articles, of which the most important are candelabra or lamp-stands. It was in the production of articles for household use and ornament that the Etruscan metal-workers excelled. Etruscan luxury and skill in this respect were proverbial in antiquity. Etruscan statuettes in bronze were also famous, at any rate among the Romans. Pliny speaks of *Signa Tuscanica* (Etrurian statuettes) as dispersed through the world, and Horace enumerates them (*Tyrrhena Sigilla*) among the choice possessions of connoisseurs:

Games, marbles, ivory, Tuscan statuettes,
Pictures, gold plate, Gætulian coverlets,
There are who have not; one there is, I trow,
Who cares not greatly if he has or no.

Modern excavations have confirmed the evidence of antiquity, so far as Etruscan candelabra and similar objects are concerned. Large numbers of them, covering, it is thought, a

period of four centuries, have been unearthed, and they are remarkable for their grace and ingenuity. The specimens in the British Museum are arranged in Cases 76-80. The candelabra, or lamp-stands, vary from 10 inches to 5 feet in height, and compare very favourably in easy grace with the heavy lamp-stands of modern manufacture. The ancient lamps, it is true, contained only small receptacles for oil, and this facilitated lightness and grace in the stands. But modern craftsmen or tradesmen have not as a rule taken advantage of the possibilities of airiness and grace offered by the electric light, which requires only a thin wire and the lightest of lamps. One can imagine with what artistic zest the old Etruscans would have set themselves to so fascinating a task. The Etruscan candelabra were, it will be seen, of two kinds. Sometimes the shaft terminates in a bowl, in which the lamp was placed (*e.g.* No. 777); more commonly it terminates in a number of branches from which lamps were suspended. In the middle of the branches is the figure of a deity or a winged genius. This is an idea which is sometimes adapted by designers of electric lamp-stands. The feet of the Etruscan candelabra are generally lions' claws; but other shapes are used—*e.g.* dolphins (780), and human legs (779). The shafts generally rise directly from the base, and are often fluted or twisted or knotted. It was a favourite conceit to introduce a bird perched upon the stem (774, 775), or one animal pursuing another (772, 776-778).

Continuing our inspection of the wall-cases, we find in Nos. 82-87 miscellaneous bronze objects—disks, horse-trappings, etc.—which may be referred to a very early period (B.C. 800 and later), and which have nothing distinctively Etruscan about them. Bronze in this period is hammered as well as cast. Very curious are the plates with ploughing scenes (345, 346); similar objects have been found in other parts of Europe; they were probably connected in some way with the ceremonies of agricultural gods (see *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 358). In the next set of cases (81-91) are Etruscan armour and weapons in bronze. In Cases 92 and 93 is the interesting helmet (250) already referred to (p. 459). Note also two ornate tripod-stands (587, 588). Continuing our course round into the next bay, we may notice in Case 95 a very curious **cista**, or chest (No. 554). We shall presently see some chests *of this kind very* delicately incised. This chest with work in

relief is of a much earlier date and very archaic style. The frieze of Gorgons is, whether intentionally or not, very comic; each figure is embossed from the same mould. In Cases 98-102 are specimens of the archaic pottery of Etruria, called bucchero nero—black unglazed ware. "It is coarse unbaked pottery; its forms are uncouth, its decorations grotesque, its manufacture rude in the extreme, and it has little artistic beauty, yet it is of extraordinary interest as illustrative of Etruscan art in its earliest and purest stages, ere it had been subjected to Hellenic influences" (Dennis, ii. 75). Especially curious are the specimens numbered H 148, 149; these are masks, elaborately incised, for placing on the face of corpses; the man on the terra-cotta sarcophagus is so represented. In Case 102 is an amphora (A 609), with a frieze of horsemen, each figure made from the same mould; this vase was presented to the Museum by Mr. Ruskin.

In Cases 103-107 the prettiest objects are the **balsamaria** or toilet-boxes in the form of female heads, and bowls with handles in statuette forms. Some of the former are especially graceful (*e.g.* 763, 764, 759); these are in Case 103. In the same case is a tablet (888), with a long inscription in the Oscan language, which ordains festival days for various Samnite deities, many of whose names would, but for this tablet, be unknown. For the study of the Oscan language, which seems to have been one of the sources of Latin, this tablet is important. It is known as "Tavola d'Agnone" from the place in North Samnium where it was found (Newton, *Castellani Collection*, pl. 3). In the same case we may also notice a tablet (601) with incised designs, which are characteristic of the early Etruscan style in this sort.

ETRUSCAN BRONZE STATUETTES

In the production of bronze statuettes (Cases 108-115) the Etruscans did not show the marked individuality which distinguishes their work in some other departments of art. The subjects of most of the statuettes before us are Greek; the artistic motives are in most cases borrowed from the Greek; and in truth the classification of statuettes as Greek or Etruscan respectively is often decidedly conjectural. Most of the statuettes here collected are strongly archaic in character.

As examples we may note No. 496 (Case 108), a little figure as wooden in style as a wooden image, and No. 495, a comically primitive attempt to represent movement.

Next to it is No. 491, an archaic figure of Victory of great interest. At first sight this quaint little figure, in her curiously strained position, lifting up her skirt while she runs in the most impossible attitude, may excite only amusement. But both historically and technically the bronze deserves careful study:—

Historically, it shows us one of the earliest representations of a type which the progressive genius of the Greek artists developed into one of the most glorious creations of their sculpture—the figure of Winged Victory (see, *e.g.*, the cast in the Room of Archaic Sculpture, p. 114). Technically, the bronze shows us a piece of sculpture in the round which has already considerable artistic merit, but which is still under the influence of the methods employed in work in relief. It is easy to see that the chief aim of the artist has been to convey an impression of *swiftness*. The result is in some ways comical. But we may notice how the upper folds of the drapery are blown out by the wind, and how the long hair is dashed backward. Notice as a touch of observation from nature that the lady is with her left hand lifting up her skirt. In various respects we may notice a distinct sense for *composition* in the bronze, as, for instance, in the contrast between the horizontal lines of the wings and the vertical lines of the drapery. On the other hand, the bronze betrays in other technical respects its archaic character. We have seen in the case of the large terra-cotta sarcophagus (p. 463) that the sculpture in the round is less advanced artistically than the sculpture in the bas-reliefs. Here we see that work in the round is not yet emancipated from the traditions of work in relief. The bronze is very flat at the back; the wings are spread out wide with close-lying pinions; and the figure is represented in a sideward movement. (See for these and other points an elaborate analysis in ch. i. of A. S. Murray's *Greek Bronzes*.)

Another Greek motive which is very beautifully rendered in Attic sculpture of the great period, but here treated in very primitive style, is Aphroditè adjusting her sandal (449). Another Aphroditè (448) stands in the well-known attitude of the Venus dei Medici. Many of these statuettes served, it should be noted, as the stands of mirrors.

In the statuettes displaying the best workmanship, certain Etruscan characteristics may sometimes be distinguished. We may take as typical examples Nos. 613 (Case 110) and 681 (Case 112). The former is a female figure, standing in an *attitude of prayer*—of the best period of Etruscan workman-

ship, but characterised by exaggeration and in one or two small matters by absence of correct taste :—

"On the archaic marble statues of the Acropolis we frequently see a crown on the head richly decorated with floral patterns. It is a crown identical in shape with that of the Etruscan statuette, but instead of standing out conspicuously, not to say boastfully, as in the Etruscan bronze, it is invariably kept down to the most modest and unobtrusive dimensions. That was not to the Etruscan taste. Their love of conspicuousness is seen also in the massive necklace of the bronze and particularly in the intensified features of the face. Yet we are bound to acknowledge that in this figure the workmanship is often excellent. But for an innate habit of exaggeration, the sculptor might perhaps have stood side by side with the Greeks of his day" (Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 28).

No. 681 (Case 114).—A young man holding in his hand a sword, the blade of which has been broken off. Found at Civita Castellana, 1891 ; Etruscan work of the third century B.C., and again characterised by Etruscan exaggeration.

The details in Etruscan statuettes are, however, sometimes rendered with much refinement. As examples, we may notice in Cases 110-112, No. 490, a siren, and No. 509, a male figure remarkable for the delicate workmanship in the hair and eyes, as well as for the fine patina upon it. In Case 111 there is a curious group of two gymnasts (No. 508)—this formed the handle of a vase. In Case 112 there is a fine figure of Ares, from a candelabrum (No. 603).

But perhaps the most interesting of the bronzes here are several found on Monte Falterona—a find which is one of the romances of excavation :—

"Relics of Etruscan art are not always found in sepulchres. The most abundant collection of non-sepulchral relics that Etruria has produced was discovered in the summer of 1838, not in the neighbourhood of a city or necropolis, not even in the rich plains or valleys which anciently teemed with population, but, strange to say, near the summit of one of the Apennines, one of the loftiest mountains in Tuscany, which rises to the height of 5400 feet. This is Monte Falterona, the mountain in which the Arno takes its rise. On the same level with the source of this celebrated river is a lake, or tarn, on whose banks a shepherdess, sauntering in dreamy mood, chanced to cast her eye on something sticking in the soil. It proved to be a little figure in bronze. She carried it home ; and, taking it in her simplicity for the image of some holy man of God, set it up in her hut to aid her private devotions. The parish-priest, paying a pastoral visit, observed this mannikin and inquired what it was. 'A saint,'

replied the girl; but, incredulous of its sanctity or not considering it a fit object for a maiden's adoration, he carried it away with him. The fact got wind in the neighbouring town of Stia del Casentino, and some of the inhabitants resolved to make researches on the spot. A single day sufficed to bring to light a quantity of such images and other articles in bronze, to the number of 335, lying confusedly on the shores of the lake, just beneath the surface. They then proceeded to drain the lake, and discovered in its bed a prodigious quantity of trunks of fir and beech trees heaped confusedly on one another, with their roots often uppermost, as if they had been overthrown by some mighty convulsion of nature; and on them lay many similar figures in bronze, so that the total number of articles in this metal here discovered amounted to between 600 and 700. They were mostly human figures of both sexes, many of them representing gods and penates, varying in size from two or three to seventeen inches in height. But how came they here? was the question which puzzled every one to answer. At first it was thought they had been cast into the lake for preservation during some political convulsion, or hostile invasion, and afterwards forgotten. But further examination showed that they were mostly of a votive character—offerings at some shrine for favours expected or received. Most of them had their arms extended as if in the act of presenting gifts; others were clearly representations of beings suffering from disease, especially one who had a wound in his chest, and a frame wasted by consumption or atrophy; and there were, moreover, a number of decided *ex votos*—heads and limbs of various portions of the human body (see the specimens 615 and 616 here). All this implied the existence of a shrine on the mountain, surrounded, as the trees seem to indicate, by a sacred grove; and it seemed that, by one of those terrible convulsions to which this land has from age to age been subject, the shrine and grove had been hurled down into this cavity of the mountain" (see Dennis, ii. pp. 107-109).

It has been suggested that the lake possessed certain medicinal qualities, corresponding to those of creosote, which would account for the presence of a shrine and for the votive offerings. Several of the choicest products of this strange find, acquired from the dealer Campanari, are now before us in the British Museum. Among these we may specially notice:—

450.—Artemis—an archaic work of considerable excellence: wavy patterns carefully incised on the robes of the goddess.

459.—A warrior: a very fine specimen of early Etruscan art, the incised work especially fine and elaborate.

463.—A figure of Hercules—a forcible piece of work, but marred by characteristic exaggeration. This figure is said to have been the *one first* discovered at Falterona—the "saint" found by the shepherdess, *as described above.*

In Case 115 "the bronzes are of a late period, with free attitude, flaccid forms and careless work. The chasing and engraving of the surface is no longer practised" (*Guide to the Department*, p. 125). In the next cases are further specimens of Etruscan black ware.

THE POLLEDRARA TOMB

The objects collected in Cases 126-135 are of special interest, as they all come from the same tomb, and that a tomb which can be approximately dated. The tomb was excavated at a place called La Polledrara near Vulci in 1840; its contents were kept together in the possession of the Prince of Canino, son of Lucien Bonaparte, from whom they were acquired by the British Museum. Among the objects found in the tomb and now placed in the front of these cases was a small porcelain scarab or charm. On this is a cartouche or oval ring enclosing the hieroglyphic of the Egyptian king, Psammetichus I., who reigned 666-612 B.C. The tomb cannot therefore be earlier than his reign; but as internal evidence points strongly to its high antiquity, the date may be placed about 612 B.C. Its interest consists in showing us native works of art of the early Etruscan style, anterior to Greek influence, side by side with articles which are unequivocally Egyptian, and thus attest the very early intercourse between that country and Etruria.

From the Egyptian character of some of its contents, it received the name of the Tomb of Isis (Grotta d'Iside), but it seems really to have been the tomb of two Etruscan ladies of rank, whose effigies are still in existence, though nearly three thousand years may have elapsed since their decease. Unless the archaic art of Etruria entirely failed to suggest their charms, it cannot be said that they were remarkable for beauty or delight. Let us look first at these curious specimens of ancient sculpture. One is a full length, carved in the limestone of the Polledrara district—a stiff and ungainly figure. The other lady is in bronze (434), and only her bust is represented:[1]—

[1] The figure was found in fragments, and put together in modern times on a core of deal. Mr. Cecil Smith suggests that it originally represented not a bust but a full-length, that the bands represented the upper and lower borders of an embroidered robe, and that an intervening plate of

"Being of vainer mood than her fellow, and less modest withal, she had it represented bare, taking care to put on her best necklace—and a gorgeous one it must have been, though stiffening her neck like a warrior's gorget—and to have her hair carefully arranged and curled when she sat to the artist. And she seems to have worn a broad gold frontlet, for such an ornament, embossed with figures, was found in the tomb. Then she affected modesty, and, with a gilt bird on her hand, thought to make herself more engaging. Yet posterity, whom she intended to enchant, will hardly accord this Etruscan Lesbia credit for great charms; and will be apt to exclaim with Juvenal that nothing is more intolerable than a bedizened dowager" (Dennis, i. 460).

From the technical point of view the figure is interesting as a specimen of the primitive method of making bronze figures described by Pausanias (see p. 422). The bust was made by fitting pieces together, and by this method no success in the representation of the human face or figure could be expected. On the lower part of the bronze before us are plates with friezes of lions, sphinxes, and chariots. The workmanship of these reliefs is much less primitive than that of the bust above; the technical difficulty here was much less (see Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, i. 85, and *Greek Archæology*, p. 243). We have already noticed a similar technical contrast in the case of the terra-cotta sarcophagus (p. 463). Among other bronze objects found in this tomb we may notice two braziers (436, 437), two oblong cars on four wheels, and with a horse's fore-quarters springing from each angle. They must have been, says Dennis, for fumigation, and may have been dragged about the tomb to dispel the effluvium on the funeral feast or the annual ceremonies in commemoration of the dead. In the case of other bronze objects, the plates are so thin and slight that they can only have been used for show at funeral ceremonies. (For other instances of this economy see p. 451.)

The Egyptian articles found in the tomb consist of six **ostrich eggs**, of which one is painted and five are carved; some flat-sided flasks, and unguent pots terminating in the figures of women. The flasks have hieroglyphic inscriptions (invocations to the gods to grant a happy New Year to the owner of the vase). The eggs have holes in them, recalling the fact that ostrich eggs are suspended in mosques at

plain bronze has been lost (*J.H.S.* xiv. 223). The sculpture of busts is generally supposed to be a late development of the art (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 242). The Official Catalogue conjectures that the figure *was meant for Aphrodité.*

the present day. What was their significance? Mr. Dennis answers thus:—

"Imitations of ostrich eggs in terra-cotta have been found in other tombs at Vulci, which seems to indicate that they were of funereal application, and that the demand was greater than the supply. Hens' eggs are also found in tombs, not only in Etruria, but in Greece and her colonies, and are sometimes enclosed in vases. They are not always fragile, for many museums in Italy contain specimens of this singular sepulchral furniture [see also in this room, p. 550]. Whether mere relics of the funeral feast, or intentionally left in the tomb with the wine, honey, milk, etc., as food for the Manes, or for some purely symbolical purpose, it is not easy to determine. The signification of fertility ordinarily attached to eggs can hardly apply to a sepulchre. The egg was more probably in this case an emblem of resurrection" (i. 458 *n.*).

We have mentioned the hieroglyphics on the flasks. In the inscriptions Egyptian scholars have detected blunders, and this fact suggests the theory that some non-Egyptian intermediary was engaged in introducing the wares of Egypt to Etruria. The Greek colony at Naucratis in the Delta may have been the source of the importation. A confirmation of this theory is sought in the character of the painted pottery found in the Polledrara Tomb. The principal vase (A 632) is unique in Etruscan pottery, the ground being dark gray and the figures black, red, blue, yellow, and white. The colours, however, are now so faint that few visitors will have the patience, even if they had the eyes, to make out the designs. A detailed examination of the vase and coloured facsimiles will be found in vol. xiv. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Mr. Cecil Smith draws up an ingenious formula harmonising all the theories which have been propounded with regard to this Polledrara ware. It is "a local Italian ware made possibly at Cære under the combined influences of Ionian and Naucratian imports acting on an artistic basis principally derived from Corinth" (*loc. cit.* p. 219).

LATER ETRUSCAN WORKS

We must now turn from these specimens of the archaic art of Etruria to the table-cases in this part of the room which contain some of the choicest works of Etruscan art

now in existence. In Case A are some particularly beautiful objects :—

665.—A bronze strigil, or instrument for scraping oil from the limbs. The handle is formed of a figure of Aphroditè, who is herself represented as using the strigil. This, says Newton, is an exquisite specimen of Italian design, probably of the Macedonian period; the figure of Aphroditè is finely modelled, and adapted to the handle with that versatile ingenuity which distinguished Greek and Græco-Etruscan decorative art in its best period (*Castellani Collection*, pl. 5).

447.—An archaic female, remarkable among other things for the close-fitting jacket of thick stuff which the lady is represented as wearing: this is very un-Greek. The patterns on the drapery are finely incised, especially between the breasts. This figure is also interesting as an early example of casting. The bronze was cast on an iron core, and the iron having expanded unequally caused the right side of the figure to split.

557.—A vase cleverly designed. The handles are formed of two nude athletes bent backwards so as to support the mouth of the vase.

602.—A bronze of the finest Etruscan style, showing Demeter seated in a rustic car, of which the wheels are in the form of a rose.

656.—A wine jug. The body is modern; the curious handle is original.

666.—A female figure seated on a chair, forming the base of a small candelabrum. This very graceful piece, found at Chiusi, was in the collection of Rogers, the poet.

The best of these pieces, though found in Etruria, are essentially Greek in their ease and grace. More characteristically Etruscan are the **cistæ** (chests), of which one or two are placed at the bottom of this case; but finer specimens will be seen presently.

In Case B we may notice three caldron-shaped urns (558-560) of elaborate workmanship.

ETRUSCAN CHESTS

In the next cases we come to some fine specimens of a characteristically Etruscan product—namely, the cista, or chest of bronze, with designs incised upon it. These objects have been called by Italian archæologists *ciste mistiche*, mystic chests, but it is clear from the character of their contents (see below, p. 479) that the only mysteries attending them were those of the female bath and toilet. These chests are found only in *Etruria, and there* almost entirely at Prænestè (Palestrina).

Such things as the exquisite strigil noticed above, and these beautifully chased toilet boxes, give us a good idea of the artistic luxury of an Etruscan lady's surroundings. No. 638 in Case C is one of the finest works of art in the Etruscan collection. It was found at Præneste, and is a rival even to the famous "Ficoroni cista" in the Kircherian Museum at Rome :—

The subject of the frieze is the sacrifice of Trojan captives by Achilles at the funeral pyre of Patroclus, as described in the *Iliad*, xxiii. 175 :—

> Last, with the sword, by evil counsel sway'd,
> Twelve noble youths he slew, the sons of Troy.

"The drawing is excellent, the types of the figures noble, and the desire of the artist to enliven his composition by bold perspective in the attitudes, conspicuous." In the centre of the composition is the pyre of logs, and on it are placed the cuirass and two shields of Patroclus. On the left is Achilles plunging his sword into the neck of a captive, whose face is full of expression. On the left of Achilles is a female goddess, her legs crossed in an easy attitude. Farther on is Athena. "There is great variety of attitude and expression in the other captives and the myrmidons who lead them to the sacrifice. We should mention also the artist's efforts at shading to give roundness to the forms, because such efforts, as we know from the painted vases, where they would have been equally applicable, were rare among the Greeks" (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 135). The date of this work is probably the fourth century B.C.

In Case D is another very fine cista. The design on it is drawn with freedom and care. The subject appears to be a burlesque of the Judgment of Paris. (For a full account of this ingenious and interesting identification see Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, pp. 140-145.)

In the chest, No. 743, were found, among other objects, the knife here exhibited (2760), and a statue of Mars (456).

In Case E is another fine chest, No. 746 (from Palestrina, 1888), of a late period (probably third century B.C.), but of fine style. The frieze combines two scenes from the Trojan cycle (described in Murray's *Archæology*, p. 136).

In the lower part of this case are various articles of toilet—such as combs, pigment-boxes, etc.—found in the bronze chests, and thus revealing the use to which they were put.

In Case F are various bronze implements, such as colanders,

the handles of vases, and feet of cistæ. We may notice also the handsome situla or bucket, No. 650; this would make a fine wine-cooler. Above each foot is a group of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion; below the handles is a relief of a winged death-goddess holding up a youth with either hand. In Cases H and I are more cistæ.

ETRUSCAN MIRRORS

We now cross to the other side of the room, where, in the Table-cases K and L, is shown the collection of Etruscan mirrors. When first discovered these metal disks with handles were supposed to be ladles for flour and other dry substances; but it is now established without doubt that they were mirrors—a fact proved by representations of them, either on their own disks or on painted vases; by the high polish they often retain; and by the discovery of them in caskets with other articles of the female toilet. The Etruscan mirrors are of the two different kinds already specified in the case of the Greek mirrors. Some, that is to say, are polished disks, with designs incised on the reverse side, and furnished with handles. Others are enclosed in mirror-cases. It is into a mirror of this latter kind, lying within its open case, that the effigy of Seianti is gazing on the sarcophagus above described. Several specimens of Etruscan mirror-cases will be found in Case K. But it is the incised mirrors that are the characteristically Etruscan product. Comparatively few have been found in Greece; a thousand have been found in Etruria. Apparently the Etruscans in their search for luxury had encouraged the production of such works to a far greater extent than the Greeks. In our own luxurious days hand mirrors are in great request, but they do not show the same search for artistic embellishment as was common in Greece and Etruria. Walk down Holborn or Oxford Street, and you will see cheap "art mirrors," in which crude and conventional designs of no beauty or meaning are stamped on brass. Walk down Bond Street or Piccadilly and you will find that the hand mirrors in the most sumptuous dressing-bags or toilet-cases appeal to the purses of the rich rather by the costliness of their material than from any delicacy of artistic design. From the artistic point of view, it has been pointed out with force and acumen

that incised mirrors were the Etruscan counterpart of the Greek red-figured vases. The Etruscan artists appear to have shrunk from the difficulties, so successfully surmounted by the Greeks, of decorating suitably the curved surfaces of a vase. In this art they never achieved any success. They devoted themselves instead to adorning the flat even surfaces supplied them by mirror disks and the sides of cistæ. These latter, it should be understood, were first engraved on square, flat plates of bronze, which were afterwards beaten to a cylindrical form. The method of incised drawing may have been borrowed from the incised lines on the older Greek vases; the idea of decorating the circular disk, from the decoration on the inside of a Greek painted kylix (see *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, p. li., and Murray's *Archæology*, p. 120).

The subjects depicted on the Etruscan mirrors were similarly borrowed from Greece; in the subjects on the vases the Etruscan artists had "an extensive mythological repertory ready to their hand." They drew upon it freely and sometimes very incongruously (see No. 719). But the myths were, so to say, Etruscanised. The names of the Greek deities and personages were translated into the Etruscan language and alphabet. Hence to the student there is no branch of Etruscan antiquities more valuable than incised mirrors; "for the inscriptions being always in the native character, and designatory of the individual gods or heroes represented, these mirrors become a sure index to the Etruscan creed—'a figurative dictionary,' as Bunsen terms it, 'of Etruscan mythology'; while at the same time they afford us the chief source and one of the most solid bases of our acquaintance with the mysterious language of that ancient race" (Dennis, i. lxxx.).

We may now proceed to notice a few of the individual specimens:—

542 (Case L).—This is a bronze mirror with a relief sculptured on the back of it, instead of the usual incised design. Bronze reliefs were generally kept for mirror-cases. The subject is Hercules carrying off a woman. The workmanship is a fine specimen of the archaic period.

543.—A good specimen of archaic drawing. Some characteristic Etruscanisms may be noticed: "The wings on the shoes of the goddess are much exaggerated in size. Equally exaggerated is the action of holding out the skirt with the right hand, and yet the series of long narrow folds formed thereby is quite attractive in its way." (See for a discussion of other points Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 35.)

244.—A *good design* in the archaic manner. The subject—Eros

running—is very similar to that on the Greek vase, E 13 (V.R. III.), and it is doubtful whether the workmanship is Greek or Etruscan. Dr. Murray, who takes the latter view, nevertheless calls attention to the many Greek qualities in the design: "One might say, here is an instance of pure Greek drawing, so finely conceived is this youthful figure, so essentially Greek his action of holding up a flower. His body outlined against the background of the spreading wings, and these wings elaborately delineated as a foil to the simple lines of the body, the face of a large, full type—these are characteristics singularly Greek" (*Greek Bronzes*, p. 32).

545.—Orion crossing the sea—a design which recalls the style of the Greek vases. The sea is indicated by a wavy line and fishes—one of the earliest and most constant of symbolic representations in art. "There is a very curious instance on a Greek mirror in the Museum, and multitudes of examples with dolphins on the Greek vases; the type is preserved without alteration in mediæval painting and sculpture. The sea on that mirror, in the mosaics of Torcello and St. Mark's, on the front of St. Frediano at Lucca, on the gate of the fortress of St. Michael's Mount in Normandy, on the Bayeux tapestry, and on the capitals of the Ducal Palace at Venice (under Arion on his dolphin), is represented in a manner absolutely identical" (Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, i. ch. 20, § xxv.).

627.—"One of the very finest of existing examples, representing the meeting of Menelaos and Helen after the taking of Troy. The drawing of the figures is very refined and masterly, especially Ajax and Menelaos" (*Catalogue of Bronzes*, pp. li., 97).

620.—A curious and interesting subject—the story of Perseus and Medusa, peculiarly appropriate to a bronze mirror-case, since it was the bronze shield of Athena, serving as a mirror, which enabled the hero to trace Medusa without actually seeing her face—a sight which would have turned him to stone.

719.—The design here is an instance of the incongruous collocation of Greek personages. Ajax, Alcmena, Thetis, and a Silenus are all united in one scene. This is due either to confused ideas or to carelessness on the part of the artist, who has selected certain types from his stock and combined them at haphazard" (*Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. lii.).

623.—Achilles arming. A Greek subject with an Etruscan deity added in the shape of a winged Lasa or Fate, holding a nail in her raised right hand. The Etruscan goddess of fate is sometimes represented with a hammer as well as a nail, as if fixing unalterably her decrees (cf. Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*).

In the centre of Case L are specimens of early Etruscan black *bucchero* ware (see p. 471).

In Case K.—The examples in this case are, as a rule, later than those we have already examined, and the drawing *is not so careful.* Among the most interesting is No. 3217,

recently acquired from the Tyszkiewicz collection—a game of backgammon. A boy and a girl are playing; above the girl is inscribed in Latin, "I shall beat you"; above the boy, "I think so." This curious specimen, which may be dated about 200 B.C., comes from Præneste.

On one side of this case are collected the examples of mirror-cases with designs in relief. These belong exclusively to the later period of Etruscan art (third century B.C.). In the centre of the case are further specimens of black ware.

EARLY ETRUSCAN PAINTINGS

To complete our survey of the Etruscan objects in this room we have now to examine some more of the wall-cases. Beginning from the door into the Bronze Room, we may notice first, in Cases 75-71, five panels of terra-cotta with archaic paintings of particular interest, as they are entirely free from restoration. These are among the oldest of Greek or Italian paintings which have come down to us, dating probably from the beginning of the seventh century before Christ, at which period the practice of painting on terra-cotta panels succeeded that of painting on stucco. Pliny, in his account of the beginnings of the art, refers to some paintings which were found at Cære (the modern Cervetri) still looking fresh, though of great antiquity. It was at that place that the slabs before us were discovered in 1874, inside a small tomb, to which they had served as wall decorations. With regard to the **method** employed, the slabs were first covered with a white "slip"; the design was then sketched in with ivory or wood point and filled in with reds and blacks. The white ground was allowed to stand for the faces and arms of the women; the flesh of the men was red. The **subjects** seem to be scenes of mourning. The two sphinxes, which are drawn on a larger scale, stood on either side of the doorway of the tomb; the other figures are mourners. Observe, for instance, the mantles drawn up over the heads of the women. An instructive detail is the standard surmounted by a bull which one of the men carries. It is supposed that the art of painting in Greece—passing thence to Etruria—was derived, through the early Greek settlers in Asia Minor, from Egypt and Assyria. "The bull is of a quite Assyrian type. The mere idea of a standard is peculiarly

Assyrian in its origin. In Assyria, says Herodotus (i. 195), 'each man has a seal and a staff carved by hand, and on each staff is carved either an apple or a rose, or a lily or an eagle, or some other device; for it is not their custom to have a staff without a device upon it.' Thence the use of a standard seems to have passed to the Etruscans, and from the Etruscans it certainly was handed on to the Romans. Moreover, the type of face on the Cære paintings is markedly Assyrian. . . . The idea of facing walls with decorated slabs of terra-cotta was distinctly of Mesopotamian origin, as also is the type of feature prevalent in these slabs, and the curious form of boots" (A. S. Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, pp. 350, 356, and in *J.H.S.* x. 243; Cecil Smith in *Classical Review*, iii. 187).

TERRA-COTTA ROOF ORNAMENTS, ETC

On the upper part of these cases are archaic terra-cotta roof ornaments, also from Cervetri. We shall come presently to some of these ornaments of a later period; the later specimens have been reconstructed so as to show how they were used to mask the ends of ridges on a roof. An interesting legend is told by Pliny in connection with the origin of this architectural contrivance. It was, he says, a Corinthian potter, named Butades, who first made these terra-cotta "antefixes," and he was led to the choice of faces for this purpose by having seen the outline which his daughter had sketched on the wall from the shadow cast on it by her lover's face in lamp-light. Butades filled in the face with clay and fired it with other specimens of his work as a potter. This employment of terra-cotta was in time superseded by the use, in important buildings, of marble for roof-tiles; but terra-cotta continued to be used for smaller buildings—especially in Etruria and among the early Romans. "The designs of these cornices were made from moulds: one mould of a Gorgon's head, for example, would be sufficient for a whole cornice. Uniformity of effect as regards artistic type was reduced by brightness of colouring" (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 328; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 151-152).

Cases 70-64.—**Antiquities from various sites.** First we may notice a collection of archaic pottery from a tomb at *Falerii (70-68).* The cauldron on a high stand, represented on

the reliefs of the large terra-cotta sarcophagus opposite, closely resembles one here exhibited. Another collection is of antiquities from tombs in the valley of the Ticino,—Giubiasco, etc. (67-65). "These antiquities, though representing a primitive stage of civilisation in the Ticino valley, were yet contemporary with Republican Rome" (*British Museum Return*, 1902, p. 62). At the bottom of these cases are some other very curious remains of primitive Italian civilisation. These are two funeral urns in the form of huts; one of the two contains calcined bones. The desire to make the tomb an imitation of the dwelling is common to early times. But whereas Etruscan tombs and sarcophagi were often imitations of houses or temples, these urns have a much ruder structure: the shepherd's hut of boughs and skins is their type—thus indicating a far earlier origin. These hut-urns and others like them elsewhere were found on the Alban Hills above the Lake of Albano:—

The urns were embedded in a yellowish volcanic ash, and rested on a lower and earlier stratum of peperino (volcanic rock). The upper stratum being broken through to plant vines, disclosed large pots containing hut-urns and other vases. At first these hut-urns were regarded as of antediluvian antiquity. But afterwards it was surmised that an eruption of the extinct volcano (of which the crater is now the Alban Lake) might have covered the tombs with a bed of peperino. After a time the genuineness of the discovery was called in question; it was asserted that these sepulchral relics must have been placed beneath the peperino, either for greater security or to puzzle the antiquaries. In 1866, however, a party of Italian scholars and geologists visited the site and unanimously came to the conclusion that the relics had been deposited prior to the formation of the volcanic stratum under which they were discovered. The celebrated antiquary De Rossi afterwards continued researches on the spot, and found traces of a necropolis covering a large area in which, whenever he broke through the superincumbent crust of peperino, he discovered similar remains (see Dennis, ii. 457 *n.*).

The question as to the genuineness of the discovery was thus completely set at rest. The ashes contained in the hut-urns are probably those of the inhabitants of Alba Longa, which, if we may believe tradition, stood on the ridge surrounding the Lake of Albano. These urns thus take us back to the very dawn of Roman history—to the legendary days of King Amulius, "Of the great Sylvian line, Who reigned in Alba Longa, *On the throne of* Aventine." In Case 64 is a larger and

very quaint urn for ashes, in the form of a male figure with a movable head.

Cases 63-54.—In the remaining cases devoted to Etruscan antiquities are a number of **sepulchral chests**, some of terra-cotta, others of limestone. The important sarcophagus of Seianti Thanunia we have already described. The smaller terra-cotta chests are cast from moulds, and roughly coloured, the names of the deceased being occasionally added.

In the archaic Etruscan style, sixth century B.C., is one showing two sea-horses confronted (Case 61): this is brightly coloured in red and blue. On the later chests favourite subjects are repeated. One of these is *Echetlus fighting with his plough at Marathon* (in Case 63 and elsewhere). The story of this phantom warrior, who was seen assisting the Athenians, is told by Pausanias (i. 32. 4):—

"Now it befell, they say, that in the battle there was present a man of rustic aspect and dress, who slaughtered many of the barbarians with a plough, and vanished after the fight. When the Athenians inquired of the god, the only answer he vouchsafed was to bid them honour the hero Echetlus."

Another favourite subject is the story of *Eteocles and Polynices*—the two sons of Œdipus, who both fell in a war of single combat between them. The furies, carrying their torches, stand on the bas-relief, as spectators and abettors of the combat. This was one of the subjects, as Pausanias describes, on the chest of Cypselus.

Another familiar story, represented on one of these Etruscan urns, is that of Laocoon, whose sons are shown in the coils of a two-headed serpent (Case 54). "The sepulchral chests of limestone are adorned with reliefs in an archaic style of sculpture, which refer for the most part to the funeral of the deceased, or to scenes in his life. They include scenes of combat, scenes of the chase, banquets, and the laying out of the corpse" (*Guide to the Department*, p. 128).

In Cases 53-38 are various **busts, vases, and drinking horns.** Notice in Cases 42 and 41 two oil-flasks in the form of Ethiopian slaves.

In Cases 37-26 are **architectural terra-cottas** (sixth century B.C.) from the excavations conducted by Lord Savile at Civita Lavinia, the ancient Lanuvium, 1890-93. In Cases 31 and 30, *a cornice has been* reconstructed from the remains of an

Etruscan temple. Below are two limestone urns, in the shape of temples, with similar roofs. In that of one, from Chiusi, a winged figure sits as guardian. The groups in terra-cotta relief masked the ends of circular tiles. Of these groups the most interesting is a brightly coloured one (in Case 28), showing a Bacchic group of a satyr and a mænad, looking eagerly for the advent of Dionysus. The attitude of the satyr in holding up his left hand to shade his eyes is new (see A. J. Murray in *J.H.S.* xiii. 315).

☞ *In the west central bay of the Etruscan Saloon are four standard-cases, containing a collection of the coins of the ancients. It is with this collection that the next chapter deals.*

CHAPTER XXIII

THE COINS OF THE ANCIENTS

Tout passe—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité,
Le buste
Survit à la cité.

Et la médaille austère,
Que trouve un laboureur
Sous terre,
Révèle un empereur.

TH. GAUTIER.

"In the finest gems, as in the finest coins, we see how the Greek artist contrived to obtain breadth and grandeur of effect, even when his design was on the most limited scale; we can form some idea of the amazing fertility of invention which enabled him to repeat the same figure or group on a number of separate works, each time with some happy variation; we can appreciate the general refinement of taste which made such objects the cheap luxury of daily life, and circulated them from hand to hand" (C. T. NEWTON).

THE enduring nature of coins and their copiousness give them a special value among monuments of antiquity. The earliest known coins were issued in the seventh century before the Christian era; their use spread through the civilised world, and has never been interrupted. Coins were hoarded and deposited in safe places. Hundreds of thousands of them have been found under conditions which can leave no doubt of their genuineness. They are made of materials selected for their durability. Hence we have in the coins of the ancients a series of works, often in perfect condition and of unexampled completeness. The collection in the British *Museum is one of* the most complete in the world. The

inspection of the coins themselves is confined to students who have obtained special permission. For the study of the coins in detail a large library of catalogues has been issued.[1] For the general visitor who may desire to obtain a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the subject, a selection of the principal coins of the ancients has been arranged, in electrotype, in eight cases which stand outside the Coin Room. It is with these alone that we are concerned in this chapter.

The science of numismatics to which, so far as Greek coins are concerned, this selection is intended to serve as an introduction, covers a wide field. It deals, for instance, with the metals employed; with the denomination and weight of coins, and their relations; with the laws by which their issue was regulated. These are branches of the subject which are of importance to students of ancient economics and history; but to the visitor who is not a specialist, the interest of a collection of coins is to be found rather in their artistic aspect and in such incidental reflections—literary, historical, mythological—as the inscriptions and devices upon the coins may suggest. Regarded chronologically, a collection of ancient coins, by their juxtaposition, discloses the characteristics of the style of successive periods. Coins form indeed, as is remarked by Mr. Head, "the grammar of Greek art." Arranged geographically, they show the course of Hellenic civilisation and the characteristics of local styles. What are called the "types" of coins—that is to say, the devices on the two sides—were, like the subjects of the sculptor and the vase-painter, mainly mythical. A collection of coins thus exhibits "the Hellenic Pantheon in miniature." But they are not only monuments of art and of mythology. They are also inscribed monuments, and as such form part of the evidence of general history. They are most useful in chronology and geography. But they sometimes fill up gaps in historical records; as in the case of the Bactrian coins, which have supplied the outlines of the

[1] The acquisition of these catalogues would cost a small fortune. The *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, by Barclay V. Head, issued by the trustees, with 70 plates (reproductions in photogravure of the electrotypes in Cases I. to VII. here exhibited), is a most desirable possession, and, in view of the number and excellence of the illustrations, not expensive (25s.). Another attractive volume is Professor Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins* (Cambridge University Press). An introduction to the whole subject is Mr. G. F. Hill's *Handbook to Greek and Roman Coins* (Macmillan).

history, otherwise almost unrecorded, of a Græco-Indian kingdom. Coins record, too, many alliances, confederacies, and passing events, sometimes revealing what is not otherwise known, but more often confirming and illustrating historical records.

The number of specimens in the first seven cases is 800. They are all selected for special interest or significance of one kind or another. No complete commentary can be here attempted. The object of the following pages is rather, by taking up now one subject and now another, to suggest the wealth of interest accessible in the study of these monuments of antiquity, which, though small in scale, are large in incidental interest, and large also, in the finest specimens, in artistic style. Many of them are, indeed, "among the most exquisite productions of ancient art; they are finished," as Sir Charles Newton says, "with a delicacy happily described by Pliny as *Argutiae operum in minimis quoque rebus custoditae*"—a delicacy of workmanship carefully maintained, even in things on the smallest scale.

A few general explanations may be acceptable as a preliminary to a more detailed inspection. How were the coins of the ancients made? What were their weights and values? To what branch of art do they belong? What is the general nature of the devices upon them? The **coins of the ancients were made of** gold, silver, electrum, and copper. By "electrum" was meant any alloy of gold and silver, containing more than 20 per cent of the latter. In books and catalogues gold is described by the abbreviation *N*; silver, by *R*; electrum, by EL. Gold was used in a very pure state. The Persian gold pieces contained, out of 1000 parts, only 30 of alloy; those of Philip and Alexander, only 3; the gold of the Roman Republic, none; the gold of Augustus, only 2. In the British sovereign, 84 parts out of 1000 are alloy. The silver pieces of Athens contain only 14 parts of alloy; our standard silver contains 75. Ancient coins were "struck"—that is to say, a piece of metal of the proper weight was placed between two dies, and the upper die was then struck with a heavy hammer. Every recent visitor to Pompeii knows the charming wall-paintings of "Little Loves of the House of the Vettii," as they are called on the photographs and coloured prints. The Cupids are represented as engaged in the manifold work of everyday life and, among other things, in striking

coins.[1] This picture should be studied by those who desire to follow the ancient method of striking coins. One characteristic, distinguishing ancient from modern coins, will soon be perceived. The form is not exactly circular; the metal often spreads into irregular shapes beyond the limits of the die. The ancient coiners used no "collars" to confine the coins under pressure to a regular form. "When the coin was struck little regard was paid either to the shape of the lump of metal or to the just position of the die upon its surface. This and other indications of negligence—the cracked edge, perhaps, and the abnormal outline, which form a most remarkable contrast with the prim regularity of modern coins—conspire to set off in more captivating beauty the device that occupies the field" (*Edinburgh Review*, July 1856).

The questions connected with the **coin-standards** of the ancients are very complicated. With regard to the origin of the standards, there are two theories. According to one, they were derived from some scientifically-obtained unit; according to another, they were derived empirically. In Homer we hear of certain pieces of gold called talents as being in circulation; yet values are still expressed in cattle. The gold talent, it is therefore surmised, was equal to an ox, which was equal to the Attic stater. The gold unit, in other words, was the amount equivalent in value to an ox; and this unit was determined by weighing the metal "by means of the seeds of plants, which nature had placed ready to the hand of the man as counters and weights" (see W. Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards*). However this may be, fully developed and scientific systems were in force by the time that coins were invented. One such system was the Babylonian, and it is to this that most Greek coins conform. Another standard was the Phœnician. In the "Room of Semitic Antiquities" in the Museum there is a bronze lion weight, with a Phœnician inscription, "found correct by the commissioners for money." Similarly in the "Babylonian and Assyrian Room" may be seen (Wall-cases 23-27) a collection of the

[1] Mau, in his work on *Pompeii: its Life and Art* (Macmillan, 1899, p. 329), explains the picture as a goldsmith's shop; but, as Mr. G. F. Hill pointedly remarks, "jewels are not made with sledge hammers" (*Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 144). Sometimes coins were cast, and not struck: see the apparatus in the Romano-British collection, described below, p. 737.

royal or standard weights of Assyria, found at Nimroud. They are made of bronze, in the shape of a lion couchant, with a handle on the back, and are inscribed with the name of the Assyrian kings in whose reigns they were made, and with their weights. The unit of weight was the *shekel.* Sixty shekels made one *manah* or mina; and sixty minas, one *talent.* There were two systems of Babylonian weights, adjusted to the "heavy talent" and the "light talent" respectively; and to these, two of the Greek monetary standards corresponded: the Phocaic, founded on the heavy talent; the Euboic, founded on the light. The ratio of gold to silver was about 13 to 1. The drachm (Attic) weighed 67½ grains; two drachms (didrachm) equalled one shekel or stater. The principal silver coin of the Greek currency was the drachma, containing six obols, and equal to a franc in modern values. Some of the finest of the silver coins which we shall see are tetradrachms. The Persian gold daric (I. A 17) weighed 129 grains. The gold stater of Athens was worth 20 drachmas. It is remarkable that the denomination was not marked on ancient coins. But the designs on the face were often modified to show it. Thus, at Athens all the divisions of the drachm were marked by a varying treatment of the invariable types. On the tetrobol there were two owls; on the diobol, an owl with one head and two bodies; on the triobol, the owl faces the spectator. So, again, on the Sicilian coins, a four-horse chariot was placed on the tetradrachm; a rider with a second horse on the didrachm; a simple horseman on the drachm.

Turning now to **coins as works of art,** rather than as currency, we may notice generally that the art is that of what Ruskin calls "round relief," *i.e.* sculpture in which every portion of the surface is rounded, but none under-cut. In this kind, "sculpture is essentially the production of a pleasant bossiness or roundness of surface." Take, for instance, the Syracusan coins, III. C 29, and II. C 33:—

> "If you look from some distance, you find that the relief on each of them simplifies itself into a pearl-like portion of a sphere, with exquisitely gradated light on its surface. When you look at them nearer, you will see that each smaller portion into which they are divided—cheek, or brow, or leaf, or tress of hair—resolves itself also into a rounded or undulated surface, pleasant by gradation of light. Every *several* surface is delightful in itself, as a shell, or a tuft of rounded *moss, or the bossy* masses of distant forest would be. That these

intricately modulated masses present some resemblance to a girl's face, such as the Syracusans imagined that of the water-goddess Arethusa, is entirely a secondary matter; the primary condition is that the masses shall be beautifully rounded and disposed with due discretion and order" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 21).

This primary and general effect is very successfully produced on the best Greek coins. But they will bear, and require, minute examination also, for their further artistic qualities. We have seen, in discussing the Parthenon sculptures, the limiting conditions of high relief and flat relief (pp. 170, 175). Coins, and for the most part gems, are in round relief, or mezzo rilievo. This, as Eastlake points out, differs from both the other kinds of relief:—

"It has neither the limited attitudes of the first, nor the distinct outline and suppressed internal markings of the second; on the contrary, the outline is often less distinct than the forms within it, and hence it requires, and is fitted for, near inspection. The imitation may thus be more absolute, and its execution more finished, than those of either of the other styles. Most of the coins of antiquity are executed on the principle of mezzo rilievo, and though often far bolder in their relief than modern works of the kind, are treated in a mode corresponding with their minute dimensions, which require close inspection. The outline thus gradually rounds into the ground, and is never abruptly sunk, while the nearest parts are most relieved. Thus conventional methods are always wanting in works that admit of close inspection, where the eye can be satisfied without such expedients.

"The comparatively strong relief of the heads on ancient coins is again a contrivance for their preservation, and presents a new variety in the style of rilievo. Coins are exposed to friction, and the forms they bear are thus liable to be soon effaced. The earliest means adopted to prevent this, was by sinking the representation in a concavity, in which it was thus protected. This plan was soon abandoned, for obvious reasons; and the method ultimately adopted was that of raising the least important parts most. Accordingly, the parts that are rubbed away in many fine antique coins are precisely those which can best be spared; the hair has generally a considerable projection, so that the face and profile are often perfectly preserved after 2000 years" (*Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts*).

Greek coins will, then, repay minute examination, for the sake of the wide range of subject which they admit and the minuteness of their workmanship. To the student of Greek art they have a peculiar value; not only because of their consecutiveness, as already noticed, but also because of their

genuineness. They do not, indeed, contain the artist's hand, as a veritable gem does. They are struck from the artist's die, and the specimens here before us, being only electrotypes, are at yet one more remove. But, on the other hand, such as they are, they are unquestionably genuine. They are not copies or reminiscences of original works of art; they are themselves directly struck from the originals. Coins are free, as Eastlake says, from some of the conventions which are necessary in other forms of sculpture. But they are subject to various limitations. They are small. The subjects represented on them are therefore simple. The engraver worked on the actual scale intended. The coins exhibit therefore that amount of delicacy which is proper to the size. They are of a particular shape, and here, as elsewhere, Greek artists showed the nicest sense in adapting their design to the requisite space. This is a point sometimes conspicuously ignored in modern coins. An illustration of nearly everything that is to be avoided in a design for coins is afforded by our own Jubilee coinage of 1887. The head and bust of Queen Victoria in no way fill the field of the coin; they form a long central decoration. Anybody who compares the 1887 coinage with that of 1893 will at once feel not only that the later design is far more dignified, but that its more spreading shape is as appropriate as the earlier design was the reverse. In this respect the best Greek coins are models of what is appropriate in design. These points will be further illustrated, and others will be noticed, in the course of our detailed inspection.

A few words may be added with regard to the selection of designs or "**types**" for coins. Obviously the first intention of the designers must have been to indicate the state or city by which the money was issued. "The stamp was put on a coin," says Aristotle, "as an indication of value."[1] It was intended to say to anybody into whose hands the coin might

[1] *Politics*, i. 9. ὁ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ σημεῖον. This may mean either "as an indication of what the value was" or "as an indication of value," *i.e.* that the value was according to standard. The latter interpretation better fits Aristotle's argument. It is not essential to money that the amount of the value should be stated on its face; it is essential that it should be guaranteed as of full weight and true. The passage in Aristotle, interpreted in the other sense, is relied upon by Prof. Ridgeway in support of his theory that the type on coins had direct reference to *measures* of value; a coin with a tunny-fish representing so many tunny-*fish, and so on.*

come, "This is a properly guaranteed piece issued by such and such an authority." Theories have been propounded with the object of bringing all devices upon coins within some single explanation—as, for instance, that the motive was in all cases religious. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the methods of indicating the issuing authorities were as various in the ancient world as they are on modern coins or postage stamps.[1] But Greek and Roman life, and especially life in its official relations, was permeated with religion, and **religious types** are therefore the most frequent on coins. The Greek, in seeking to identify a coin with his city, placed upon it either the effigy or the symbol of the city's favourite deity. Athena and her owl on the coins of Athens, Artemis on those of Ephesus, the sun-god on those of Rhodes are obvious instances. A little less direct are the types which show some **local feature** of the district personified—as, for instance, the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse, and several river-gods. In other cases some **staple industry** of the place is represented; such as the tunny-fish at Cyzicus, and the ear of corn at Metapontum. These types may, however, in most cases, be included in the religious class; the chief product of a district being placed under the protection of the chief deity. Where the issuing authority was a king, it was natural that the coin-type should in some way express his **royal** power. Thus on the Persian daric (II. A 1) the great king is shown with spear and bow. Alexander the Great, as we shall see, first appears as a deity; and this practice develops into royal portraits. In the case of free cities, we sometimes find a personification of the sovereign people (II. C 4); in other cases, some form of activity, for which the city was famous, is represented—as, for instance, the horsemen of Tarentum (III. C 6-10) and the chariots of Syracuse (III. C 28-30). Another class of types is **historical**; and here there is a characteristic contrast, such as we have noticed in other works of art, between Greek and Roman coins. The Romans placed actual repre-

[1] The British Museum has been in possession since 1891, by bequest of the late Mr. T. K. Tapling, M.P., of an almost unrivalled collection of postage stamps. It is exhibited in instalments in the King's Library, and it is of little interest to anybody but very advanced collectors. I have often thought that a representative selection, chosen somewhat in the manner of the coins here shown, would be an addition, both popular and instructive, to the exhibitions of the Museum treasures.

sentations of events on their coins—as, for instance, the surrender of King Aretas on the denarii of Scaurus (VII. C 20); and indeed "the Roman money gives us a sort of running commentary on history." The Greeks, if they referred to historical events at all, did so allusively—as when Demetrius Poliorcetes commemorates a naval victory by figures of Poseidon and Victory (IV. B 17), and the Ætolians refer to their successes over Gauls and Macedonians by the genius of Ætolia seated on the invaders' shields (V. B 16). Lastly, we may mention what are called canting or **punning types**—such as the rose of Rhodes. All these classes will be referred to in the detailed notes which follow. The inscriptions on coins—recording the issuing authority, the reasons for the issue, and incidentally many other matters—might well form the subject of a separate chapter. We must be content with occasionally noticing some of the more interesting.

The First Seven Cases, which we now proceed to examine, are arranged chronologically, so that the study of ancient coins is spread out historically before us. Each case is subdivided horizontally into three sections, containing respectively (A) the coins of the East; (B) Greece and the Ægean Isles; (C) Italy and the West.

Case I.—**Archaic Period** (700-480 B.C.)

The specimens in this case begin with the first invention of coinage and bring us down to the Persian wars. The period is thus the same as that covered in the collection of sculpture by the Archaic Room (Ch. VII.); and the interest, here as there, is largely connected with the study of origins and processes of evolution. The case begins with the first known coin (I. A 1), which is almost without form and void, and ends with an early coin of Syracuse which is remarkable for delicacy of work and already shows the features that characterise the full development of Greek art in this sort (I. C 35). It may be interesting to call attention to some of the lines along which the development proceeded.

The **obverse** (or more important side of the coin), which on the Syracusan coin bears a head, with symbolical accessories, *shows on the first* coin nothing but some meaningless scratches.

By glancing at the specimens here arranged in each of the three geographical divisions, we see the engravers gradually acquiring skill in giving artistic form and symbolic meaning to the devices on the coins. As in other departments of Greek art, so here we shall find that skill is, as a rule, earlier attained in the representation of animal forms than in that of the human form. The earliest Greek coins are later in time, and less primitive in style, than those of Asia; but it is only gradually that any precision of form or vigour of treatment is attained.

The **reverse** of coins shows in the earliest specimens nothing but a rude impression from the punch. On our Syracusan coin—the last specimen in Case I.—the reverse shows a chariot group of which the design beautifully fills the field, and which, as we shall see, is of historical interest. Between these two extremes we may trace various stages of development. First we find mere oblong or square spaces punched out. Then the coiner tired of so monotonous an effect, and the square was divided into quarters (I. B 7, 10). By leaving every other piece level with the surface of the coin, different varieties of what is called the "mill-sail" pattern were obtained (*e.g.* I. B 31, I. C 27). At some mints "the incuse square" in some such modified form remained for a long time in favour. Elsewhere, however, it soon came to be ornamented with a device within the square (I. B 25). From this idea to the flat reverse, engraved like the obverse, was not a long step. In the coins from Southern Italy (Division C) a different method of treating the reverse will be noticed. Coinage was in this district of later origin. The plan of having a device on each side of the coin was already in common use. But instead of a new device being put upon the reverse, the type of the obverse was repeated in incuse, with slight modifications (I. C 10). "The coins have thus the deceptive appearance of being small pieces of repoussé work" (G. F. Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 152).

The **shape** of the coins is another matter in which, as we at once see, there was a process of evolution. The best shape for coins is a question which experience has generally answered in favour of a flat circle. It was obviously not enough that the coin should be stamped as a guarantee of its quality and weight by the issuing authority; it was necessary to prevent *interference with* it after it had been stamped. This

consideration led to the adoption of a regular and easily defined form, and though hexagonal or octagonal coins are still met with in some parts of the civilised world, the circle has for many centuries and everywhere approved itself as the most convenient shape. The earliest coins, we see, were irregularly shaped in the form of beans or pebbles (like gems), but the circle gradually came into favour and was not again displaced.

We now proceed to examine a few of the more remarkable specimens in order of arrangement, calling attention now to one point of interest, now to another :—

The earliest inscribed coin known, found at Halicarnassus (I. A 7).—Above the figure of a stag there is an inscription (in archaic Greek letters), which has been translated "I am the sign of Phanes." A person of that name is mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 4). He was a native of Halicarnassus, in favour at the court of Amasis, King of Egypt, whose service he deserted by stratagem for that of Cambyses, King of Persia. (The name appears also on a vase in the Museum, see p. 304.) The coin is supposed to have been struck by an ancestor of this Phanes. On this supposition, the stag would be the particular badge adopted by the potentate, Phanes, as a guarantee of the coin. But another reading of the inscription is "I am the mark of the bright one," *i.e.* Artemis, whose symbol was the stag. (See for a discussion of this matter Ridgeway's *Metallic Currency*, p. 230, and Hill's *Handbook*, p. 168.)

Electrum stater of Cyzicus (I. A 12).—The design on the obverse is a tunny-fish and fillets. This type is constant on coins of Cyzicus, and its origin has been discussed in connection with Mr. Ridgeway's theory that coin-types are survivals from the age of barter. Vast shoals of tunny-fish continually pass through the Sea of Marmora (on which Cyzicus was situated). Articles which form the staple commodities of a community form, in an age of barter, its money. Then when coinage is invented, it is stamped with the device of the barter-money (in this case tunny-fish). "In a city like Cyzicus, whose citizens depended for their wealth on their fisheries and trade, rather than on flocks or herds or agriculture, the tunny-fish, singly or in certain defined numbers, as by the score or hundred and the like, would naturally form a chief monetary unit, just as we find the stock-fish employed in mediæval Iceland" (Ridgeway, p. 136). Such is the theory. But the tunny on the coins is adorned with fillets, "And I am sure," writes one of Prof. Ridgeway's critics, "that (though he hints at jugged hare on the coins of Messana) he will not say that this tunny is filleted merely in a base culinary sense." On coins, as on other Greek monuments, the fillet is a plain indication that the object to which it is attached is *sacred to* a divinity. Probably, therefore, the tunny-fish figures on the *coins of Cyzicus* as an offering to some divinity of the city—an offering

of the first-fruits of the rich harvest of the sea (Warwick Wroth in *Classical Review*, 1892, p. 472).

The coins of **Crœsus** (I. A 13-16), who substituted gold and silver for the earlier coinage in electrum, have for their device the fore-parts of a lion and a bull face to face. The commonly-received interpretation is that the lion symbolises the sun-god, and the bull the moon. Prof. Ridgeway, on the other hand, sees in the bull an indication that the coin supersedes the old ox-unit of barter; and in the lion, a royal emblem—the king of beasts being a badge of royalty (cf. "the lion of the tribe of Judah"). The Greek cities of Asia Minor adopted and improved upon the Lydian invention of coinage, and the lion and the bull were taken over also, according to Prof. Ridgeway's theory, as favourite devices:—"When the Greeks borrowed the art of coining from Lydia it is easy to understand that they would likewise borrow the type either in a complete or modified form, and hence it is that we find the lion or lion's head on the coins of Miletus (I. A 6), the lion's scalp on those of Samos (I. A 5), the lion's head on the coins of Cnidus (I. A 27), of Gortyna in Crete, at Rhodes, and at the Phocæan towns of Velia in Lucania (I. C 16) and Massilia in Gaul (IV. C 1), and put by the Samian exiles on their coins at Zancle. If the Greeks had been barbarians, they would have slavishly copied the lion coins of Lydia. But their artistic genius could submit to no such trammels, and the lion type was varied and diversified according to the fancy of each community" (*Metallic Currency*, p. 321). It should, however, be remembered that animal types are not confined to coins; they are equally common on all early monuments of Greek art (see W. Wroth in *Classical Review*, 1892, p. 472).

Persian gold "daric" of the earliest style (I. A 17), struck in the reign of Darius I. (521-485 B.C.), by whom the Persian coinage was originated. The gold coinage of Persia by its purity became dominant, and was the chief gold currency of the world so long as the Persian Empire lasted. The wide currency serves to explain its constancy of type. On the obverse of the coin before us the Great King is figured holding bow and spear; the reverse is incuse. With slight variations, these features are constant. In II. A 1, 2 the style is later, the design the same; and in IV. A 1, the latest specimen, we still see the king with his armour, and the reverse is still incuse.

Silver coin with the **double head and axe of Tenedos** (I. A 19). —On the obverse, a double head; on the reverse, a double axe. The meaning of this type has been much discussed. According to Aristotle, the reference is to a certain king of Tenedos who had laid down a law that adulterers should be slain with an axe. The king's own son, being convicted, was executed according to the law; hence on coins of Tenedos an axe was stamped on one side and a double head (male and female) on the other. This explanation is, however, not likely to be correct. "Such subjects were never represented on the money of the Greeks; their types, like their names of men and women, were almost always euphemistic, relating generally to the local

mythology and fortunes of the place, with symbols referring to the principal productions or to the protecting deities" (Leake). The "axe of Tenedos" was, as we know from Pausanias, proverbial; and axes from Tenedos were dedicated at Delphi. Pausanias refers the proverb and the offering to the story of Tennes, the mythical settler of Tenedos. Prof. Ridgeway holds that the reason why the double axe was put on the coins of Tenedos was that axes may have been a special product of the place, and have formed the unit of barter there before the introduction of coined money. This seems somewhat far-fetched, and it is a serious objection to the theory that on the earliest coins of Tenedos the double head is shown, but not the double axe (W. Wroth in *Classical Review*, 1892, p. 472). The double-headed axe appears on vase-paintings as the symbol of Dionysus or one of his train; and, according to some authorities, its appearance on the coins of Tenedos is a symbol of the local worship of that god, the double head on the same coins representing the two types, bearded and beardless, of Dionysus (see Ridgeway's *Metallic Currency*, p. 318; Frazer's *Pausanias*, note on x. 14. 1).

The seal of Phocæa (I. A 23).—Some of the badges used to denote the issuing authority of a coin were of a punning character—"types parlant," they are called. Thus at Phocæa, one of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, the seal (in Greek, phoca) was adopted. The device was appropriate, for the Phocæans were, says Herodotus (i. 163), the first of all the Greeks who undertook distant sea-voyages.

The lion of Acanthus (I. B 7), a city near Mt. Athos.—On the obverse, a rude representation of a lion devouring a bull. That there were lions in this district at the time of the Persian wars we know from Herodotus. As Xerxes and the land army were proceeding from Acanthus, "lions attacked the camels which carried his provisions; for the lions used to come down regularly by night, leaving their own haunts" (vii. 125).

Poseidon of Potidæa (I. B 9).—At Potidæa the Persian besiegers were defeated; the cause was, says Herodotus, "that these same Persians who perished by means of the sea had committed impiety towards the temple of Poseidon and his image; and in saying that this was the cause, in my opinion they say well" (viii. 129). The type on our coin—Poseidon on horseback, holding a trident—may have been copied from the statue. Note the star between the horse's legs. The insertion of detached ornaments to fill vacant spaces is characteristic of early art. We have noticed the practice already in the case of early vases (p. 301), and shall find it again on early gems (p. 635).

The **ox-chariot** (I. B 17) on a coin of one of the Thracian tribes is interesting: notice its wicker-work sides.

Various **city badges** may next be noticed (I. B 20, 21, 23, 24)—the Bœotian shield of Thebes, the wheel of Chalcis, the bull's head of Eubœa, the gorgon of Eretria. On No. 22 is an amphora, as also on *No. 10.* Stamp-collectors will remember that a Greek vase was used *as a type in the* issue of 1896.

The **gorgon of Eubœa** (I. B 24).—A characteristic example of the fiend-like visage in which early art, with its love of the horrible, rejoiced —a monstrous head with snaky hair, gnashing tusks, and tongue lolling out of

> The open mouth, that seemèd to containe
> A full good pecke within the utmost brim,
> All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine,
> That terrifide his foes, and armed him,
> Appearing like the mouth of Orcus griesly grim.

In course of time art was to soften the conception of the Medusa into the exquisite beauty of "the woman's countenance with serpent locks," as we shall see it on some Greek gems (p. 622).

Athena with her **owl** and spray of olive appears on the early coins of Athens (I. B 27, 28). They are probably not much later than the time of Solon (*i.e.* about the middle of the sixth century B.C.), and are good examples of the archaic style in Greek art. There is an obvious piece of conventionalism, or artistic inability, in the eye, which is represented as full, although seen in profile; and hair is partly represented by dots. "The eye is an elliptical swelling, plastered, as it were, on to the face, and of an excessive size. The ear is placed rather too high. The swelling of the cheek is exaggerated by the emphasising of the defining line below it, the transition from cheek to jaw being not gradual, but marked by a depression which lends to the face the 'archaic grin'" (G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 161). But the lines are decisive and set firmly in their places. At this early period Athens was the only city which made use of double dies for coinage. In this respect, as in artistic execution, she leads the way. (For a discussion of the reason for the subsequent want of development in Athenian coins, see II. B 20, p. 506.)

The **tortoise of Ægina** (I. B 29).—To Pheidon, King of Argos in the seventh century B.C., is ascribed the introduction of coinage into the western world, and he is said to have coined his money in Ægina. That the Æginetan silver coinage is the earliest is admitted; and the Æginetan was one of the prevailing monetary standards in the ancient world. Ægina was the land, says Pindar (*Ol.* viii.), where "Eternal Law, saviour of men, who sitteth in judgment beside the god of the stranger, is honoured more than anywhere else among men." This Æginetan standard was probably of Phœnician origin; and, according to E. Curtius, the sea-tortoise on the coins of Ægina is placed there as a symbol of Astarte, the Phœnician goddess of traders. Prof. Ridgeway argues (pp. 328-331), more ingeniously than convincingly, that tortoise-shell, used for making bowls, was the staple product of the island, and that the tortoise on her coins simply indicated that the old monetary unit of the island was the shell of the sea-tortoise.

The **Cretan labyrinth**, built by Dædalus, the home of the Minotaur, figures, as we shall see, on many Cretan coins; first, in our collection, *on a piece from Cnossus* (I. B 32). The appearance on a coin of

this early date proves that it was no invention of the poets of a later age. The astonishing discoveries made by Mr. A. J. Evans in the prehistoric palace at Cnossus have revealed the true labyrinth of tradition. "There can be little doubt that this huge building, with its maze of corridors and tortuous passages, its medley of small chambers, its long succession of magazines with their blind endings, was in fact the Labyrinth of later tradition which supplied a local habitation for the Minotaur of grisly fame. The great figures of bulls in fresco and relief that adorned the walls, the harem scenes of some of the frescoes, the cornerstones of pillars marked with the *labrys* or double axe—the emblem of the Cretan Zeus, explaining the derivation of the name 'Labyrinth' itself—are so many details which all conspire to bear out this identification. In the palace-shrine of Cnossus there stands at last revealed to us the spacious structure which the skill of Dædalus is said to have imitated from the great Egyptian building on the shore of Lake Mœris" (D. G. Hogarth in the *Times*, Oct. 31, 1900). The form of the labyrinth on this early coin is comparatively simple. (For later and more elaborate labyrinths, see III. B 39, VI. B 28, 29.)

The **gorgon of Populonia** (I. C 1).—This is one of the most ancient coins of Etruria, dating from about the beginning of the fifth century. "Sea-girt Populonia" was a busy centre of trade; the type of its early coinage seems to have been derived from Eubœa (I. B 24). This is certainly one of the most forbidding heads of Medusa in early art. Its ugliness is more human, and less conventional, than that of the Eubœan coin.

The **dolphin of Taras** (I. C 3-7).—The Greek city of Tarentum in Calabria was peculiarly rich, as we shall presently see, in the splendour and variety of its coinage: the prevalent type even on these early coins is delightfully varied. The legendary founder of the city was Taras, a son of Poseidon, and it is he (as Aristotle tells us) whose figure appears on the coins of Tarentum. The design shows us Taras on the back of a dolphin, as he was fabled to have approached the Italian shores, towards which (in No. 7) he holds out hands of longing. That he is supposed to be crossing the sea is further symbolised by the introduction of a scallop shell or cuttle-fish underneath the dolphin.

The **corn of Metapontum** (I. C 10, 11).—Another rich settlement in Magna Græcia was Metapontum. So great was the fertility of the country that the inhabitants dedicated at Delphi, from their wealth derived from agriculture, a "golden harvest" (Strabo vi. 264). The ear of corn was, therefore, a natural badge to place on the coinage.

The **Poseidon of Pæstum** (I. C 12, 13).—The city of Poseidonia (better known to us by its Roman name, Pæstum) was founded in the sixth century B.C. by colonists from Sybaris. As its name betokens, it was dedicated to the god of the sea; its coins are stamped with his *effigy bearing a* trident, and with his sacred animal, the bull. The *great temple of Poseidon*—still in its ruin the admiration of every

beholder—had two entrances, east and west; "and there is something fine in the notion of the god being able to pass to and fro from his cella through those sunny peristyles, down to his chariot, yoked with sea-horses, in the brine" (Symonds). The figure of the god on the larger coin is characteristic of early sculpture. The anatomy is strongly marked; the attitude is stiff; and we may notice a curious convention which is observed in most early reliefs: while the head and the body below the waist are in profile, the body between the waist and neck faces us (cf. I. C 17).

The **mule-car of Rhegium** (I. C 22).—This coin is of interest as one of a mintage referred to by Aristotle and as showing that victory in the games was a subject for coin-types. Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium (494-476 B.C.), having gained a victory at Olympia with the mule-car, struck coins for his city, says Aristotle, on which the mule-car was represented. (For the hare on the reverse, see II. C 28.)

Terina (I. C 23), as we shall see from later specimens, produced some of the most beautiful of all Greek coins. The early coin here is artistically the best we have yet seen. On the obverse is the head of a goddess inscribed Terina; on the reverse, a figure of Wingless Victory. The wreath in which this figure is enclosed was destined to become a very common form of coin-decoration (*e.g.* on some of our Victorian sixpences).

The **eagle of Agrigentum** (I. C 24).—The lofty site of the ancient town at Girgenti ("arduus Acragas"), overlooking the sea, made the eagle and the crab appropriate devices (*cf.* II. C 16).

The device of **Catana** (I. C 25)—a man-headed bull—is a good illustration of a characteristic form of Greek mythology and symbolism. The device is an impersonation of the river Assinus. The bull, with or without a human head, was, as we have seen in the vases (p. 316), a constant type for a river. The economy of Greek symbolism is shown in the aquatic bird and fish, between which the river-god is here represented as kneeling or swimming. The bird marks the surface of the stream, the fish its depth.

On the coin of **Gela** (I. C 26) we have another man-headed bull. There is considerable dignity in the river-god's head; notice the characteristic dots to denote the beard and hair; on the reverse a chariot, the horses crowned by a flying Victory—the first instance in our specimens of a very common design. Gelon, the tyrant of Gela, conquered in the chariot-race at Olympia in 488 B.C.

The **lion of Leontini** (I. C 28) is a punning or "parlant" type. The head shows spirit. Ruskin engraves it in one of his books as an illustration of Dante's description of Minos "frowning horribly" at the gate of Hell (*Verona and its Rivers*, p. 64). On the obverse a victorious chariot. Gelon was also lord of Leontini.

The **sickle of Messina** (I. C 28).—The modern Messina occupies the site of the ancient city, which was originally called Zancle, from the old Sicilian word for a sickle, *Dancle* (inscribed on this coin)—the

allusion being to the sickle-like shape of its harbour. The artistic shorthand of the Greeks is well illustrated by this coin. The tongue of land is represented by a curved line; the water of the harbour by a dolphin within the sickle. As the town changed its name to Messana about 490 B.C., the date of our coin must be previous to that year.

The **wild parsley of Selinus** (I. C 33).—This city derived its name from a plant selinon, which grew there in abundance. A plant, which the guides identify with the ancient selinon, may still be found on the banks of the stream which divides its two groups of stupendous ruins. But what precisely the plant represented on the coins was, and whether it was identical with the parsley of the wreaths with which the victors at the Isthmian and Nemean games were crowned, are questions which have been much debated.[1] The representations of flowers on coins are hardly exact enough to afford certainty to scientific botanists. We must be content to say that the selinon of Selinus was probably water parsley or wild celery; the parsley of Nemea may not have been the same species. Those, however, who admit nothing but religious significance in coin-types maintain that the parsley of Selinus appears on the coins as dedicated to Zeus of Nemea, who gave the parsley-crown to the victors in his games.

Early coins of Syracuse (I. C 34, 35).—In these specimens we have the first-fruits of the Syracusan mint, from which were to issue some of the finest coins of the Greek world. The earlier coin belongs to the time of the oligarchy of the Geomori, who ruled in Syracuse before Gelon became tyrant in 485 B.C. The coin is primitive, but it already gives promise of the care which characterised the later coinage, and it begins the series of designs taken from the races, which were afterwards to find splendid development. On the next coin, the

[1] The late Mr. Samuel Butler, finding that the plant which the guides show had no resemblance to that on the coins, identified the latter as *apium graveolens*, a plant which under cultivation becomes the celery of our gardens. "Professor Sciascia of Castel Vetrano obligingly procured me some of the true plant from a muddy little stream a few miles inland from Selinus, and I have established it from seed in Lincoln's Inn Fields on the bed between the north gravel walk and the railings opposite the middle window of the Soane Museum" (*Athenæum*, July 13, 1901). In the course of a discussion, Sir George Birdwood made some remarks on the botany of Greek coins, which may be cited here: "The olive on the coins of Attica, the silphium on those of Cyrenaica, the rose on those of Rhodes, and the date on those of Hierapytna (realistic), are delineated not only with more or less artistic power, but with botanical exactitude; but the olive on the coins of Crete, Elis, and Ionian Magnesia may be a willow or a myrtle; the highly conventionalised date-palm on those of Ephesus might be any palm, or even a fir; the oak on those of Macedon (VI. B 9) and Smyrna (VI. A 20), an acacia or a potentilla; the ivy on the coins of Mithradates the Great (VII. A 2) might be called by any other name" (*Athenæum*, Aug. 10, 1901).

chariot is crowned by Victory; here, as at Gela and Leontini, the victory of Gelon is commemorated. On the obverse is the head of Arethusa surrounded by dolphins. This impersonation of the sacred fountain of Syracuse was afterwards to form the subject of some of the most exquisite of Greek works of art in this sort. The style of the head here is archaic, with its dotted hair and stiff expression; but the workmanship is delicate, and on each side of the coin the general lines of a singularly happy composition are already fixed.

Case II.—**Transitional Period** (480-400 B.C.)

The coins collected in this case cover the period of the Athenian Supremacy. They are transitional, including some which show little advance on the archaic style, and others which reveal a fully-developed art. The same period includes, in the field of sculpture, the pediments of Ægina and the Parthenon. There is between various coins in this collection as great a difference as there is between those two sets of sculptures. Look, for instance, at II. A 6: the head shows all the characteristics of archaic workmanship. The hair is represented by formal rows of dots; the eye hits one, as it were a bullet; there is no vitality in the expression. Pass on to II. A 21: the hair, though still somewhat stiff, is treated naturally; the eye is shown in correct profile; the features are chastened into beauty; the breath of life seems to have passed into the lips. Look lastly at II. C 13: technical mastery has now been obtained, and the engraver is free to realise ideals of beauty in the human form, and of grace in composition. It will be observed, further, that the incuse square, where it is retained, is during this period cut more regularly and for the most part treated decoratively as the frame for some device.

Electrum staters of Cyzicus (II. A 6-19).—Among the coins from the East, the most numerous in this second period come from Cyzicus. This commercial city on the Propontis seems to have enjoyed a monopoly of coining electrum. Its coinage was widely circulated. The types are very various, but the tunny-fish is retained as a distinctive mint-mark. The device on No. 14 represents the two golden eagles on the omphalos of Apollo at Delphi (Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 4).

The **bee of Ephesus** (II. A 31).—The coins of the great city of Ephesus are not specially attractive from an artistic point of view, but historically they are interesting. The bee, which occupies the field of this coin, was the badge of the city, being connected with the Asiatic goddess—*barbarous* and many-breasted—whose worship was adopted by

the Greek colonists, and who was identified, very inappropriately, with Artemis. On the next coin of Ephesus in our collection (III. A 29) we have again the bee; and, on the other side, the young Hercules strangling the serpents. This coin, as we shall see, has direct reference to an historical event. On another coin (III. A 30) we have, besides the bee, a stag and palm-tree, all symbols of the Ephesian goddess. At the next stage (IV. A 29) these symbols recur; on the other side being a beautiful head of the Greek Artemis.

The **head of a Persian satrap** on a Lycian coin (II. A. 38) is, if a portrait, the earliest which occurs on a coin (cf. VIII. 1, 2).

The **Hermes of Ænus** (II. B. 2) is a fine head in the transitional style. But much finer is the **Bacchus of Thasos** (II. B. 7), a work of great beauty and dignity:—

"Remark the simplicity and repose of the features, showing character, not expression, the simple treatment of the hair, the ornamentation being wholly thrown into the wreath, and the natural beauty of that wreath, which seems to be a growth, not a composition—a remark I owe to Mr. Ruskin" (R. S. Poole in *Numismatic Chronicle*,[1] 1864, p. 242).

The **Bœotian buckler** appears as a badge on Theban coins (II. B 15-18). An oval shape with semicircular or oval incisions in the centre was its characteristic. (In one of his most ingenious passages, Prof. Ridgeway suggests, p. 331, that the shield represented a common monetary unit in ancient times, and that the barter-unit which came nearest to the silver coin was equated to it, the piece of silver being thus stamped as worth a shield.) A terra-cotta in the shape of a Bœotian shield may be seen in the First Vase Room (Table-case D). On the devices of the reverses of these coins there is considerable force and skill; on No. 15, the design of Harmonia, seated, holding a helmet, is graceful.

The **head of Athena** on II. B 20 may be taken as typical of Athenian coins. Its ugliness will probably be somewhat of a shock to those who come to it with preconceived ideas of the Athenian love of beauty in all things. For we are looking here at a coin which belongs to the great period of Athens—a coin struck at the time of the Parthenon sculptures. Ruskin refers to it as proof of "the intense ugliness" which the Greeks could tolerate. "There is a school of teachers," he says, "who will tell you that nothing but Greek art is deserving of study, and that all our work at this day should be an imitation of it. Whenever you feel tempted to believe them, think of these portraits of Athena and her owl" (*Aratra Pentelici*, §§ 81, 194). But there was a reason for the ugly type of Athenian coins which should be thought of also. If the reader will compare this coin with those in Case I. (B 27, 28), he will see that the earlier were the model of the later. The coin before us was made of a primitive type, not

[1] Afterwards referred to as *N.C.*

from incapacity to do better, or indifference to beauty, but in imitation of the older coin. If the reader will next look at still later coins of Athens, including even the latest of all (VII. B 14, 15), he will see that the designs remain the same, though the archaic uncouthness of Athena's face is, it is true, modified. The reason of this conservatism in Athenian coinage was strictly utilitarian. "Of all Greek coinages the most conservative as regards types is that of Athens. The earliest Athenian coins, dating from early in the sixth century, present us with the head of Athene on the one side and her owl on the other, and the very latest silver coins, which are given to about the time of Sulla the Dictator, preserve the same types, which are continued all through the intervening period with scarcely an exception. No doubt the chief reason of this persistence is to be found in the wide circulation of the Athenian coins which were current right into the heart of Asia and Arabia. Barbarous peoples, as is well known, grow accustomed to certain classes of coins and accept them in preference to all others. To this day the dollars of Maria Theresa are currently accepted in Abyssinia. This favour the Athenian coins had acquired in several parts of Asia, chiefly on account of the purity of their metal. Therefore the Athenians were prudently very averse from changing their character, lest this widespread popularity should be brought into danger" (P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 47). In studying Greek coins from an artistic point of view, it is necessary to remember that they were not primarily intended as works of art. Coming back to our coin, and comparing it with the earlier, we may find it interesting to contrast the archaic with the archaistic style—the genuine archaic style in the earlier case with the deliberate imitation of the archaic style in the later. Note also in the coin before us the economy of symbolism in the head of Athena. "The hair is restrained by a round helmet, for the most part smooth, but embossed with a single flower tendril, having one bud, one flower, and, above it, two olive leaves. You have thus the most absolutely restricted symbol possible to human thought of the power of Athena over the flowers and trees of the earth. An olive leaf by itself could not have stood for the sign of a tree, but the two can, when set in position of growth" (Ruskin).

The **money of Elis** (II. B 26-34) "is inferior to none in the Greek world in its art, which reaches the highest level of dignified restraint, and in the varieties of its types, which are suggested by a few subjects. The leading types are connected, as we might expect, with the worship of Zeus and Hera and Nikè, the divinities of the great Panhellenic contest at Olympia" (Poole). On No. 29 we have an effigy of the god himself. "At first sight this head seems to conflict with all our ideas as to what the head of Zeus should be. The lion-like brow, the mane-like hair, the energetic expression are all wanting. In their place we have very short closely-curled beard and hair, extremely large features of the purest Greek type, and an air of calm unruffled majesty" (Gardner). On the reverse is the thunderbolt of *Zeus, and the olive wreath* with which he rewarded victorious athletes.

On No. 30 is his consort Hera, Olympian in her stately beauty; on the reverse, again the thunderbolt and olive wreath. On other of the coins we see the eagle of Zeus devouring a serpent, a hare, or a ram —portents whereby the god revealed his will to men. The other figure on the coins is Nikè, daughter and servant of Zeus, whom he sent to reward those who struggled and won in his honour at the games. It is interesting to compare the figures of Nikè. On No. 27 she is running in the uncouth attitude of archaic art: notice how stiffly the skirt is spread out. In No. 28 the drapery falls with something of the grace of the Nereids of Xanthus (Ch. XI.). The Victory on No. 31 was copied by Wyon, the engraver of the Waterloo medal.

The **cow of Eubœa** (II. B 39).—The subject of the cow scratching herself, which often occurs on coins, has reference to the legend of Io, beloved of Zeus, and by him transformed into a cow. The jealousy of Hera sent an insect-fury to torment Io. In Eubœa was the spot where Io was supposed to have been killed. The cuttle-fish on the reverse is interpolated as a symbol of Poseidon; or it may have been used as a badge, as a favourite delicacy of the island (see Ridgeway, p. 327).

The **demos of Tarentum** (II. C 4).—The youthful figure on the reverse of this coin is supposed to be an impersonation of the people of Tarentum: a device which several cities adopted after the overthrow of the despots. It was characteristic of Greek ideas to select not "grave and reverend seigniors," but a youthful figure for their civic impersonation—a figure which might typify the perpetual youth and energy of the community.

The coinage of **Thurium** (II. C 7) is particularly beautiful. This city, near the site of the deserted Sybaris, was colonised from Athens about 443 B.C., and in her coins we may trace that Athenian style and beauty which on the coins of Athens herself are, for reasons already explained, somewhat lacking. On the obverse is a head of Pallas Athene, marked by severe beauty of style; the reverse shows a bull butting (*θούριος*), a play on the name Thurium. "The very name of Thurium is derived from the impetuousness of the streams in its vicinity, and the type of its coinage is a bull charging violently, with a fish below to show that water is intended" (*Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.*, N.S. xi. 173: see on this subject under I. C 25 above. Above the head of Pallas is the letter Φ. This denotes the engraver's name. His beautiful work seems to have been in request in the mints of Southern Italy (see No. 13 below).

On a coin of **Pandosia** (II. C 11) we may note the impersonation of a river in purely human form. The river Crathis figures as a nude man, in an attitude of sacrifice; in one hand he holds the lustral bough; in the other, a patera. Keats was possessed of a thoroughly Greek idea when he wrote of

> The moving waters at their priest-like task
> *Of* pure ablution round earth's human shores.

The **Nikè of Terina** (II. C 13).—This coin is signed by the engraver Φ, and is one of the most exquisite productions of the art. Notice, first on the obverse, how perfectly the design fits the space. The head dominates; the laurel wreath partly frames, but does not entirely encircle it; any appearance of formality is thus avoided. The hair is very delicately worked; on the diadem the honeysuckle pattern can be made out. But there is no over-refinement, and the type of the beauty is similarly restrained. The winged and seated Victory on the reverse is very graceful, and the composition is again beautifully appropriate to the space.

In the **eagles of Agrigentum** (II. C 16) we may see a representation of the portent which appeared to the sons of Atreus when about to set out for Troy—two eagles devouring a hare (Æschylus, *Agam.* 114). "If we take this type in connection with the worship of Zeus Atabyrios which the Agrigentines inherited from their Rhodian ancestors, it seems not unlikely that the eagle type symbolises one or both of the two lofty peaks which form the ancient citadel of Agrigentum, and on the highest of which stood the temple of Zeus Atabyrios. In that case the crab and fish which so constantly recur on these coins as the type of the reverse (I. C 24) may represent the harbour of Agrigentum and adjacent sea-shore, and may be at the same time a symbol of the worship of Poseidon who had a temple at Agrigentum" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 424). There is considerable spirit in the chariot group on the reverse; the four horses are here shown, and not conventionally indicated.

The **coins of Camarina** (II. C 17, 18) are of great beauty. The fifth Olympian ode of Pindar, written for the victory of Psaumis of Camarina, serves as a commentary upon them. On our first coin, we have on one side the head of Hercules in the lion's skin; on the other, Pallas as a victor at the Olympic games in a chariot. To the goddess is the glory given. "Thy sacred grove, O city-guarding Pallas, doth the victor sing, and the lake of his native land, and the sacred channels where through doth Hipparis give water to the people." On the second coin, it is the head of the young river-god Hipparis that faces us. A fish on either side assists the impersonation, and the whole is enclosed in a border of waves, the head of the river-god emerging, as it were, from them. On the reverse is a line of waves over which the nymph of the lake of Camarina glides, on the back of a swan swimming with expanded wings; she spreads her veil to catch the breeze. This charming coin is signed by Evænetus, the engraver of some of the loveliest Syracusan coins (see III. C 28).

The former coin (No. 17) was taken by Ruskin as the text for a discourse on the characteristics of Greek art ("The Hercules of Camarina," in his *Queen of the Air*, §§ 161-177). Among other points, Ruskin noticed "the subtle care" with which the obverse of the coin is designed. "Look, for instance, at the inscription of the name of the town—Camarina. You can't read it, even though you may know Greek, without some pains; for the sculptor knew well enough

that it mattered very little whether you read it or not, for the Camarina Hercules could tell his own story; but what did above all things matter was, that no K or A or M should come in the wrong place, with respect to the outline of the head and divert the eye from it, or spoil any of its lines. So the whole inscription is thrown into a sweeping curve, answering a decorative purpose as completely as the curls of the mane opposite. Of these, again, you cannot change or displace one without mischief; they are almost as even in reticulation as a piece of basket-work; but each has a different form and a due relation to the rest, and if you set to work to draw that mane rightly, you will find that, whatever time you give to it, you can't get the tresses quite into their places, and that every tress out of its place does an injury."

The coin of **Himera** (II. C 25) is interesting. The city had hot springs, which were resorted to by invalids. The nymph Himera is accordingly represented as sacrificing to the deities of healing, while in the background a satyr stands under a stream of the waters issuing from a lion's head in a wall (cf. the vase B 229, p. 319).

The **hare of Messina** (II. C 28).—On the reverse is a mule-chariot. Anaxilaus was ruler of Messina as well as of Reggio on the opposite coast (I. C 22). The hare is interpreted by some in a religious sense, as a symbol of the god Pan. But Anaxilaus is said to have introduced the hare into Sicily, and he may have chosen it as his type on that account (see Ridgeway's *Metallic Currency*, p. 337).

The **Dionysus and Silenus of Naxus** (II. C 29, 30).—On one side, head of bearded Dionysus, with the vine-leaves in his hair; on the other, Silenus on the ground, with a wine-cup. "A comparison of these two coins, the first struck about 460 B.C., the second towards the end of the century, shows the transition from the strong, firm style which characterises the earlier period, to the softer modelling and more ornate work of the later" (Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 33). The earlier coin is, according to Professor P. Gardner, one of the most remarkable in existence. "In this figure (of the squatting satyr) we have the general characteristics of the age, the square proportions, the exaggerated muscles, the rigidly defined attitude; the head also, according to the universal rule at this early time, is in profile, while the body faces the spectator. But . . . we should scarcely have expected to find, as we do, a distinct notion of perspective and an attempt to foreshorten, as well as a most successful realism in the result of the position of the left arm of the satyr, which supports the weight of his body, the left shoulder being pushed up with considerable truth to nature" (*Types of Greek Coins*, p. 105).

The next coin, from **Selinus** (II. C 32), is from a different point of view of equal interest. At Selinus, as elsewhere in Sicily, it was said that Empedocles did "cleanse to sweet airs the breath of poisonous streams," by draining the pestiferous marshes which have again in later days made the place a haunt of desolation and malaria. On one side of our coin we see the young river-god Selinus sacrificing at an altar, *in thanksgiving for* the purification of his streams. The cock before

the altar is a symbol of Asclepius, the god of healing. Behind Selinus is a selinon-leaf and the image of a bull (symbol of the stream). On the reverse are Apollo and Artemis in a chariot. Apollo is shooting out his arrows of light: an action symbolical of the power of bright sunlight in dispersing vapours and purifying the air. (This is Professor Gardner's interpretation; Mr. Head explains the reverse as referring to a plague sent by Apollo.)

The "**demaretion**" **of Syracuse** (II. C 33).—This coin is of great historical interest, and of importance as affording a fixed date by which the chronology of early Sicilian coins is fixed. In 480 B.C. Gelon, King of Syracuse, defeated the Carthaginians at Himera. They sued for peace, which was granted to them on the intercession of Demarete, wife of Gelon. In gratitude the Carthaginians presented her with a hundred talents of gold, by means of which she coined great silver pieces of money, called after her, demaretia. These, as we know from Diodorus (xi. 26), were of the weight of ten Attic drachms. The coin before us is precisely of that weight (alone among all early Greek coins). The lion, moreover, which runs along beneath the chariot, is the symbol of Africa. There can therefore be no doubt that we have before us one of the very coins issued by Demarete, and thus we obtain from them—which close the archaic series of Syracuse—a fixed point in the chronology of this form of Greek art, at about 479 B.C. The beauty of the work is remarkable for its period; there is, however, "a touch of Egyptian" in the style (Poole). "All the primitive exaggerations are toned down; the eye, though still shown in full, no longer projects from the face; the ear, however, is still set too high. The cheek merges naturally into the jaw, and the archaic grin becomes a smile. The hair is still represented with formality, but by means of wavy lines instead of dots" (Hill). In the next period the Syracusan heads are of the purest Greek type. The design on the reverse is beautifully composed; into it a modern writer has read a symbol of the Greek genius. "The Greeks stand as masters of human order and justice, subduing the animal nature, guided by the spiritual one, as you see the Sicilian charioteer stands, holding his horse-reins, with the wild lion racing beneath him, and the flying angel above, on the beautiful coin of early Syracuse" (Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, § 205).

The **heads of Arethusa** on other Syracusan coins (II. C 34-38) of the fifth century are "marked by a youthful simplicity of beauty combined with fanciful and even fantastic treatment of the hair; the reverses remain extremely severe" (Poole). The style of these heads is in contrast with the more ornate and less severe beauty of the succeeding period (III. C 28, 29). In the last coin here (II. C 40), we see the transition to a greater freedom of style. It is signed by the engraver, Eumenus. "Most of his work appears to be earlier than the end of the fifth century. This artist may be said to have introduced the highly ornate style which characterises the Syracusan coinage of the age of Dionysius the Elder" (Head). The treatment of

the chariot is particularly interesting, as affording us an opportunity, by contrast with earlier coins, to trace the progress of art with curious minuteness. The problem before the engravers of these racing subjects was to represent in a side view the four horses and two wheels of the quadriga. The latter part of the problem was frankly not attempted on the small scale of coins. To see nothing of the second wheel is a common convention even on bas-reliefs of larger scale (see the Parthenon frieze, but on the Phigalian frieze there is a chariot shown with its two wheels three-quarters to the front, No. 523). The Greek sculptor, says Ruskin in describing the laws of bas-relief, "is not only debating and deciding how to show what he wants, but much more, debating and deciding what, as he can't show everything, he will choose to show at all. Thus, being himself interested, and supposing that you will be, in the manner of the driving, he takes great pains to carve the reins (see No. 33), to show you where they are knotted, and how they are fastened round the driver's waist (you recollect how Hippolytus was lost by doing that); but he does not care the least bit about the chariot, and having rather more geometry than he likes in the cross and circle of one wheel of it, entirely omits the other" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 171). In the matter of the horses, a curious convention was adopted by the earlier engravers. They indicated two horses clearly, and the more distant ones by doubling the outlines of the nearer two and adding a spare leg or two (*e.g.* Nos. 25, 26). The engraver of No. 33 throws us in an extra head, but this concession is not repeated by his successors (Nos. 35-38). In No. 40, however, all four horses are shown, and this is a marked advance, but the movements of the legs are almost comically regular. If the reader will pass on to C 28, 29, in the next case, he will see much greater power and freedom shown in this respect. "On those grand silver medallions the four horses bound along in skilfully contrasted action, so composed as to enable the eye at once to discriminate each horse from its fellows, and at the same time to take in the complicated group as a rhythmical whole, in which the controlling skill of the charioteer has blended the discordant plunges of his fiery team into a harmonious concord. Their felicitous composition depends mainly on the bold use of foreshortening, an innovation in sculpture which was but sparingly used in the age of Phidias, but which, in the succeeding century, was carried much further, as we see in the Mausoleum frieze" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 421). A similar study might be made by contrasting the Victory in the coins of different dates; in the earlier coins, she flies "more feebly and awkwardly (says Newton) than a bat in broad daylight, if, indeed, such mere wing-flapping can be called flight at all."

Case III.—**Period of Finest Art** (400-336 B.C.)

We have traced, in comparing earlier coins, the rise of the *art from archaic* restraint and rudeness to greater naturalism

and freedom. Some of the coins which we have seen in the transitional period were never surpassed in chastity of design and serenity of severe beauty. In the period now before us—the period in sculpture of Praxiteles and Scopas—the technical mastery of the engravers is, if not greater than before, employed with a somewhat freer hand, and a certain softer grace is imparted to the ideal heads. The head of Persephonè on the famous Syracusan coin of Evænetus (III. C 28)—showing a girl in full bloom—may be taken as typical of the full, rich art of the period. The ornamentation is more elaborate than in earlier work. The execution is delicately finished. Charm of expression is added to dignity of bearing. It is noticeable that "to this period all the coins which bear artists' signatures belong, a proof that the men employed at this time to engrave the coin dies were no mere mechanics but artists of high repute —among them the two names of Euainetos and Kimon of Syracuse, the engravers of the splendid silver medallions of that city, can never be forgotten so long as their works remain, notwithstanding the fact that no ancient writer has recorded them" (Head's *Historia Nummorum*, p. lxi.).

The **Demeter of Cyzicus** (III. A 7, 8).—These two heads of Demeter are among the finest in the collection. They are good instances of the more picturesque and expressive style, which is the special note of the Ionian School. Ruskin complains that the calm faces given by the Greeks to their gods and goddesses are devoid of any expression of divine mystery and power. The statement is only partially correct. Certainly it is possible to find expressionless Demeters. We may refer, for instance, to III. B 35 or III. C 39 (though the latter is only a Carthaginian imitation of a Syracusan type). In such heads there is no attempt to personify anything but fulness of harvest; "there is no mystery, no sadness, no vestige of the expression which we should have looked for in any effort to realise the Greek thoughts of the earth mother, as we find them spoken by the poets . . . nothing to interest you except the common Greek perfections of a straight nose and a full chin" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 196). Of the conventional type of Demeter, such criticism is true; but in the heads before us—which are comparable (so far as the small scale allows) with the sorrowing Demeters we have already seen in the Sculpture Galleries—the engraver has ennobled the features with mystery of gloom and tenderness.

Gold coins of Lampsacus (III. A 15-19).—Here, also, a beautiful representation of Demeter—"embowered amid the ears of growing corn, and like it half buried in the ground"—may be seen (on No. 16).

The two heads of a mænad (Nos. 15, 18) are also notable. One (No. 18) is *in repose; the* other is marked by its expression of wild

frenzy; the dishevelled hair and streaming ends of ivy-wreath add to the effect. The inspiration for such a head may have come from the famous mænad of Scopas, of which an epigram said that the artist had "mingled frenzy with the stone." Very remarkable is the bearded head in a conical cap, bound with a wreath (No. 17). The manner of treatment is highly pictorial, and the effect startling in its modernity.

The **Apollo of Clazomenæ** (IV. A 24-26).—On these coins are perhaps the finest instances of the full-face type (see III. A. 24), and the second head (No. 25) is one of the highest efforts of Greek art in this sort. Notice, first, the simplicity of the treatment. A high degree of beauty is reached without any trick or elaboration. The hair is very pictorial, but does not distract attention by any over-elaboration. "No quantity of labour would obtain the real surface of a tress of Apollo's hair, and the full expression of his mouth. So that we are compelled at once to call the imagination to help us." Again, "the incisions are softened into a harmony like that of Correggio's painting." In the face of the god there is a pathos, combined with a certain haughty dignity, which at once fascinates and commands (see Ruskin's *Aratra*, §§ 138, 140, 179, and R. S. Poole in *N.C.*, 1864, p. 243). On the reverse of these coins is a swan, a symbol of Apollo. In the territory of Clazomenæ there was a temple of the god. "The delta of the Hermus abounds in wild swans, and the name of Clazomenæ may have been due to their shrill cries" (Head).

For some remarks on the **head of a Persian satrap** (III. A 27) see under VIII. 1.

The next coins (III. A 28, 29) are of historical interest, as affording numismatic evidence of the **alliance** (394-387 B.C.) entered into by Samos and Ephesus (as well as by Rhodes, Cnidus, and Iasus) for the maintenance of their independence and neutrality in the conflict between Sparta and Athens. On the obverse, each city retained its own device; on the reverse, all the allied cities stamped a common device—that of Hercules strangling the serpents. The inscription ΣΥΝ was identified by the late M. Waddington, distinguished alike in politics and numismatics, as referring to the alliance (*συνμαχία*).

The **sun and rose of Rhodes** (III. A 37, 38).—Exquisitely beautiful is the head of Helios, on the first of these coins; beautiful as befits the legend of the sun-god's chosen isle:—

> "Behold beneath the glimmering sea
> A land unclaimed, the land for me."
> Therewith he shot an arrowy ray
> Down through the blue Ægean deep;
> Thrilled by that magic dart of day,
> The hidden isle shook off her sleep.
> She moved, she rose, and with the morn
> She touched the air, and Rhodes was born.
>
> E. MYRES.

Favoured by the sun (there is hardly a day in the year, it is said, on

which the sun is there not visible), Rhodes was celebrated also for its roses; and from the similarity of name (ῥόδον), that flower was chosen as the device on its coins (on the reverse); or, it may be, as the flower sacred to the sun-god of the island. The head on the second coin (38) is less fascinating, but there is something in the fixed and almost glaring outlook which well befits the character. In the arrangement of the hair in No. 37, the sun's rays are suggested and no more; in the next stage, the art and the symbolism alike are less restrained. See IV. A 33, on which coin the head is more staring and actual rays spring out of the hair.

The head of **Hermes** (III. B 4) on a coin of **Ænus** (in Thrace) is taken by Ruskin as "entirely characteristic of the central period of Greek art," "as decisive and clear in arrangement of masses," as the work of earlier periods, "but its contours are completely rounded and finished." "There is no character in its execution so prominent that you can give an epithet to the style. It is not hard, it is not soft, it is not delicate, it is not coarse, it is not grotesque, it is not beautiful; and I am convinced, unless you had been told that this is fine central Greek art, you would have seen nothing at all in it to interest you. Do not let yourselves be anywise forced into admiring it; there is, indeed, nothing more here than an approximately true rendering of a healthy youthful face, without the slightest attempt to give an expression of activity, cunning, nobility, or any other attribute of the mercurial mind. Extreme simplicity, unpretending vigour of work, which claims no admiration either for minuteness or dexterity, and suggests no idea of effort at all; refusal of extraneous ornament, and perfectly arranged disposition of counted marks in a sequent order, whether in the beads, or the ringlets of hair: this is all you have to be pleased with." But though the artist does not attempt portraiture, he does aim at animation; "and as far as his means will admit, he succeeds in making the face—you might almost think—vulgarly animated; as like a real face literally, 'as it can stare'" (*Aratra Pentelici*, §§ 119, 121).

This coin is a good instance further of the full face—a method of representing the human face which is peculiar to the central period of art. It is a proof of the artist's skill, for a full face is much harder to do than a profile; but "the wear to which a full-face representation was exposed, soon reduced a beautiful face to a caricature." In one coin the nose has been flattened. "It was therefore little loss to art when, about the middle of the fourth century, this form of representation became less common. The form was unsuited to coins, and was only adopted by a magnificent blunder" (Hill's *Handbook*, p. 163). It may be remarked that this objection was not applicable to engraved gems, and some of the greatest of the gem-engravers preferred the front face.

Another political alliance, that of the **Chalcidian League** (formed in 392 B.C.), is represented in a series of coins (III. B 9-11) with types relating to Apollo, and inscribed χαλκιδεων. The head of Apollo on No. 11 is beautiful in its simple strength and dignity. The

coinage of this League circulated in Macedon until Philip II. began in about 358 B.C. to work the rich gold mines of Philippi.

III. B 13 is a coin of **Philippi.** No. 17 is one of the gold staters, issued by Philip and called after him "**Philips**" (like the Napoleons of our time): thus Horace speaks of *regale mumisma Philippos* (*Epist.* ii. 1, 232). On one side is the head of Apollo; on the other, a chariot. From these "Philips" were derived the types of the coins used for centuries by the Gauls and Britons. The chariot and horseman refers to Philip's victories at the Olympian games.

The **head of Zeus** on the next coin (III. B 18), which was also issued by Philip II., is very fine. The horse on the reverse of this coin is very clumsy. This Zeus may be compared with another, also very simple and dignified, on a coin of Alexander of Epirus (III. B 23). The Zeus on a coin of Elis (III. B 33) is very inferior to the earlier one (II. B 29) which we have already described, and in which some authorities find the repose and reserve of power associated with the Zeus of Phidias (see, for instance, Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, ii. 131. Those who desire to pursue this tantalising question will find a list of the authorities in Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 532).

The head of the nymph **Larissa** (III. B 19) is very beautiful. It strongly resembles that of Arethusa on the coin of Syracuse (III. C 30), but is somewhat simpler in treatment.

A coin of the **Amphictyonic Council** (III. B 25) is historically interesting, for it was probably struck by the Council when it re-assembled after the termination of the Sacred War, 346 B.C., and conferred upon Philip of Macedon the votes which had previously belonged to the Phocians. On the obverse is Demeter seated; on the reverse, Apollo seated on the Delphian omphalos.

The name of the famous **Epaminondas** is inscribed (Epami.) on the next coin (III. B 26).

The **Zeus and Demeter of Messenia** (III. B 35), "the two together signifying the sustaining strength of heaven and earth." The temple of Demeter on Mount Ithomè is mentioned by Pausanias as a peculiar sanctity; and on the same mountain was a temple to Zeus of Ithomè, in whose honour an annual festival was celebrated by the Messenians. Ruskin, noting these facts, remarks on the strangely mundane character of the divinities as shown on this coin. The Demeter is, indeed, a very fine head, but it is invested with no mystery (see above, under III. A 7, 8). "We pass, on the reverse of the die, to the figure of Zeus. Think of the invocation to Zeus in the Suppliants, 'King of Kings, and Happiest of the Happy, Perfectest of the Perfect in strength, abounding in all things, Zeus—hear us and be with us'; and then, consider what strange phase of mind it was, which, under the very mountain-home of the god, was content with this symbol of him as a well-fed athlete, holding a diminutive and crouching eagle on his fist. The features and the right hand have *been injured,* but the action of the arm shows that it held a thunder-bolt" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 197). Numismatists claim that this coin is

a copy of a statue of Zeus by Ageladas (master of Myron, Polyclitus, and perhaps Phidias), which was preserved at Ithomè; but this identification is disputed (see Murray's *Greek Sculpture*, i. 187).

The **Hera of Argos** (III. B 36) is interesting as being copied from the famous statue of Polyclitus (see a marble in the Elgin Room, p. 192). The figures of the Graces and Seasons which are mentioned by Pausanias (ii. 17. 4) as adorning the crown of the goddess are omitted on the coin, and a floral decoration is substituted. The engraver probably despaired of reproducing the figures on so small a scale (Frazer). On the reverse of our coin are two dolphins and a wolf—symbols of Apollo Lycius, who was worshipped at Argos; "the idea symbolised by the wolf is that of winter slain by the god of light and warmth" (Head).

The **cow** on a coin of **Etruria** (III. C 2) is said to be symbolical of moon-worship. The reader will already have been struck by the frequency of bulls and cows on ancient coins. In view of the well-known use of cattle as units of barter in early times, it is difficult not to feel some attraction to Professor Ridgeway's theory that on early coins the cow or bull's head was the indication of value; and that in later times, when the connection between cattle and coin was only traditional, the ox or the cow was put on them simply as symbolical of money (as in the Greek proverb, "an ox on the tongue"; see p. 620). The Greek engravers were not content, however, with repeating precisely the same symbol, but give us such beautiful types as the cow suckling her calf (I. B 18, V. B 9), the cow with the bird on her back and scratching herself (II. B 39), and the two calves' heads on the coins of Mytilene (II. A 28).

The **Parthenopè of Naples** (II. C 4).—The siren Parthenopè gave its ancient name to Neapolis. The head on this coin is pretty. On coins of this type, ear-rings are carefully wrought. The fertility of invention of the Greek jeweller was conspicuous in the variety of form given to these ornaments, of which many beautiful specimens may be seen in the Gem Room. In the coins of Southern Italy and Sicily we meet with a softer beauty than that which distinguishes the products of Greece itself. The man-headed bull on this and the preceding coin is symbolical not of a river, but of Dionysus. (For the **gold coin of Tarentum** (III. C 5), see below, under IV. C 11.)

The "**horsemen of Tarentum**" (III. C. 7-10).—The opulence and luxury of gay Tarentum, second only to Syracuse in the whole West, are well illustrated in the number and variety of her coins. Here, as on the earlier coins already noticed, we have always on one side Taras riding on his dolphin, but the composition is varied with delightful ingenuity. On the other side we see the type of the Tarentine horseman "repeated with a vivacity and endless feliçity of invention almost worthy of the frieze of the Parthenon" (Newton). On the gold coin (5) the young rider crowns his horse. Next (6), a second youth welcomes the horse, clasping it by the neck. On another (10) the horse and rider are surrounded by a border of waves—with

reference, perhaps, to the white wild horses of the sea. The delicacy of the workmanship is also remarkable. "I should like," said Ruskin of some art students, "to show them an enlarged black outline, nobly done, of the two sides of a coin of Tarentum, with that fiery rider kneeling, careless, on his horse's neck, and reclined on his surging dolphin, with the curled sea lapping round them; and then to convince my boys that no one (unless it was Taras' father himself with the middle prong of his trident) could draw a horse like that, without learning" ("The Cestus of Aglaia," in *On the Old Road*, i. § 333). The horses and horsemanship of Tarentum were famous; there was a verb *ταραντίζειν*, "to ride like a Tarentine horseman." The representations on the coins refer no doubt to local "meetings"—at which this skill was displayed. The Tarentine coins are an interesting instance of the methods of personification adopted by the Greeks. Early in the fifth century the Tarentines dedicated at Delphi statutes of Taras and Phalanthus, the mythical and historical founders of their city (Paus. x. 13. 10). "These two heroes represent in the most complete and lively manner all the activities and successes of the Tarentines. The Tarentine cavalry was excellent, so their heroes appear constantly on horseback, performing military evolutions and crowned for success in the games. The Tarentine wine was good, so Taras bears a bunch of grapes or carries a thyrsus (in III. C 6, a cup). The Tarentines were skilful fishers, so Taras, as he rides on his dolphin's back, spears the fish of the sea through which he passes. Tarentum was a city of shipping and of cavalry, so on one side of her coins Taras rides his dolphin, and on the other Phalanthus mounts his steed, repeating age after age the exploits by which they were supposed to have won fame, and furnishing a constant model to the ambitious youth of Tarentum" (P. Gardner on "Countries and Cities in Ancient Art," in *J.H.S.* ix. p. 55).

The **Heracles of Heraclea**, in Lucania (III. C 11), is an interesting figure. These whole figures, seated in various attitudes, are among the most remarkable instances of the engraver's art on coins (cf. III. B 37, III. C 20).

The **coin of Thurium** (III. C 17) is celebrated for the perfection of its art. The helmet adorned with a splendid figure of the sea-monster, Scylla, is a masterpiece on this scale. The butting bull on the reverse is no less celebrated. In its truth and vitality, and largeness of style (which depends not on scale), it is compared by Ruskin with a colossal bull of Eastern art (see *Aratra Pentelici*, pl. xx.). It is customary to talk of the "idealism" of Greek art, and if the term be rightly understood the talk is right. The idealism of the best Greek sculpture was the perfection of natural form, not a departure from nature. A certain amount of symbolic conventionalism, the Greek did, indeed, allow himself. But "the eagle of Elis, the lion of Velia, the horse of Syracuse, the bull of Thurium, the dolphin of *Tarentum, the crab* of Agrigentum, and the crawfish of Catana, are *studied as closely, every* one of them, as the Juno of Argos, or Apollo

of Clazomenæ. Idealism, so far from being contrary to special truth, is the very abstraction of speciality from everything else. It is the earnest statement of the characters which make man man, and cockle cockle, and flesh flesh, and fish fish" ("The Study of Architecture," in *On the Old Road*, i. § 276).

Another coin which might form a text for many a discourse on Greek art is that of **Croton** (III. C 19). Let us read, first, Professor P. Gardner's description of it:—"On the obverse is Heracles, leaning on his club, and seated on his lion skin, which is spread on the rocks. He is claimed, as an archaic inscription on the coin states, as founder of the city and is engaged in some ceremony of purification. The reference is to the solemn rites performed by Heracles after he had accidentally slain the hero Croton, to purify himself from the stain of manslaughter, on which occasion he is said to have prophesied the future greatness of the city, which should be called by the name of the man he had slain. But Croton was also under the patronage of Apollo; and so, on the reverse, we find him occupied in his noblest achievement, the destruction of the monstrous Python, at which he is aiming an arrow. The character of this design is governed by various conditions; some of them particular, others general. The fillet-bound tripod usually occupies the whole field in coins of Croton and is here made the principal feature. The serpent is made to stand erect on his coils, in order the better to fill the space. The foreshortening of the lower limbs of Apollo, as he bends with the strain of his shooting, is a remarkable effect for the period. I know of no work of antiquity more characteristic than this, or more full of suggestion. Marvellously human and measurable is the picture which a Greek artist has here wrought of the victory of light over darkness; entire the absence of mysticism. If we recall to mind great modern works treating of the same subject, we gain a glimpse of the infinite abyss separating Hellenic from modern art" (*Types of Greek Coins*, p. 119). The absence of mysticism, the absence also of all sense of dramatic strain: these are two characteristics of Greek art which may be deduced from this coin. In the latter respect, Ruskin couples with it the contest of Heracles with the Nemean lion as shown on a coin of Heraclea (IV. C 16)—"examples," he says, "of true Greek representation; the subjects being the two contests of leading import to the Greek heart. You see that in neither case is there the slightest effort to represent the λύσσα, or agony of contrast" (see *Aratra Pentelici*, § 192).

A coin of **Pandosia** (III. C 22) is by the artist Φ, whose beautiful work we have already noticed in II. C 7 and 13. With the latter coin, a later one of **Terina** here (III. C 24) should be compared. The earlier is the purer in style and more severe; but it is a pretty touch here that makes the winged figure of Victory fondle a dove.

The **Apollo of Catana** (III. C 25) is a striking head. It looks not like the ideal head of a god, but the head of a girl, with the fluffy hair and deep-set eyes that one may see in the streets and alleys of South Italy to-day.

The **gold coin of Syracuse** (III. C 27) is by Cimon, whose masterpiece we shall presently examine. Its value was that of two of the large medallions.

These **medallions of Syracuse** (III. C 28, 29) are perhaps the best known, and are certainly among the most beautiful, of all ancient coins. They are called "medallions" incorrectly, for they were issued as currency; but their unusual size, as well as their artistic merit, invests them with special interest. "Might not Raphael," asks Winckelmann, "who complains that he could not find in nature any beauty worthy to stand for Galatea, have taken her likeness from the best Syracusan coins? Beyond these coins, human comprehension cannot go." Critics of our own day have been hardly less enthusiastic. No. 28 is by Evænetus; No. 29, by Cimon. The reverse on the two coins is the same; which head is the finer? "If," says a French writer, "we only possessed Cimon's piece it would justly awaken in us entire admiration and would be cited as a type of inimitable perfection. But it pales beside the work of Evænetus. The style of Cimon—superior as it still is to the finest works that the Renaissance itself produced in monetary art—appears smaller by comparison with the other. . . . Cimon is a great artist; Evænetus is the greatest of all in the branch that he has cultivated. He is the Pheidias of coin-engraving" (Lenormant, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1863, p. 338). It has been objected that the "medallions" show an over-richness in ornament, an excessive delicacy in execution. To such objections Mr. Arthur Evans makes an interesting reply: "The gem-like finish of the details, the decorative richness, the more human beauty of the features that they represented, the naturalistic gleanings from the Sicilian fields around —from air and sea—thrown into these designs, were regarded by the artists of these dies as altogether appropriate to this class of small relief in metal work. To the greater works of Greek statuary and relief, in ivory or marble, warmth and variety, and even minute relief, far beyond our present ken, was supplied by calling in the painter's and the goldsmith's art. Even in bronze work, monotony was avoided by the inlaying and overlaying with gold and silver; diamonds might sparkle in the eyes, diadems and torques of precious metal might glitter about head and neck. But in the smooth, glistening surface of a coin there was no opportunity for such adventitious adornments. Limited in relief, the outlines yet could not be thrown up by colour contrasts. Hence, according to the canons of Greek taste, there was the greater need for luxuriant detail and minutely decorative treatment of surfaces; for the avoidance of bare background by a more picturesque treatment of the design itself, and the insertion of accessory objects of beauty; for infusing the divine forms portrayed with a greater glow of liveliness and life to make up for the golden hair, the flashing eyes and roseate lips, that were beyond the reach of the die-sinker's art; but which, in the case of the greater works of sculpture, *might serve to* reconcile severer outlines. It was this which the Sicilian *engravers instinctively* perceived, and it is this which raises them in

their own profession above the level of their fellow-workers in the greater art-centres of the mother-country" ("Syracusan Medallions and their Engravings," in *N.C.* 1890, p. 211).

In one respect the engravers of the coin-dies have an advantage over the artists on a greater scale. The marble perishes; metal endures:—

> Le temps passe. Tout meurt. Le marbre même s'use.
> Agrigante n'est plus qu'une ombre, et Syracuse
> Dort sous le bleu linceul de son ciel indulgent;
> Et seul le dur métal que l'amour fit docile
> Garde encore en sa fleur, aux médailles d'argent,
> L'immortelle beauté des vierges de Sicile.

Turning to the two "medallions" severally, we observe that the **coin of Evænetus** (28) shows us the head of Persephonè, as we may see from the wreath of corn-leaves in her hair. The features are of a more refined and somewhat severer beauty than that of Cimon's Arethusa in the next coin, and the hair is treated in a broader style. The first letters of the artist's name are faintly given below. The high praise of his work, quoted above, will probably be endorsed by most readers; but, if any be inclined to hesitate and find on closer examination that the artistic effect is not entirely satisfying, they also can quote high authority:—

"I admit," says R. S. Poole, formerly keeper of the Museum coins, "that nothing more delicately finished has been produced in Greek art. Its merit is another question. The first impression is very pleasing, but the work does not bear analysis. You cannot magnify it without becoming aware of a want of expression in the face and an exaggeration in the features. You could not judge from the face whether the head were of Proserpine or Juno; and indeed it has been disputed whether it is of Proserpine or Arethusa, though there can be no doubt that it represents the first. The ornamental arrangement of the hair is not accidental, but essential, in the treatment of the countenance, and conceals the weakness of the features. It is, moreover, intensely artificial, with shell-like and snake-like curls that are suggestive of the hot irons and 'artists in hair' of conventional life. She is neither goddess nor maiden, merely the most beautiful young lady of Syracuse, with her hair very elaborately dressed by the best Syracusan hair-dresser. The eye is too large, the nose too small, the mouth exaggerated in its pout and too small. The chin is too large, and the cheek is heavy" ("Greek Coins as illustrating Greek Art" in *N.C.* 1864, p. 245). For some remarks on the design of the reverse of these coins, see III. C 34-38. Not only are the horses here distinctly represented, but the difficulty of showing the second chariot-wheel is also solved.

On the **medallion of Cimon** (III. C 29) the head is of Arethusa. The lower part of her hair is worn in a jewelled net; she wears also a jewelled ear-ring and necklace. The name of Cimon is inscribed *on the dolphin below the* head. The date is about 400 B.C. It is

interesting to compare the design with the similar one of a century earlier (II. C 33). The type of face is the same, but the archaic severity of the earlier has given place to freedom and animation. The eye in particular has been made to live. Another point of contrast occurs in the treatment of the symbolic dolphins. In the earlier coin, the symbols overpower the head; in the latter they are smaller, and take their proper place in the general decorative design.

The next coin (III. C 30), showing a **head of Arethusa facing** us, is considered the *chef d'œuvre* of Cimon, whose name is inscribed on her diadem. The representation of the spirit of the famous fountain is here more poetical than in the medallion, and the face, if less attractive at first sight, is perhaps more arresting. The fountain is represented by the flowing locks, which suggest, though they do not directly imitate, the bubbling action of the fresh-water spring rising in the sea, here typified by the dolphins which dart in and out of the locks. The design on the reverse is interesting. The horses have overturned the *meta*, and the charioteer looks back as if a rival chariot were close behind him. It has been suggested that there may be a reference here to the Olympic contest in 388 B.C., in which the chariots of Dionysius I. of Syracuse were upset and broken, either by misadventure or in the course of a popular demonstration roused against the Sicilian tyrant by the orator Lysias. Dionysius may have commemorated his unfair defeat on that occasion as a triumph.

The coins we have been describing and the next two (III. C 31, 32) all belong to the time of Dionysius or his successors (405-345 B.C.). The dynasty was then overthrown; Syracuse appealed to Corinth, and **Timoleon** was sent to restore order. The next coins (III. C 33-36) belong to the period of freedom restored by that public-spirited politician. The change of political conditions is reflected in them. The monetary standard (as seen from the size of the coins) is altered to that of Corinth. The types made familiar during the Dionysian era are abandoned; divinities of healing, defence, and freedom are adopted—Apollo, Artemis, Soteira, and Zeus Eleuthereus.

Some of the **Carthaginian coins** (III. C 39, 40) were obviously copied from the Proserpine and Arethusa of Syracuse. Manner has here become mannerism. In 39 the hair is heavy, the mouth is made smaller, and the neck is uncompromisingly pillar-like. The head on No. 41, perhaps intended for a representation of Dido, is fine, and must have been designed by a Greek artist.

The **coins of Cyrenè** (III. C 43, 44) have on one side or the other a representation of Zeus Ammon, who had a famous oracle in the oasis of Ammon in the Libyan desert. The worship of Zeus Ammon, confused with that of the Egyptian Amoun-Ra, was in later times one of the most popular of the mixed cults, and representations of Zeus with the ram's horns are common in art. "And you, Zeus," cries Momus in Lucian's *Assembly of the Gods*, "how can you bear the *ram's horns* that they have put on your forehead?" Often the horns *are the only point* of difference in representations of Zeus Ammon.

On one of these coins (44), however, the type of face is altogether rude and shaggy. On the gold coin (43) the deity is represented as himself performing sacrifice. On the reverse of No. 44 is the silphium plant, conventionally treated. This plant, which possessed medicinal properties, formed one of the staple products of Cyrenè (cf. a note on the vases, p. 338). As such it appears on the coins, though here also those who see nothing but religious symbolism in coin-types are not at a loss. It was placed on the coins, we are told, because it may have been the symbol of Aristæus, "the protector of the corn-field and the vine, and all growing crops; and bees, and flocks, and shepherds, and the averter of the scorching blasts of the Sahara." "There is probably," replies Prof. Ridgeway, "just as much evidence for this as there is for believing that the beaver on some Canadian coins and stamps is symbolical of St. Lawrence, after whom the great Canadian river is named, the warm skin of the beaver indicating that the saint of the red-hot gridiron is the averter of the cruel and biting blasts that sweep down from the icy North" (*Metallic Currency*, p. 313).

Case IV.—**Later Fine Art** (336-280 B.C.)

This period, which may be described as that either of later fine art or of early decline, is chronologically the age of Alexander the Great and his successors. We see at once reflected in the coinage the leading historical event of the age. The Macedonian conquest has, to a large extent, annihilated independent states. Coins were struck at local mints, but their general character is identical. Thus the coins IV. A 2, 4-8, 10, and B 5, 6, 7, 9-14, all issued by Alexander or his successors, closely resemble each other. Minor differences or marks alone distinguish their place of origin. Thus A 3 has the monogram of Aradus (a town in Phœnicia); A 5, a ram (the badge of Damascus); A 8, an anchor (the badge of Seleucus I. of Syria). There is a sameness in the coins of Alexander which deprives them of interest. On the obverse is a head of Hercules, from whom the Macedonian kings claimed descent. There is in the head some slight assimilation to Alexander's own portrait. On the reverse is Zeus seated, holding his eagle. Another obvious historical fact is reflected in the coins. Not only did Alexander absorb, he also expanded. He carried his empire, and with it the civilisation of Greece, to "the furthest Ind." Among "Greek coins" we now begin to find coins of Egypt, of Parthia, of India. Thus the gold coin IV. A 16, with the head of Zeus on one side and of a chariot on the other, was found at an old fort on

a tongue of land at the confluence of two rivers which flow into the Oxus. The silver coin IV. A 17, with the helmeted head of a king, bears the name of Sophytes, an Indian prince in the Panjab, who submitted to Alexander. The gold coin IV. A 15, with a very distinctive head of a ruler in Persian head-dress, is identified with Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia under Alexander the Great.

Artistically, the coins of this period show, as has been said, less inventiveness and freshness in the types. Another very common type—as on the gold staters of Alexander (A 3)—is Victory with a wreath and trophy-stand. This subject, and that of seated deities, supersede the free play of fancy on the earlier coins. The execution is still in many cases very good, but on the whole this period is marked by less delicacy than that of the best time. In realistic portraiture, and in human portraiture idealised, the art of this period strikes out a new and successful line. But the ideal heads of divinities show a marked decline in dignity of type and beauty of execution. If the reader will first look back at the noble head of Zeus on a coin of the great time (III. B 18) and then look at the head on the later coin of Elis (IV. B 23), he will at once appreciate the change.

The **gold staters of Alexander** (IV. A 3 and cf. IV. B 3) show the changes introduced into the coinage by that monarch. The widely-circulated "Philips" (III. B 17) show the head of a male deity on one side and a chariot on the other. Alexander placed on the obverse of his coins a head of Pallas, the patroness of the besiegers of Ilium; and on the reverse, no longer a representation of his father's racing chariots, but a figure of warlike Victory.

The coins of **Seleucus I.** (IV. A 11-14) are interesting. Seleucus —one of the ablest of all Alexander's successors, king of Babylon and Syria and founder of the Seleucid dynasty—adopted the title of king in 306 B.C. Coins 8 and 11 have his badge (an anchor), but are not yet inscribed with the word "king"; Nos. 12-14 are inscribed as coins "of King Seleucus." Notice the chariot of elephants, in which the goddess Pallas is fighting—a very type, it might seem, of that marriage of West and East, that spread of Hellenism over the barbarian East, which was accomplished by Alexander and his successors. The type has, however, a special reference to Seleucus: it was with the 480 elephants of Chandragupta, the Indian king, that he crushed the force of Antigonus at Ipsus. The head on this coin is of Zeus. On No. 14 is a portrait of the king himself—a strong and *striking face.* Round his neck is a lion's skin. The head of the king *himself takes the place* of that of Hercules, whose attribute, however,

remains. The bull's horn with which the helmet is adorned is a further symbol of divine strength.

The coins (IV. A 18, 19) of **Lysimachus**, another of Alexander's successors and King of Thrace, are remarkable for the fine ideal portraits of Alexander. This, it will be observed, is not an example of actual portraiture; it is a case of a successor putting on his coins the head of a predecessor (just as on American postage-stamps it is the heads of past presidents only that are given); and, even so, the portrait is given on the coins not so much as that of a man, as of a god. It is not a realistic portrait of Alexander as king; it is an idealised portrait of Alexander deified (with the horn of Zeus Ammon). Notice on the reverse of No. 19 the small bee: this is the mint-mark of Ephesus. Lysimachus, who included a great part of Asia Minor in his kingdom, rebuilt the city of Ephesus. The sculptures from the later temple of Ephesus belong to the earlier portion of the period covered by the present group of coins; the deep-set eyes and intensity of expression in the ideal coin-portraits are characteristic of this period of art.

The coin (IV. A 22) with the portrait of **Ptolemy Soter** (306-284 B.C.) is of special interest. Ptolemy, who did not assume the title of king till 306, was the first to place his own head as such on coins. There is no longer any semblance of a Greek divinity; no attributes of god or hero adorn the head; there is no idealisation in the portraiture. The head at once attracts attention as that of a remarkable man. By the time Ptolemy assumed the title of king, he had grown old; the coins show us the king in old age. The face, so full of resolution, craft, and intelligence, brings before us the most far-sighted of all Alexander's generals, who, instead of aiming at universal rule, planted himself securely in Egypt, extending his authority thence to Cyprus and the Cyrenaica; who diverted the burial of Alexander from Macedon to Egypt; and made Alexandria a seat of Hellenic culture by the library and museum he founded there. The eagle standing on a thunderbolt, on the reverse of our coin, was Ptolemy's badge; it appears as such in miniature on the preceding coin (IV. A 21), which Ptolemy issued in the name of Alexander IV. It was a characteristic of his statesmanship to care more for the reality of power than for its names and appearances; for many years he did not declare himself independent, but placed the names of phantom-kings, in the direct line of descent from Alexander, on his coins, as also on the temples which he restored.

The title of "Soter," the saviour, was given to Ptolemy by the Rhodians, whom he assisted in the great siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes (304 B.C.). Out of the spoils left behind him by Demetrius, the great statue of the sun-god, the Colossus of Rhodes, was set up. The fine coin of **Rhodes** (IV. A 33) was issued at about that time, and the head may very probably be a copy of the Colossus.

The coin of **Sidon** (IV. A 35) is very unlike those we have been examining. The design is more like a piece of Assyrian bas-relief.

Of **Demetrius Poliorcetes**, king of Macedonia (b. 337, d. 284),

called the Besieger from his prolonged attack on Rhodes, we have some interesting coins (IV. B 15-17). The king's head has the bull's horn of Bacchus. "In mind," says Diodorus, "he was exalted and magnificent, looking down not merely upon the common people, but upon those in authority. In time of war he was active and abstemious, outrivalling his companions in toil alike of mind and of body; in time of peace he spent his time in drinking and in banquets with dance and revel, seeking in short to emulate the reign of Bacchus, once fabled among men." Demetrius was also famous for his beauty: cf. the engraved gem, No. 1526 (p. 629). In 306 B.C. the fleet of King Antigonus, under his son Demetrius, gained a victory over Ptolemy off the island of Cyprus. This is the naval victory commemorated on our coin, No. 17. A figure of Victory, carrying a trophy-stand and blowing a trumpet, is standing on the prow of a galley. The beautiful statue of Victory, found in the island of Samothrace in 1863, and now in the Louvre, stood upon a similar pedestal. It has been conjectured that the coin was copied from the statue. On the back of our coin is Poseidon striking with his trident. The figure of Poseidon on No. 16 is in marked contrast: he rests his foot on a rock and looks meditatively over the sea.

At the naval victory of Demetrius, the booty which fell to the victor included a number of women. Among these was the celebrated **Lamia**, who, "at first was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtesan. By this time her beauty was on the wane, yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that, though other women had a passion for him, he could only think of her." The two lived together at Athens, and Plutarch (in his life of Demetrius) tells many stories about her. On one occasion Demetrius levied a tax on the Athenians, and then at the request of Lamia bestowed it upon her and her friends to buy unguents. She went so far as to make requisitions on her own account, and with the proceeds entertained Demetrius at a banquet which equalled in splendour any in antiquity. The degenerate Athenians, as well as the people of Thebes, erected temples to Aphroditè Lamia and made sacrifices in her honour. To please Demetrius, the people of Lamia, in Thessaly, placed her head, it is supposed, upon their coins. The head on our specimen (IV. B 21) agrees with this identification. "She is no longer young, as we may see from the double chin and lines on the neck. Her features are of extreme regularity; the nose is almost more than Greek in its extreme straightness. The deep-set eye and strongly-cut lips show character and wit; the hair is unconventional and accords with her masculine beauty" (P. Gardner in *N. C.* 1878, p. 266). On the reverse of the coin is a figure of the young Hercules (intended, perhaps, in flattery to represent Demetrius); he is seated on a rock, holding a bow in a case—a pleasing composition.

Among the idealised **portraits of Alexander the Great** none is

finer than that on a coin issued by Lysimachus (IV. B 20): the head expresses both dignity and yearning. The coin is supposed to have been copied from the gem-portrait by Pyrgoteles (see p. 629) or the portrait-statue by Lysippus. Plutarch tells us that when Lysippus first made a portrait of Alexander with his countenance uplifted to heaven, some one wrote of it: "This man of bronze is as one that looks on Zeus, and will address him thus: O Zeus, I place earth beneath my feet; do thou rule Olympus." While other sculptors gave the king's pathetic expression, Lysippus was preferred for preserving also his masculine and leonine aspect.

Turning to the coins of the West, we notice first a coin of **Marseilles** (IV. C 1). Massilia was a colony of the Phocæans, and on this coin we find the Asiatic lion common to it and to another Phocæan colony, the Italian Velia (see IV. C 24). On the obverse is the head of Artemis, crowned with sprigs of olive—"at once marking the sacred tree, which had grown from a branch carried by the colonists with a statue of the goddess from Ephesus, and proclaiming the value of the olive-groves of Massilia" (Poole).

The earliest silver coins struck in the name of the **Roman people** come from Campania (IV. C 5-10), where the Roman dominion dates from 338 B.C. Before this time the Roman coinage was entirely of bronze. Observe on the reverse of No. 5, Romulus and Remus and the wolf.

The **gold coinage of Tarentum** (IV. C 12-14, and cf. III. C 5) "is a delight to the eye, with the varied beauty of its gem-like types, which, while they show the gem-engraver's art, prove the medallist's knowledge of the rich but opaque metallic material" (Poole). The abundance of the gold issues of Tarentum is an index to its wealth and commercial importance. "In forming an estimate of the relative importance, wealth and refinement of these cities, coins furnish some valuable evidence in supplement to the scanty notices in ancient history. Thus we learn from the catalogue of the Museum that of gold coins Tarentum has thirty-two, Metapontum one; but the catalogue assigns no gold coins to any other city in Magna Græcia. We know that Tarentum and Metapontum were cities of great power and wealth from the first, and that they retained their political importance after most of the other cities of Magna Græcia had succumbed either to the Sicilian Dionysius or to the inroads of ruder Italian races. The gold coinage of Tarentum is evidence of its wealth, which it owed partly to the richness of its products, both terrestrial and marine, but still more to the excellence of its landlocked harbour, and to the convenience of its situation as an entrepôt for the commerce of Greece and Egypt" (Newton's *Essays*, p. 408). The types on the coins of Tarentum are, as will be seen, very various: the head on No. 13 is obviously borrowed from that on the money of Alexander the Great, which at this time circulated widely.

Hercules and the lion on a coin of Heraclea (IV. C 16) form a characteristic group. The tension of the hero's frame is rendered with

spirit, but there is no agony of contest (see on this subject, p. 519). The composition is also a good instance of accommodation to the shape of the coin.

The fine style survives longest in the coins of the West, and among this group of coins several heads, not perhaps of marked nobility or of the highest beauty, but of dignity in conception and of fine workmanship. may still be seen. We may instance the Zeus of Metapontum (IV. C 17, 18); and the Demeter (20)—notice in this last the elaborately wrought ear-ring; and the Apollo of Croton (25)—a beautiful head.

The coins of **Syracuse** of this period (IV. C 27-31) belong to the time of Agathocles, who ruled over the city with ruthless tyranny for twenty-eight years (317-289) and won many victories both in Sicily and in Africa, before his army mutinied and he fled back to Europe for his life. His African victories are recorded, we may suppose, on the reverse of No. 29, where Victory is nailing a conical (Carthaginian) helmet to a trophy-stand. At the side of the stand, and above the chariot on No. 28, is a three-legged figure (triskelion)—a badge of Sicily, the triangular island, the land of three capes (Trinacria). On the reverse of No. 30 is a thunderbolt, and the name of Agathocles is inscribed as "king." No earlier rulers of Sicily put their names on coins. Agathocles assumed the kingly title in imitation of the Macedonian successor of Alexander, with whom the Sicilian tyrant was in personal relations; he married in old age a daughter of Ptolemy Soter; he gave his own daughter in marriage to Pyrrhus, the Epirote conqueror; and he was in treaty with Demetrius the Besieger. The next coins (32-34) belong to the reign of the successor of Agathocles, Hicetsa (287-278 B.C.). These Syracusan coins are far inferior in beauty to the earlier issues, but are still not without artistic merit.

Among the **Carthaginian** coins (IV. C 35-38) we may notice once more the wide diffusion of the "Alexander" type: see the head on No. 36. The heads on Nos. 37 and 38 are obvious imitations of Syracusan coins.

Case V.—**The Decline of Art** (280-190 B.C.)

The distinguishing character of the coins in this case will at once strike the visitor. We are in the age of portraits. The coinage is almost entirely regal: the period is that of the kings, the later successors of Alexander (the Epigoni). The series of royal portraits on the coins of Egypt, Syria, Bactria, and other kingdoms are of great historical interest. They are also remarkable, from an artistic point of view, as revealing an aspect of the talent of Greek artists, with which otherwise we should not be acquainted. The vigour and realism of many of the portrait heads are very striking, and *are comparable* with the best work of the Italian medallists

of the Renaissance. There are, however, several cities which retain an independent coinage, and in these cases the old ideal heads of divinities continue to appear. We notice at once a Demeter on a coin of Chalcedon (A 6)—a somewhat prosaic head, but not lacking in dignity; Artemis on a coin of Ephesus (A 10); the sun-god on a coin of Rhodes (A 11). This latter is one of the finest coins of the time, but, on a comparison with its predecessor (IV. A 33), the style will be seen to be somewhat coarser. A similar remark applies to the four tetradrachms with Alexander's types, which come first in our present series (A 1-4). Some of the ideal heads in this period are still fine, and show careful workmanship, but intensity of expression rather than majestic calm is aimed at (*e.g.* V. C 27). In the treatment of the human form, the tendency to slightness becomes more marked (A 24), and there is often marked effeminacy of style; but, on the other hand, muscular development is exaggerated (*e.g.* V. A 24). The archaism occasionally found is affected (B 5) or copied (B 27). The designs on the reverses of the coins tend, during this period, to become mere heraldic repetitions. A new development, on the other hand, appears in the popularity of personifications and allegorical groups (*e.g.* B 16, C 23).

Two very realistic portraits of commonplace persons meet us at once (V. A 5, 7). No. 5 shows the head of **Mithradates II.**, of Pontus (240-190 B.C.)—the kingdom of Cappadocia on the Pontus, or simply Pontus, which formed a satrapy under the Persian Empire, and afterwards became an independent monarchy. The portrait is a striking piece of realistic work. The star and crescent which are inserted on the reverse of this coin are emblems of the sun and moon; the reference being to the religion of the Persians, from whom the kings of Pontus were descended. No. 7 bears the head of **Prusias I.**, of Bithynia (228-180 B.C.)—the kingdom adjacent to Pontus. The short beard and the whiskers on these portraits are characteristic touches of realism, and give them a very modern look. In earlier works, where idealism was aimed at, the face is close-shaved, or the beard is treated so as to give dignity.

The fine head on the next coin (V. A 8) is that of **Seleucus**, the suzerain of Philetærus of Pergamum (284-263 B.C.), whose name is inscribed on the reverse. The hill city of **Pergamum** (=summit; cf. the Italian Bergamo) acquired importance under Lysimachus. He had deposited his treasures there in charge of a eunuch, Philetærus, who rebelled and succeeded in making Pergamum the capital of a little principality. It is this man whose head—powerful, if somewhat *repulsive—is on the next* coin (No. 9), which was issued by his

nephew and successor, Eumenes I. (263-241 B.C.). Partly by clever diplomacy, partly through the dissensions among surrounding potentates, these early kings of Pergamum consolidated their power and prepared for the prosperous and artistic period which was to follow (see below, p. 534).

The portraits of the **Seleucid kings** of Syria (V. A 12-19) form an interesting series. The head of Antiochus I. (280-261 B.C.) is very striking in its realism (No. 13); the deep recession of the eye is characteristic of the artist methods introduced by Lysippus. The designs on the reverse of these coins are monotonous and not very interesting: Hercules seated on the omphalos is the prevailing type. Antiochus III., called the Great (222-187 B.C.), has a striking head (No. 19), which tells of his activity and ambition.

None of the series of royal portraits is more remarkable than that of the **Bactrian kings.** About the year 250 B.C., Diodotus (No. 21), satrap of Bactria, revolted against Antiochus II. of Syria, and established an independent Græco-Roman kingdom which lasted for two hundred years. Of its history little is known, except what may be gathered from the coins which have come down to us. It is remarkable that these ancient Bactrian coins are still, or were lately, circulating as money in Central Asia (see Mr. John Ward's *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities*, 1902). In the second century, Euthydemus and Demetrius extended their rule across the Indian Caucasus, and wrested from native Indian princes the districts of Kabul and Panjab. Even thus far did the arts and influence of Greece extend under the Macedonian expansion. The succession of the kings, and various facts about the extension of the kingdom, have been made out from the coins; and of Bactrian art we shall see some specimens presently (Ch. XXV. p. 601). Occasionally the coins supply other historical data. Thus, on the reverse of No. 25 (a coin of King Antimachus) we see Poseidon holding a trident and palm-branch, clearly with reference to a naval victory won by the king:—"It might seem at first sight that this victory must have been won on the open sea. But Antimachus' rule never extended to the sea; his coins are found both on the north and the south of the Caucasus, but never south of the Panjab. We must therefore suppose that the naval victory was won on the Indus, or one of its great tributaries, and indeed it may easily be understood that the Greeks would place so large a river as the Indus under the sway of Poseidon" (*British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins: Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, p. xxix.).

The portrait of Antimachus, on the other side of this coin, is of striking and even startling realism, the effect of which is enhanced by the distinctive head-dress. (For an interesting discussion of the portraiture on Greek coins of this period, see Gardner's *Types*, p. 211.)

Another interesting series of portraits is on the **gold coins of Egypt** (V. A 28-34). On the first coin (No. 28) are the heads, on one side, *of Ptolemy II.* and his queen, Arsinoë; on the other, of Ptolemy I. *(whose portrait* we have already seen, IV. A 22) and his queen,

Berenicè: the latter were deified after their death. No. 29 shows Arsinoë again; No. 30, Ptolemy III. On No. 31 is Berenicè II., wife of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes)—a princess of Cyrenè, a lady of great spirit and of many adventures. It was she, too, who had vowed, in case of the safe return of her husband from his Asiatic campaign, a lock of her hair, which was afterwards seen in the skies, as told in the poem of Callimachus, translated by Catullus (*De Coma Berenices*). In the head of Ptolemy IV. (Philopator: 222-205 B.C.), on No. 32, there is a coarseness of expression natural in a king who lived a life of pleasure and vice. On No. 33 is his consort, Arsinoë. On No. 34 Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes: 205-181 B.C.), a man of no better character, though of greater vigour than his father.

On the coin (V. B 5) of **Antigonus Gonatas**, King of Macedonia (b. 319, d. 239), is a Macedonian shield, in the centre of which is a head of Pan; on the reverse, Athena hurls a thunderbolt. The allusion is to the great defeat of the Gauls by Antigonus in 277 B.C. They fled in panic—a word which preserves the cult of Pan, at whose voice men trembled, and who produced sudden terror among crowds.

The next coin (No. 6) is also attributed to Antigonus Gonatas or Antigonus Doson: on one side a head of Poseidon; on the other a very attenuated Apollo, seated on the prow of a galley. To Antigonus Doson succeeded his nephew, **Philip V.** (b. 237, d. 179), the last but one of the kings of Macedon. He was successful against the Ætolians and their allies, and was a man of equal energy and ambition; but he sided with Carthage against Rome, and was driven out of Greece by Flaminius. His character was compounded of good and evil, as was his career of success and failure. "It is not easy to find," says Polybius, "a king endowed with more natural advantages for the control of affairs. For he had both smartness and a good memory, and exceptional grace of manner, and besides a royal presence and dignity; but, what is most important of all, resource and daring in war. And what it was that overcame all these advantages and turned a king by nature into a brutal tyrant is not easy to explain in a few words" (iv. 77). The head of Philip, in the character of Perseus on a shield, on No. 7, shows him as the strong man of arms; the portrait on No. 8 might well suggest a cruel and vicious character.

Among the coins which follow in Compartment B are several recalling the various leagues which secured to parts of Greece some degree of freedom between the break-up of the Macedonian empire and the subjection to Rome.

On a coin of the **Acarnanian League** (V. B 13) is a strongly-rendered head of the river-god Achelous. The **Ætolian League** struck some interesting coins (V. B 14-18) during the years 279-168 B.C. The heads on the obverse are imitated from coins of Alexander. On the reverse is a woman, roughly clad and armed, who personifies Ætolia—an appropriate figure for the rugged mountaineers. Among the trophies set up at Delphi, Pausanias (x. 18, 7) mentions "an image of an *armed woman, no* doubt representing Ætolia," erected by the

Ætolians to commemorate the defeat of the Gauls (in 279 B.C.). The device on the coin refers to the same event. Ætolia armed with sword and spear sits on a pile of oblong Gaulish, and round Macedonian, shields. The coins of the **Achæan League** (V. B 23-25) bear on the obverse the head of Zeus Homagyrius (Zeus who brings men together); on the reverse, the monogram of the Achæans, enclosed in an olive-wreath: lesser symbols are those of local magistrates or of particular towns, for each of the confederate towns—giving up their own types which they had used for centuries—issued a portion of the League's coinage.

Later Athenian coinage (V. B 20-22).—The Macedonian Empire had put an end to the independence of Athens, and her coins had been superseded by Alexander's. But by the time of Philip V. (220 B.C.), whose power was restricted by the Romans, Athens again became the principal place of mintage in Greece. Her coins were once more widely dispersed, and the series continues until the capture of the city by Sulla (86 B.C.). The abundance of the money and its wide circulation testify to her commercial importance. The types, as in the earlier series and for the same reason, remain constant. But in this new series a new style is adopted. On the obverse is a head of Athena with a richly-adorned helmet; on the reverse, an owl standing on an amphora within an olive-wreath, with the names of the issuing magistrates. The accessory symbol, such as the Dioscuri on No. 21, is the seal of the first-named magistrate. It cannot be said that this crowded reverse shows artistic merit. The helmeted head of Pallas was no doubt copied, though at a long distance in point of style, from the gold and ivory statue of Phidias. On the coins before us, there is some dignity and decision in the art. If we compare the later coins of like design (VI. B 23, 24, and VII. B 14, 15) we shall see that the style becomes less dignified, and the workmanship looser and more careless.

Turning now to the coins of the West, we shall find among them several of historical interest and some of beauty also. The **Roman coins** (V. C 2-6) are amongst the first in gold and silver issued by Rome. The indigenous races of Italy used copper (*aes*), which abounded in their soil, for their medium of exchange (hence the word *aestimo* originally expressed the worth of anything in copper). Originally, irregular lumps were used (*aes rude*); these were weighed by the pound and ounce. Afterwards round or oblong pieces were introduced, of specific weight and stamped (*aes grave*); these were cast in moulds, not struck. Specimens of this cumbrous bronze currency may be seen in the corridor of the Coin Room (Wall-case IX.). "As instruments of traffic nothing can be clumsier than these great lumps of metal, and as works of art they present a painful contrast to the beautiful coinage of Magna Græcia." Not until 268 B.C. was silver money coined at Rome. The three silver coins here shown (3-5) have the value inscribed on the obverse: X (= 10 asses) on the denarius; V (5 asses) on the quinarius; IIS (2 asses and half) on the sestertius. *The type is uniform*: on the obverse, a head of Rome in winged

helmet; on the reverse, the Dioscuri, charging, as they appeared at the battle of the lake Regillus. The next coin (5), known as a "victoriate," was a companion coin, afterwards transferred to Rome and coined for use in the provinces. It was three-fourths the weight of the denarius. The gold piece (6) is marked as worth sixty sesterces. "The high value is a proof that such coins were struck on some exceptional occasion. They are in fact coins of necessity" (Head).

The meteoric career of **Pyrrhus**, King of Epirus, is brought before us in a series of coins. He was invited into Italy by Tarentum, then at war with Rome; he crossed over in 280 B.C., and defeated the Romans at Heraclea; the Roman horses were frightened, as every schoolboy remembers, at the sight of some elephants which Pyrrhus had brought with him. His connection with Tarentum is recorded by the elephant which figures on a coin of that city (No. 15). Pyrrhus remained in Italy and Sicily for six years, being finally beaten by the Romans at Beneventum in 275 B.C. Most of his coins were struck in Italy. No. 28 is an interesting specimen. On one side is a head of Achilles, in which one may readily detect the influence of the idealised head of Alexander; on the other is Thetis bearing to her son the arms of Hephæstus.

Another fine coin (No. 27) has the head of the great Epirote deity, Zeus of Dodona, crowned with an oak wreath. This wreath and the hair are very carefully worked, and the head is vigorous and full of expression. The obverse of this coin very much resembles that of Locri (No. 23), where those of Pyrrhus are supposed to have been struck. On the reverse of the Locrian coin is an allegorical group, very characteristic of the art of the time. "The seated figure is armed with a sword, and rests her arm on a shield. An inscription behind shows that she is an impersonation of Rome, one of the earliest impersonations of the great conquering city. In front of Rome stands a draped female figure who places a wreath on her head, and who is shown by the inscription to be Good Faith (πίστις). This is a fair specimen of a class of allegorical groups, which was exceedingly common in all cities in the later days of Greece, and it is a good and dignified composition. It is evidently to the Greeks that the Romans were indebted for the artistic embodiment of their city which afterwards became so common, and has prevailed in sculpture down to our own day" (*Types of Greek Coins*, p. 199). The reference in the allegory is to the conduct of the Romans in allowing the Locrians to retain their autonomy after the defeat of Pyrrhus.

The coins of Sicily are again of special interest. The best are those of **Hiero II. of Syracuse**, who, on the departure of Pyrrhus from the island, restored the ancient prosperity of the city and ruled it wisely during a long reign (276-216 B.C.), made memorable by the presence of Archimedes at his court. Of this upright and judicious ruler there is an admirable portrait on the large coin (V. C 32). On another coin (No. 33) is the veiled head of his consort, Queen Philistis. "*Of all the beautiful heads which we find upon the gold and silver*

coins of Sicily, and there are many, none can compare with that of Hiero's queen. One may fancy that Helen of Troy had such a face, or Semiramis, or divine Athena herself, but it is hard to believe that so fair a woman ever lived; and if such little history of her as has come down to us be true, she was as good and wise as she was beautiful" (Marion Crawford, *The Rulers of the South*, i. 230). On one of the stones of the magnificent Greek theatre at Syracuse, the name of Queen Philistis may still be seen inscribed. The chariot-group on the reverse of the Philistis coin is somewhat tame; on the larger coin of Hiero it is more spirited. The coins of the short reign (216-215 B.C.) of Hieronymus (whose portrait appears on V. C 35), and of the short-lived Republic which went down before the Romans under Marcellus in 212 B.C., bring to a close the grand series from Syracuse, the Athens of the West. The coins V. C 36-39 belong to this last period; there is still a certain grace and dignity in them.

The **Carthaginian** coins (V. C 41-43) with the head of Demeter are adopted from the beautiful Syracusan heads of which, however, the characteristics are here absurdly exaggerated. Note, especially, the straight pillar of the neck, the great heaviness of chin, and the straight line of the eyebrow. But there is a pride and dignity which pleases some, as is shown by the fact that the head of the Republic on the French coins of 1848 is copied from the Carthaginian type. The same type appears with some modifications on the postage stamps of 1848 and those of the earlier issues of the present Republic.

Case VI.—**Continued Decline of Art** (190-100 B.C.)

The first coins that will arrest the reader's attention in this Case are some remarkable **portraits.** That of Pharnaces I. (VI. A 5), King of Pontus, uncle of Mithradates the Great, is an effective piece of realism; on the reverse of this coin is one of those pantheistic figures which were becoming popular; a male divinity holds various emblems.

The fine head on a coin of Cyzicus (VI. A 6) is probably a portrait of Apollonis, a Cyzicene who was married to Attalus I. of Pergamus. Her son was Eumenes II. (197-159 B.C.). These two kings were the great patrons in the later period of Greek art. Under the reign of Attalus, **Pergamum** became a centre of art and regal magnificence. To celebrate his victories over the Gauls, he summoned from Greece a body of sculptors, and thus arose the Pergamene School (see above, p. 53). Under Eumenes II. other great works were undertaken. Very striking is the portrait on our coin (VI. A 7) of the *great king who* thus adorned his city. Comparing his refined *and intellectual* face with that of the King of Pontus (VI. A 5),

we are confirmed in the generalisation which history suggests, that the Attalids of Pergamum were more truly Hellenic in their characters and tastes than most of the other Hellenistic sovereigns.

The **cistophori** of Pergamum, coins of wide circulation, were so called from the design upon them (VI. A 10), a representation of the mystic chest or **cista**, in which the sacred utensils and other articles appertaining to the rites of Bacchus were enclosed, in order to conceal them from the eyes of profane beholders. The design reveals the presence of a serpent. The whole is surrounded with an ivy-wreath. On the reverse, two serpents turned round a bow-case. "The coinage (of these *cistophori*) originated in Ephesus shortly before 200 B.C., and its use rapidly extended throughout the dominions of Attalus of Pergamum. Henceforth the cistophorus became a sort of Pan-Asiatic coin, its general acceptance being secured by the uniformity of its types; the local mint letters and magistrates' symbols being merely subordinate adjuncts. The institution of this quasi-federal coinage in Asia Minor may have been suggested by the popularity of the federal money of the Achæan League in Peloponnesus, as well as by the eager adoption by so many Asiatic cities of Alexandrine tetradrachms. The manifold advantages of a uniform currency were evidently beginning to be understood and widely appreciated in the ancient world about this time, and the cistophorus, whether intentionally coined for the purpose or not, met the popular demand and was issued in vast quantities from numerous Asiatic mints" (Head's *Historia Nummorum*, p. 461).

The restored independence of various Greek cities under Roman protection is illustrated by the coin of **Tenedos** (VI. A 13), which after a century and a half resumes the issuing of money. The designs are the same as on the older coinage (III. A 13). The workmanship here is in some respects more accomplished. It is more regular, more elaborate; but the heads have lost all their grace.

More favourable specimens of the art of the period are the coins of **Lebedus, Magnesia, and Smyrna** respectively (VI. A 18-20). The design on the reverse of No. 18—an owl between two horns of plenty, enclosed in a laurel-wreath—is carefully composed for decorative effect. The head of Artemis on No. 19 is good; on the reverse is Apollo beside a tripod. On No. 20 is the head of the city of Smyrna, with mural crown: cf. the heads of the cities of Marathus and of Aradus (VI. A 20, 30). The impersonation of cities was in favour with the sculptors of the Hellenistic age; the "Antioch" of Eutychides, in the Vatican, is the best-known instance (see also some silver statuettes in our Museum, p. 597). Another good head is that of Artemis on a coin of Perga (VI. A 22).

The coin (VI. A 23) of **Orophernes**, king of Cappadocia, is of special interest in connection with the antiquities from Priene (see Ch. XII. p. 223). With other coins and some gold ornaments it was found

(by Mr. A. O. Clarke in April 1870) beneath the stones forming the pedestal of the statue of Athena Polias at Prienè (*N.C.*, new ser., xi. 19).

The interesting series of portraits of the **Seleucid kings** of Syria is continued in VI. A 24-28. Specially noticeable is the portrait, on No. 25, of the young Antiochus VI. (145-142 B.C.)—"The most carefully executed portrait in the whole series, which, despite its weakness, has a certain charm of sweetness that marks it as a new type in art. The same artist's hand seems apparent in the fine portrait (No. 26) of the cruel usurper Tryphon (142-139 B.C.), whose features have a beauty of expression that must surely be ideal; and also in the picturesque spiked Macedonian helmet, with a goat's horn and cheek-piece, which occupies the reverse, on which is written, after 'King Tryphon,' the strange title, 'autocrat'" (Poole in *Encycl. Brit.* xvii. 649).

The history of the later Seleucid kings is mixed up with that of the **Jews**. Antiochus VII. of Syria (138-129 B.C.) conferred the right of coining money upon Simon Maccabæus, high priest and prince of the Jews. A shekel of this period is here before us (VI. A 31). On the obverse is a chalice, usually called the pot of manna, and the inscription, in Hebrew letters, "shekel of Israel"; on the reverse, a triple lily, or possibly Aaron's rod that budded, and the inscription, "Jerusalem the Holy."

The **Bactrian** coins, which follow, show again most striking portraits. Eucratides, whose head in a helmet, which gives so modern an appearance to the king, appears on VI. A 32, reigned from about 180 to 150 B.C. He describes himself on the reverse of our coin as "the great king." Of him it is said by Justin that he was a valiant prince who once, with 300 men, held out during five months, though besieged by 60,000, and then, receiving succours, subdued India. The wide field over which his coins are found—Bokhara, the Kabul valley, the Panjab—and their commonness are numismatic testimonies to his great power. On his way back from India, Eucratides is said to have been murdered by his son and co-regent, Heliocles, whose ill-favoured features appear on the next coin (VI. A 33).

The power of the Bactrians was considerably curtailed by the conquest of Parthia, under **Mithradates I.** (174-136 B.C.), who first made that country a great power. He was at once conqueror and administrator. "He is praised as a just and humane ruler, who, having become lord of all the lands from the Indian Caucasus to the Euphrates, introduced among the Parthians the best institutions of each country and so became the legislator of his nation." This character is not belied by his portrait (VI. A 34), which shows us a man of thought as well as determination. On the reverse of the coin is Hercules holding a wine-cup and club, and an inscription which describes the great king as a "Philhellene."

Passing to the coins of Greece, etc., we may notice first a curious *illustration of the* difference between **Greek and barbarian coinage.**

A coin of Thasos here shown (VI. B 6) is a good specimen of the style of the period. On the obverse is a head of the young Dionysus, with the vine-leaves in his hair; on the reverse is Hercules standing. The next coin (7) is an imitation of the last, struck by the Thracians when left to their own resources. The blurred and barbarous execution is instructive.

The last king of Macedon was **Perseus** (179-168 B.C.), who had striven to revive the past glories of Greece under the Macedonian leadership, and who, after a gallant resistance, was defeated by the Romans under L. Æmilius Paulus and taken prisoner to Rome. It is his portrait—an admirable piece of work—that we see on the coin VI. B 9. After the Roman conquest Macedonia was divided into four petty republics. No. 10 is a coin of the first of these four Macedonias. This arrangement caused confusion and disorder, and in 146 B.C. Macedonia became a Roman province under a Legate (Nos. 11 and 12).

The degeneration of art in the period now under review is illustrated by two coins of **Epirus** (VI. B 16, 17). They are divided by about half a century in time. The types are identical; but all the vigour and sharpness of the earlier are lost in the later. As a specimen of the best art at the beginning of the present period, we may notice the coin of **Corcyra** (VI. B 19), with a capital head of the young Dionysus.

On one of the **Athenian** coins (VI. B 23) there is an animal which is incongruous enough beside Athene's owl—it is an elephant. It is placed there as a symbol of one of the magistrates—Antiochus, afterwards fourth king of that name in Syria, who was in Athens in 176 B.C.

Among the **Cretan** coins (VI. B 28-34) it will be observed that several are of the Attic type—adopted by Cretan cities at this period for commercial convenience: thus, on the reverse of No. 30, the labyrinth is placed in the field beside the Athenian owl. On No. 29 the labyrinth appears in a new circular form.

The section (C) devoted to coins of Italy, etc., which in the earlier cases was so full of artistic interest and variety, now tells only of the **Roman dominion**. The silver denarius, issued by the Republic, was the only coin widely current in Italy at this time. It was originally equal to ten asses, subsequently increased to sixteen when the weight of the *as* had been reduced. It was worth about 8½d. of our money. On the front of nearly all these coins (VI. C 3-28) is the helmeted head of Rome. The commonest types on the reverse are the Dioscuri and Victory drawn in a chariot. On No. 10 is Hercules in a chariot drawn by Centaurs. On No. 13 is the legend of Romulus—the wolf and the twins, the shepherd Faustulus, and the fig-tree with birds in the branches. A new type appears on Nos. 14 and 17—a column surmounted by a statue. "To the capital of the column are attached two bells; at its base are ears of corn. On one side stands an augur; on the *other, a man* holding a loaf and a patara. This type repre-

sents the monuments erected before the Porta Trigemina, 439 B.C., to L. Minucius, to commemorate his successful attempt to reduce the price of corn" (Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 101).

The **Carthaginian** coins (VI. B 33-39) cover the time from the interval between the first and second Punic wars and the conquest and destruction of Carthage by Rome in 146 B.C. The head of Persephonè, originally borrowed from the Sicilian coinage, survives. The head on the very large coin (No. 35) resembling V. C 40, is still effective.

Case VII.—**Late Decline of Art**: 100-1 B.C.

The decline of art in this period is very marked; yet the head on the second coin here (VII. A 2) is one of the most striking in the collection. It is the portrait of **Mithradates the Great**, the sixth King of Pontus of that name (121-63 B.C.)—one of those remarkable conquerors who appear from time to time in the East. For nearly twenty years he withstood the might of Rome; his indomitable character and wonderful adventures make him one of the most romantic figures in history. "By the pomp with which he loved to surround himself, by his harem, and by his contempt for human life, he was an Asiatic king; by his taste for letters, sciences, precious vases and engraved gems, he was a Greek prince." The vigour of character which distinguished Mithradates seems to have inspired the artist of his coins. The movement of the hair, blown back by the wind, has suggested to some writers that the coin may have been copied from an equestrian statue. At any rate the head is full of animation, verging almost upon frenzy; the beautiful face speaks at once of intellectual power and of passionate determination. But, though eminently picturesque, this coin misses the perfection of the finest art. "You may observe," says Ruskin, "that the features are finished with great care and subtlety, but at the cost of simplicity and breadth. But the essential difference between it and the central art is its disorder in design—you see the locks of hair cannot be counted any longer: they are entirely dishevelled and irregular. Now the individual character may, or may not, be a sign of decline; but the licentiousness, the casting loose of the masses in the design, is an infallible one" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 120). The gold stater (VII. A 1) of Mithradates is also a fine coin. It was struck at Pergamum which, with all Asia Minor as far as *the Meander, fell into* the hands of Mithradates in 88 B.C. The

ivy-wreath on the reverse of his coin may refer to the title of "the new Dionysus," by which he was hailed in Asia as deliverer from Rome.

Among the neighbouring princes overthrown by Mithradates was Nicomedes III. the last King of **Bithynia** (91-74 B.C.). He was restored to his throne by the interposition of the Romans, to whom on his death he bequeathed his kingdom. His head, a striking piece of portraiture, is on a coin (VII. A 3) which was coined in 84 B.C.

The defeat of Mithradates by Pompey left Rome supreme in Asia. She continued the **cistophori** (see VI. A 10) in circulation, but the name of the Roman Pro-consul of Asia now appears on the coins. On VII. A 4, struck at Ephesus, is the name of T. Ampius Balbus; on No. 5, struck at Pergamum, is that of Q. Cæcilius Metellus as "imperator."

The series of coins of **Syria** comes to an end in 69 B.C., when Tigranes the Armenian was deprived of his Syrian dominions by Lucullus. On VII. A 13 is the portrait of Tigranes, with the lofty native tiara; on the reverse is the city of Antioch seated on a rock, with the river Orontes swimming at her feet. This design is no doubt a reminiscence, very crude, however, and blurred, of the celebrated statue of Antioch by Eutychides. The last of the Syrian coins show, like the earlier, very interesting portraits. The heads of Antiochus VIII. (on Nos. 8 and 11), and of Seleucus VI. are especially striking.

Two coins—of Antioch and Ascalon respectively (VII. A 14, 19)—are of interest for their portraits of the celebrated **Cleopatra**, Queen of Egypt (52-30 B.C.). On the former, Cleopatra's head is on one side of the coin, and on the other that of Antony, her Roman lover. The second coin is dated 50 B.C., in which year Cleopatra was nineteen years of age. There is cleverness in the face of the "rare Egyptian, Eastern Star"; but the personal charm, and power of fascination which overcame Cæsar, and enslaved Antony, are not suggested on any of the ancient portraits of Cleopatra. Unless the portraits belie her, it cannot have been her beauty for the sake of which a world was "well lost."

On the coins of the last Greek Kings of **Bactria and India** (VII. A 20, 21) it is interesting to observe a Greek inscription on the one side, and an Arian on the other.

The late **Parthian** coins (VII. A 22-25) are more barbarous and Eastern in style than the earlier. The head of the king on No. 24 (Tiridates II. 33-32 B.C.) is, however, well executed.

The **Roman conquest of Asia** and events in that region, which immediately preceded the Empire, are brought before us in the last coins of division A. No. 28 is a coin of Sulla; No. 29 of Brutus. The latter is inscribed with the name of the envious Casca, one of Cæsar's assassins, who was a lieutenant of Brutus in Asia. No. 30 is a coin of Labienus, the renegade, who describes himself as "Parthicus

Imp." No. 31 is a coin of Mark Antony; on the reverse, the head of Octavia, his wife, and the mystic chest.

Finally we come to coins of **Augustus**. On No. 32, struck in 28 B.C., he is still Octavianus. On the reverse is Peace, trampling on the torch of war. On No. 33, the inscriptions are Imp. Cæsar Augustus. The portrait-head here is good, but we shall see many better among the gems. On the reverse is a sphinx; this was used by Augustus as a signet (see p. 629). On the reverse of No. 34, struck in 19 B.C., is a representation of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Pergamum, capital of the province of Asia. On No. 25 the legend is Armenia Recepta; the coin was struck to commemorate the resumption of Armenia under the protection of Augustus in 19 B.C.

In division B we see first coins of **Thrace and Macedon**. On the gold coin (VII. B 1) the type is of Brutus, consul, between two lictors. The silver tetradrachms (2-4) are barbarous copies of the old Alexandrians. The ideal head of Alexander with flowing hair on No. 7 is fine; on the reverse is the name of the Roman quæstor, with a club, money-chest, and chain of office.

The **Athenian** coins (VII. B 14, 15) still present the old types; the inscriptions show that they were struck at the time when Athens joined Mithradates the Great against Rome.

The **Roman** coins struck in Macedonia and Greece need not detain us. They are of interest chiefly for historical and chronological purposes. The coins Nos. 17 and 18 are said to have been struck by Julius Cæsar in Greece for the payment of his troops who fought at Pharsalia, 48 B.C. There is a good portrait of Augustus on No. 26, struck in 27 B.C.

In division C we begin with the Celtiberians and the Gauls. With the **Gaulish** coins here (VII. C 3-5) the visitor should compare the earlier one, VI. C 1. They are all imitations of the gold staters of Philip of Macedon (III. B 17). The coinage of the Gauls clearly had its origin in their raids into Greece, where they found the money of Philip and Alexander still widely current. This they took as their model, and in this case the better the coins, the earlier in all probability is their date. Thus VI. C 1 shows a very intelligent imitation of the original. Those before us here are more distant from it and not so good. In No. 4 the charioteer and horse are just distinguishable; in No. 5 they almost disappear into indecipherable ornament.

British Coins (VII. C 6-9).—From Gaul a similar coinage spread into Britain. Of the ruder British coinage, which shows yet further degradation from the original model, specimens are not here exhibited; though, indeed, No. 5 may be either British or Gaulish, for coins of the kind are found on both sides of the Channel. The distinctively British coins, here shown, belong to a later period, when Roman influence is apparent. The inscriptions are in Roman letters, and the *designs* on the coins are adopted from Roman or Græco-Italian *examples.* When the British chiefs began to mint money, they adopted

the figure on foreign coins which would have been brought as models by the coiners they employed. The first of the British coins (VII. B 6) is inscribed TINC(ommius); the second (7) VERI(ca). On the reverses each king is described as CO(mmii) F(ilius). Tincommius and Verica, sons of King Commius, are supposed to have been contemporary rulers in Hampshire and Sussex, in which counties alone their coins have been found. The armed horseman on No. 6 is not at all badly done; foreign aid may have been called in to assist native art at the British mints. The coin of Verica (No. 7), found at Romsey, in Hampshire, is of "extremely fine work, the leaf on the obverse being engraved with the highest skill, and great spirit combined with delicacy of execution in the horseman." The leaf appears to be of the vine. The permission of the Emperor Probus (272-286 A.D.) for Spain, Gaul, and Britain to cultivate the vine and make wine implies its existence and use in all three countries at that time (John Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 227). The next coin (VII. C 8) is of Tasciovanus, whose capital was Verulamium (St. Albans) and who is supposed to have reigned from about 30 B.C. to 5 A.D. This coin was found at High Wycombe with ten others in an oblong hollow flint. The other British coin (VII. C 9) is of Cunobelinus (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare) who ruled over the Trinobantes from 5 B.C. to about 43 A.D. Essex is most prolific in his coins, but they are also found in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Notts, Herts, Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Middlesex, and Kent. His capital was Camulodunum (Colchester); the name in an abbreviated form (CAMV) is inscribed on this coin. He was the son of Tasciovanus.

The series of **Roman coins** which occupies the rest of this case illustrates many points in the history of the period. For example, on one coin (VII. C 15) we see a Samnite bull goring the Roman wolf: it is a coin struck by the confederate Italian peoples during the Social War, 90-89 B.C. On other of the coins, we see soldiers taking the oath of allegiance. This they did by touching with the points of their swords a pig held in the arms of a kneeling man (VII. C 13, 14). On another coin (VII. C 18), struck by Faustus Sulla, son of the dictator, there is a reference to the war against Jugurtha. The scene described is the betrayal, in 106 B.C., of Jugurtha (who kneels as a captive) to Sulla (seated) by Bocchus (who kneels and holds up an olive branch). On the next coin (VII. C 19), struck in 58 B.C., is an allusion to a more nearly contemporary event—the submission of King Aretas to Scaurus, Roman governor of Syria. On VII. C 21 is a globe, surrounded by wreaths; on either side an aplustre (ornament of a ship's stern) and ear of corn, symbolising Pompey's victories by sea and land. The gold coin, or aureus, numbered 22, was struck by Julius Cæsar in 49 B.C., when he had made himself master of Rome. On the obverse, head of Venus; on the reverse, a trophy of Gaulish arms. The remarkably realistic portrait on No. 25 is of C. Antius Restio, tribune of the people about 74 B.C. The portrait of Pompey is on the gold piece, No. 27. Several heads of Augustus bring the

Roman series to a close: on No. 36 is the inscription *Pater Patriæ*, a title conferred upon him in 2 B.C.

Among the **African** coins at the end of this case, the portrait-head of Juba I. is interesting (VII. C 38). "Juba is called by Cicero *adolescens bene capillatus*, and Suetonius relates how Cæsar on one occasion, in 62 B.C., pulled him by the beard. This coin presents us, therefore, with a characteristic portrait" (*Guide to the Principal Coins of the Ancients*, p. 120).

Case VIII.—**Greek Portraiture**

The coins here exhibited are arranged chronologically to illustrate the portraiture of the Greeks. The portrait sides only of the specimens are shown. Most of the coins, with both obverse and reverse, are included in Cases I.-VII., and we have already noticed many of the more remarkable portraits. Here, therefore, a few general remarks will suffice to suggest some of the points of interest which the visitor may find in examining this series arranged so conveniently for comparison and study.

An exhibition such as this brings very vividly before one the value of a collection of coins as a portrait gallery:—

"Perhaps the most interesting manner," says Mr. Poole, "in which coins and medals illustrate history is in their being contemporary, or nearly contemporary, portraits of the most famous kings and captains from the time of the first successors of Alexander the Great to the present age, whereas pictures do not afford portraits in any number before the latter part of the Middle Ages; and works of sculpture, although occupying in this respect the same place as coins in the last-mentioned period and under the Roman Empire, are neither so numerous nor so authentic. There is no more delightful companion in historical reading than a cabinet of coins and medals. The strength and energy of Alexander, the ferocity of Mithradates, the philosophic calmness of Antoninus, the obstinate ferocity of Nero, and the brutality of Caracalla, are as plain on the coins as in the pages of history" ("Numismatics" in *Ency. Brit.*).

Our series of portraits begins with two coins (VIII. 1, 2) issued by Persian satraps with the authority of the Great King. The first has been conjectured to be the portrait of Tissaphernes (412-408 B.C.); the second head has written beside it the name Pharnabazus (411-394 B.C.). The first coins bearing indisputable portraits did not appear till a century later, and it is possible that the satrapal coins present

only idealised representations of the Great King. "I cannot think it possible," says Prof. P. Gardner, "that at a time when not even Dionysius of Sicily or the Macedonian kings ventured to put their portraits on coins, such a liberty would be taken in Asia by a mere satrap. Surely such a venture would have cost him his post and his life. Nor indeed do we find in the present effigy (No. 1) anything individual; the type, though marked, is general and impersonal. On the reverse (for which see III. A 27) is the inscription BAΣI, and this legend appears conclusively to show that the head on the obverse is meant to represent the Great King. The Greek artist who executed the type having probably small idea what the king really was like, simply tried to express his idea as to what a Persian king ought to be" (*Types of Greek Coins*, p. 144). From this point of view the head is admirable. The treatment is simple; the features are regular. The habit of command and regal dignity are strongly expressed. The head-dress is the mitra of the Persians.

In the case of Greek coins, portraits do not begin to appear till a comparatively late date. On the early Greek coins the heads were ideal representations of patron deities. When the heads of rulers begin to appear on coins, they figure there rather as gods than as men. We begin with Alexander the Great (VIII. 5, and IV. B 20). Alexander himself never placed his own portrait on coins. This coin was issued by one of his successors, Lysimachus. It is placed on the coin, not as the portrait of a reigning monarch, but as a representation of the deified Alexander. The ram's horn denotes that he is considered as son of Zeus-Ammon. The portraiture itself is probably idealised also. The next stage is reached when the successors of Alexander found it agreeable to their ambitions to assume equal divinity for themselves, and placed their own heads on their coins. Thus Demetrius Poliorcetes appears with the bull's head of Bacchus (No. 8 and IV. B 16). The style of portraiture here also is idealised.

The earliest portrait which strikes one as full of individual character is that of Ptolemy I. of Egypt (B.C. 305-284) on No. 6 (IV. A 14). In the next age the engravers of coins show us an unsparing realism. See, for instance, the bull-headed Philetærus (No. 16, and V. A 9), and the thick-lipped, sharp-nosed Pharnaces (No. 43, and VI. A 5). Nowhere is the *realism more striking* than among the portraits of the

Bactrian kings, to which we have already called attention. In the best portraits the relief is high, and every wrinkle is minutely wrought. In the latest period the relief is lower and the workmanship less careful. In the portraits of some of the later Seleucid kings, the spirit of idealism seems to revive (Nos. 61 and 62, VI. A 25, 26). To the portrait of Mithradates the Great (No. 67, VII. A 2) we have already called particular attention for its striking effect.

Jewish coins.—In the lower portion of Case VIII. is a selection of Jewish and other coins illustrating the Bible—such as the shekel, the "penny" (*i.e.* denarius or shilling), the "pieces of silver" (tetradrachms), the "widow's mite," and the "farthing" (No. 6). (For an account of these coins, see *Guide to the Department of Coins and Medals*, 1901, p. 17). By ringing the bell at the entrance to the coin room and signing his name in a book, the visitor obtains admission to a corridor where later Roman coins and some other collections are exhibited.

☞ *We now proceed to the remaining Cases in the Etruscan Saloon, in which miscellaneous antiquities are exhibited.*

CHAPTER XXIV

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES, CHIEFLY ROMAN

"To attempt to classify miscellaneous antiquities would be as difficult as the classification of the various objects which formed part of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Wherever man has left the stamp of mind on brute matter; whether we designate his work as structure, texture, or mixture, mechanical or chymical; whether the result be a house, a ship, a garment, a piece of glass, or a metallic implement, these memorials of economy and invention will always be worthy of the attention of the archæologist. Our true motto should be: *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*" (C. T. NEWTON).

ATTEMPTING, then, no general classification, we may proceed at once to examine the miscellaneous antiquities here arranged. Many of them are full, as we shall see, of a very human interest, and all are of a certain value for the light they throw on the arts, industries, and customs of the ancients. We begin with the Table-case lettered M. Above this case are:—

(1) Objects in **glazed porcelain,** including the portrait-head of an Egyptian queen (from Naucratis) and a Cupid riding on a goose (from Tanagra). "Objects in this ware are rare, especially of the size and elaboration of the present specimen."

(2) A case of **Roman steelyards, weights and measures.** The steelyard (*stalera*) was a Roman invention; the equipoise was generally adorned with a head or other figure (see some other specimens in the Anglo-Roman collection, p. 763). There is also a collection of **Greek weights,** chiefly from Athens, containing specimens of the more ancient and heavier Attic *mina* (roughly = 1 lb.), called the emporic, and of the lighter *mina,* introduced by Solon as the standard of coins,

these two systems of weights having been retained, one for the use of commerce, the other for the mint, just as we now find it convenient to use both troy and avoirdupois weight. One of the Greek weights is in the form of a bronze box, with a head of Hercules; on one side is a knob for suspension (No. 2997 in the *Catalogue of Bronzes*).

(3) A remarkable **leaden cup** from the Blacas collection:—

"This is ornamented round the body with a frieze representing Bacchus and Silenus and the Seasons, personified as four boys. Below the relief, the cup is encircled by a row of circular vitreous pastes set to imitate gems. On each handle is a paste with a Gorgon's head in relief. The vase was probably an imitation of the gemmata pocula described by Pliny—cups of gold or silver set with precious stones. Round the foot the vase is inscribed with letters signifying the workshop from which it came. It is inscribed on one side, Domitillæ Statilio conjugi; on the other, Salus gen(eris) hum(ani). It has been thought that the Domitilla, whose name is inscribed on the cup, is the lady who, after having cohabited with Statilius, a Roman Eques, subsequently married the Emperor Vespasian. The coincidence of the names is certainly remarkable; at the same time there is no positive proof of the identity of the persons to whom the cup is dedicated with the Roman Empress and her paramour. It may be remarked that the inscription, *Salus humani generis*, occurs on the coins of Galba" (*Guide to the Blacas Collection*, 1867, p. 31).

This cup may have contained the ashes of the persons whose names are inscribed on it.

Of the objects exhibited in the Table-case itself, the most interesting are a **collection of curses** inscribed on thin tablets of lead. These imprecatory tablets take us back to a curious chapter in human credulity. Maledictory inscriptions (called *defixiones* or κατάδεσμοι) formed part of the system of ancient magic and were probably in use among the Greeks from an early period. Plato in the *Republic* speaks of "quacks and soothsayers who flock to the rich man's doors and try to persuade him that should he desire to do a mischief to any one, it may be done at a trifling expense, whether the object of his hostility be a just or an unjust man; for they profess that by certain invocations and spells they can prevail upon the gods to do their bidding." A later and well-known instance of the use of such magical devices occurs in Roman history. It is recorded by Tacitus in his *Annals* (ii. 69). In describing the last illness and death of Germanicus, he says that "there were found hidden in the floor and in the walls disinterred remains

of human bodies, incantations and spells, and the name of Germanicus inscribed on leaden tablets, half-burnt cinders smeared with blood, and other horrors by which in popular belief souls are devoted to the infernal deities." It was thought that these magical instruments were employed by Piso to compass the death of his enemy. The use of maledictory inscriptions is thus made known to us by classical literature; but the evidence of archæology brings home the fact in a very striking way. Papyri have been discovered, and are now in the British Museum, giving recipes for the magic rites; and here, before our eyes, are actual leaden tablets, inscribed, as we shall see, in accordance with the recipes.

Some of the tablets were found in 1858 by Sir Charles Newton at Cnidus in the Temple of Demeter:—

"Near the marbles I found in several places portions of thin sheets of lead, broken and doubled up. On being unrolled, these sheets proved to be tablets, inscribed with imprecations in the name of Demeter, Persephonè, Pluto, and other infernal deities. In each inscription are specified the name of the person on whose head the imprecation is invoked, and the cause of the offence which had drawn it forth. Most of these tablets appear to have been dedicated by Cnidian women. The grievous offences which called forth such tremendous comminations are of several kinds. One lady denounces the person who had stolen her bracelet, and adds, by way of post-script, an imprecation on any one who may have defrauded her with false weights. The non-restoration of garments lost or left in deposit is made the subject of another imprecation. Other accusations are of a more serious nature. A certain Nakon, husband of a lady called Prosodion, seems to have been seduced from his domestic allegiance by some Cnidian Lais, who is duly devoted to the infernal deities in consequence. Another injured matron invokes a curse on the head of the person who has accused her of administering poison to her husband" (*Travels and Discoveries*, ii. 178).

The curses for these offences, grave or trifling, are, in the case of the Cnidian tablets, of a religious character. They were deposited in a temple; just as our Commination Service—the curses in which, however, are general, and not specific—is said in church. The gods invoked by the ladies of Cnidus are solemnly appealed to in their character of final avengers of human wrong.

The second batch of leaden curses are yet more curious, as introducing us rather into the secrets of ancient sorcery. They come from *Curium*, a place in the S.W. corner of the island of

Cyprus, near Paphos. Probably sorcery was especially common in an island devoted to the worship of the goddess of love, for love rejected has ever turned in hope to the magic arts. In the Acts of the Apostles we come across numerous illustrations of the trade of sorcerers, and one of this tribe, Elymas, practised, it will be remembered, at Paphos. It is quite possible that the tablets in this case were part of the stock-in-trade of Elymas himself, or of his successor in the business. They were found a few years ago by some peasants who were digging for a well. They came upon them at the bottom of a disused shaft, lying under a quantity of human bones. They were rolled up, not unlike worn fragments of gas-piping, and the writing was fortunately inside, so that they have now been almost completely deciphered. They are all very much alike and might well be the work of one school of magicians, paid by different people in the same village to avenge their real or imaginary wrongs. Village life is much the same in all ages, and if modern curses and feuds were committed to leaden tablets, the tale of wrong would be as eloquent, we doubt not, as one before us in which a certain Alexander curses his neighbours at large, or another in which the wrath of heaven is invoked on one Demetrius. The machinery of the black art was elaborately ridiculous. Among the papyri in the Museum is one which gives the following recipe :—

Take a sacred sheet or a leaf of lead and an iron ring. Put the ring upon the sheet, and within and without leave the mark of the ring with the pen. Then rub the circumference with myrrh, and write on the circle left by the ring on the sheet, writing on it the name and the character without and whatever it is that you wish not to happen, and that the man's purpose may be spell-bound so as not to do such and such a thing. Then put the ring on the circle you have drawn, and taking up what is without the circle, fasten down the ring till it has covered the part of the sheet whereon the characters are written, and binding it together say, "I bind by spells such an one as regards such a deed, that he may not speak, nor resist, nor reply, nor be able to look me in the face, or to speak against me. Let him be made subject to me as long as this ring is buried. I bind by spells his wisdom, his thought, his desire, his acts." Then carry it out to the tomb of one who has died untimely, and dig, having put thy seal upon it, and say, "Spirit of the dead, whoever thou art in this place, I give over to thee such an one that he may not do such a deed." Then, having piled the earth above it, go thy way. These are the things written in the circle, "Let not *such a deed be done* for as long as this ring is buried." Having made *a cord, bind it with* knots, and so put it down. The ring may be

thrown into an artificial well, on a day when no business is done, or into the tomb of one who has died untimely.

This recipe seems to have been carefully followed in these leaden curses from Cyprus. In one of them the spirits of the dead are adjured by "him who is the only god upon the earth, Osiris, and by all the gods of the world below, to silence my adversary Ariston." Another tablet is intended to restore a faithless girl to the arms of her lover, "I adjure thee by the fearful name, the name that makes all things tremble, which the earth when she hears shall open, and the spirits when they hear shall be dismayed for fear, and the rivers and the rocks when they hear it shall shiver."[1] The operative portion of the curse is followed in many cases by a long string of magic jargon—full of sound and fury signifying nothing. Several bronze nails (3192-4) are also exhibited, inscribed with magic formulas; nails from a wreck were part of the equipment of an ancient witch. We may doubt whether these magical imprecations, however terrible their sound, had much effect on the lives and fortunes of the persons against whom they were directed; though, no doubt, they were some comfort to those who fired them off, for a good swear, even in our own enlightened days, is often found to relieve the feelings. But at any rate the spell has been broken now; for, as the magic formula shows, the curse endures only so long as the magic ring remains buried.

Among other objects in this Case (M), we may notice:—

A collection of slate **stamps used by Roman oculists** for their medicines; for some other specimens, and a discussion of them, see the Anglo-Roman collection, ch. xxviii. p. 752.

A pair of jumping weights (**halteres**) used by athletes to give an additional impulse to their spring; some **children's toys** in lead; a collection of **sling bolts**, usually with an inscription, such as "take this."

Specimens of **calcined food from Pompeii**, including corn, walnuts and other fruits. In the Naples Museum is a large collection of food which had been left in the ovens or store-rooms when the city was overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., and which was discovered in a more or less calcined condition when the ruins were

[1] The above account of the Cypriote tablets is taken from a very interesting article by Miss L. Macdonald in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xiii. 160.

unearthed. In the corresponding corner of this case is a fictile cup of about 400 B.C., in which are some eggs and knuckle-bones, lying just as they were found in a tomb at Rhodes: for the symbolical meaning of eggs thus buried with the dead, see above, p. 477.

A collection of objects in **ivory** is contained in Table-case N. The tusk of the elephant and other huge animals is the material on which the most ancient records of human art have come down to us. In the British Museum the reader may see specimens of carving on elephants' tusks and reindeer-horn which date back to the remotest prehistoric races of man ("Prehistoric Saloon"). Coming to historic times, we may see in the Museum examples of Egyptian skill in ivory work which are as old as Moses ("Fourth Egyptian Room"). King Solomon, it will be remembered, made a great throne of ivory, overlaid with the best gold; the "ivory palaces" of which the Psalmist sings were probably inlaid wardrobes. From Nineveh Layard brought back carved ivories which may be dated about 950 B.C. ("Nimroud Gallery"). Some very fine ivories of "Mycenæan" times from Cyprus are in the Room of Gold Ornaments (p. 565). The Greeks of classical times made, as we have seen (p. 188), statues of gold and ivory, but none of these have come down to us. Some of the Roman ivories (about 300 B.C.) are of great beauty; one of the finest extant specimens is the "consular diptych" in the collection at the South Kensington Museum. In the British Museum there are collections of Roman ivories of Christian time (Room V., North Gallery) and of mediæval ivories ("Mediæval Room").

Of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan ivories a few specimens may be seen here. Specially remarkable is the plaque (in Compartment 9), with a subject exquisitely drawn in incised lines:—

"A nymph is kneeling to wash at a pool of water which flows from a lion's head fountain. A young satyr looks at her over a rock, and snatches at her drapery. The green tint is due to the accidental nearness of bronze while the object was buried in a tomb. But the pool of water, the lion's head, and part of the drapery retain the original white colour of the ivory, showing that they had been protected by colouring substance. Apparently the rest of the design had not been coloured, as it may conceivably have been in other *designs on ivory.* The drawing has been incised with a fine tool, such *as an engraver would* now use" (see Murray's *Archæology*, p. 396).

Among the other objects in ivory, etc., we may notice (in Compartment 1) an ivory stylus; at one end it has a sharp point for writing on a wax tablet, at the other a broad edge for erasure; handles of knives; a small fragment of an "Iliac table" (a compilation from the Epic stories for use in schools); and (Compartment 8) a collection of ivory **tickets for the theatres**, etc. A generation or two ago our own tickets for the opera were known as "ivories" (*see* Sir Algernon West's *Recollections*, i. 95).

"The most interesting of the oblong tickets or tesseræ are those which were the property of gladiators. They are inscribed (1) with the gladiator's name; (2) with the name of his master, in the genitive; (3) with the letters SP and a date of the day and month; (4) with the consuls of the year. The tickets certify that the gladiators had reached a certain point in their career, the SP being taken to represent either *Spectatus* (approved), *Spectator* or *Spectavit* (one who watched instead of fighting), or *Spectavit* (intransitively 'made his trial')" (*Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1899, p. 101).

We may also notice (Compartments 4-7) some specimens of work in ivory and wood, and of flutes and lyres, of which the music has been mute for so many centuries.

Materials used by painters and specimens of encaustic painting on wooden panels (Table-case O).—In this connection the visitor should also refer to the **mummy of a boy** which is exhibited in Wall-case 4. This mummy is one of several showing the same kind of work which were unearthed by Professor Flinders Petrie in his excavations at Hawara in the Fayoum (Middle Egypt). Some more of the mummies are in the Egyptian collection here (see *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, p. 79); a collection of painted heads removed from the mummies is in the National Gallery (see my *Handbook* thereto, vol. i. Nos. 1260-1270). The place of these painted mummy panels in the evolution of the portrait is interesting:—

"They are developed by a clearly-traced process of evolution from the portrait-heads first modelled in stucco upon Egyptian mummy-cases, and then painted. From coloured portraiture in high relief to coloured portraiture on flexible canvas, where a certain amount of relief was obtained by the prominence of the bandaged face beneath, was one step; from the flexible canvas to the panel upon which the semblance of relief was given by light and shadow and foreshortening was another and far more important step. It marked the transition from the *Eastern to the Western* school of painting" (Amelia B. Edwards).

The "find" from which the mummy of the boy was derived illustrates the development very clearly :—

"The head of a woman painted on canvas (now in the Bulak Museum) was," says Prof. Petrie, "found with three little children in one grave. Two little girls had the gilt bust with arms beautifully modelled, one with small curls all over the head, the other with wavy hair, all gilt; the eyes of the latter were of polished stone, and stones were inlaid in the jewellery; the lower part of this one is in a canvas wrapper painted with scenes in gold on pink, and the other girl has scenes of natural colours on white. The little boy found with them has a similar wrapper to the last, but his face is painted on canvas like his mother's. Here, then, we find in one grave the latest gilt busts and the earliest of the portraits on canvas" (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 1889, p. 17).

These Egyptian panel paintings are of further interest, and are here exhibited as illustrating the Greek and Roman method of **encaustic** work, in which coloured wax was painted on to wooden panels, the tools employed being the brush and the hard point.

Turning near to the Table-case, we may mark a further stage in the evolution of the portrait. One painted face was found by Professor Petrie, not fixed over the face of the mummy, but framed (and probably once glazed) for hanging on the wall of a tomb. This framed portrait is here exhibited; the frame is the only example extant of **an ancient picture-frame**. Verily there is nothing new under the sun; the frame, unearthed from an Egyptian cemetery, where it had been buried for some seventeen centuries, is found to resemble closely "the Oxford frames" of modern English make :—

"One of the most remarkable objects found [in the cemetery of Hawara] is the picture frame, containing a portrait. It is made of wood, painted brown. Each side has two grooves along it, the back one holding the edge of the border to the panel, which pieces are halved past one another at the corners. The front groove is cut through in the top side as an open slit, evidently to let a sliding cover pass over the picture; if this had been of wood, it would surely have been kept in, and buried on the picture in order to preserve it; it is therefore more likely to have been of glass, which would allow of the picture being seen when hung up by the cord, and would be very likely to be broken by accident and not replaced. A sheet of clear glass as large as this, and of just the same period, was found by me at Tanis. The frame, with remains of the wax portrait on the panel, *was found lying on its edge*, with its face turned against a mummy, in *a grave at the south*-west end of the region of tomb chambers. The

cord tied on to it was clearly for the purpose of hanging it up in a room" (*Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 1889, p. 10).

In another grave Mr. Petrie found a set of paint saucers, containing dark-red, yellow-ochre, white, pink-madder, blue, and red colours. These, with two pots, probably used for water, were piled up together at the side of the painter's head. The paints in this case are water-colours, and were probably intended for tomb-paintings on the walls (Petrie, *ibid.* p. 11). The saucers are here before us in this case; their owner's skull is in the Natural History Museum.

The specimens of **glazed ware** (O) include several Roman lamps in green glaze. One of these is in the shape of a gladiator's helmet. There are also several figures and ornaments in **gypsum**, with painted decoration.

Mural decorations, in stucco, fresco, and mosaic, are exhibited in Wall-cases 136-139. Most of the specimens come from houses at Herculaneum and Pompeii. From a villa recently unearthed at Boscoreale, near Pompeii, come "two marine pieces, each with a small villa in the background, a bay, and in the distance the farther shore, with buildings. In one there are two ships in the bay. Pliny alludes to marine views of this kind as popular in the time of Augustus" (*British Museum Return* for 1899, p. 66):—

"Ludius, too, who lived in the time of the late Emperor Augustus, must not be allowed to pass without some notice; for he was the first to introduce the fashion of covering the walls of our houses with most pleasing landscapes, representing villas, porticos, ornamental gardening, woods, groves, hills, fish-ponds, canals, rivers, sea-shores, and anything else one could desire. It was this artist, too, who first decorated our uncovered edifices with representations of maritime cities—a subject which produces a most pleasing effect, and at a very trifling expense" (*Natural History*, xxxv. ch. 37).

Terra-cotta slabs with moulded relief are arranged in the wall-cases on the other side of the door (1-3), and are continued on the wall past the entrance into the Gem Room. These slabs were impressed from a mould and afterwards retouched. They were used as panels for the decoration of walls of houses; in many of them holes may be observed for the nails by which the panels were fixed. It is clear that they often formed friezes. A frieze may be seen in the upper row of panels in Cases 5-10. The reliefs are probably the work of Greek artists working in Italy about the time of the

close of the Roman Republic. Many of the slabs were found at Pompeii, and several are inscribed with the names of Roman artists. The following are among the most interesting of the panels :—

A Chariot Race (Case 1).—This slab is of interest as illustrating several points in the races of the circus. The goal or turning-post in a race-course consisted of a group of three conical-shaped columns (*metæ*) placed upon a raised basement and situated at the end of the barrier (*spina*). Round the metæ the chariots turned, each race comprising seven circuits. The back of a horseman is seen to the right, who has just turned. The driver, in turning, always kept the metæ on his near side. We see the chariot here so near to the metæ that the charioteer is on the point of turning his horses round them. This was the most difficult point in the race. If he made too sharp a turn he endangered his car; if he overshot the mark and made too wide a turn, a rival might cut in and obtain the lead; as Nestor describes :—

> So drive as only not to graze the post;
> And leaning o'er the wicker body, leave
> Close on the left the stones; thine off-side horse
> Then urge with voice and whip, and slack his rein,
> And let the near-side horse so closely graze,
> As that thy nave may seem to touch, the goal:
> But yet beware, lest, striking on the stone,
> Thy steed thou injure, and thy chariot break,
> A source of triumph to thy rivals all.

(*Iliad*, xxiii. 335, and cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1. 5, "the goal by hot wheels shunned"). Notice that the charioteer has the reins round him, in order that he may be in less danger of being thrown out of the car in case of any accident.

Perseus and Medusa (1).—There is considerable spirit in the figure of Perseus, as he stands with Medusa's head, which he is in the act of cutting off. On another slab (Case 2) is Athena holding up her shield, on which is reflected Medusa's head.

Vintage Scenes (1 and 13).—In the first, satyrs are kneeling and gathering the grapes. In the other, two satyrs are treading grapes in a wine-press. On the left a youthful faun is cheering their labour; he is playing upon the double-pipe and at the same time treading the *scabellum*, an instrument which made a noise like the castanets. On the other side, an older faun is bringing in a basket of grapes to add to the heap which is being trodden.

Dacian Prisoners (2).—Two captives seated in a car drawn by two horses :—"The horses are led, and the car, which consists simply of a raised platform mounted on a carriage, is perfectly open, so as to exhibit the captives in the most conspicuous manner. The captives have chains fastened round their necks and their ankles, and the ends of the chains are held by two guards. From the character of the

countenances, and the particular style of the hair and dress of these captives, it is evident that they are Dacians. They are here represented as gracing the triumph of Trajan, who, after the defeat and death of Decebalus, entered Rome in triumph. One of the captives appears to be in a dejected state of mind, and is resting his head upon his left arm; the other captive seems in the act of making an appeal to the populace, as if to excite their commiseration" (Combe's *Ancient Terra-cottas in the British Museum*, p. 33).

Prisoner and a Roman Trophy (2).—A Dacian prisoner is led captive by a chain fastened round his right wrist. The trophy, commemorating the Dacian defeat, is erected on the trunk of a tree, over which a Dacian cloak is thrown, while a shield and standard are suspended from a bough. The standard consists of a pole ornamented at the top with the head of a dragon. It is introduced among the warlike instruments of the Dacians which are engraved round the pedestal of Trajan's column. The arms of the Sarmatians who assisted the Dacians against the Romans are represented by the hexagonal shield (Combe's *Ancient Terra-cottas*, p. 19; Ellis's *Townley Gallery*, i. 117).

The woman seated beside a tree is **Medea feeding the serpent** (3).—Notice that on one of the branches two cast-skins of the serpent are suspended.

Frieze of the Seasons (5 and 6).—Spring, with fruits, flowers, and a kid; Summer, with corn and poppies; Autumn (whose head is still uncovered and shoulder bare) carries grapes and apples; Winter (whose head and shoulders are draped) carries game suspended on a stick, and drags a boar by one of its hind-legs. Allegorical figures of the Seasons have been a favourite motive with artists in all ages and all materials (*Ancient Terra-cottas in the British Museum*, p. 15).

The Curetes (6).—An illustration of the myth of the infancy of Jupiter, who was born in Crete and hidden by his mother, Rhea, in order to save him from his father, Saturn ("all-devouring Time"), who used to devour his sons as soon as they were born, from fear of the prophecy that one of them would dethrone him. Here we see the Curetes "who, as the story is, erst drowned in Crete the infant cry of Jove, when the young band about the babe in rapid dance, arms in hand, to measured tread, beat brass on brass, that Saturn might not get him to consign to his devouring jaws" (Lucretius, ii. 629).

Machaon and Nestor (6).—A scene from the *Iliad* (book xi.). Machaon, the Greek physician, having been wounded, is tended in the tent of Nestor. Machaon is seated, and to him Nestor administers a draught. Hecamedè, who had prepared the potion, stands behind; she holds in her left hand the patera upon which she had presented the cup to Nestor. Two slaves are in attendance.

The building of the "Argo" (9).—Jason, King of Iolchos, having come to man's estate, demanded of Pelias his father's kingdom, which he held wrongfully. But Pelias answered, that if he would bring from Colchis the golden fleece of the ram that had carried Phryxus thither,

he would yield him his right. So Jason called on all the heroes to join him in the quest of the golden fleece, and Argus, the famed shipbuilder, came down to Iolchos and taught them to build a galley. And the goddess Athena helped them with many a secret of the craft. In one bas-relief, the man using the chisel and hammer is Argus; the other, who is assisted by Athena to fix the sail to the yard, is Tiphys, the pilot. The tree may be introduced to symbolise the forests of Pelion, from which timber for the *Argo* was procured. This slab was found in the old wall of a vineyard, near the Porta Latina at Rome, where it had been made use of in place of bricks.

Visit of Dionysus to Icarius (10).—Another stock subject. We have seen already a relief of it in stone (p. 62).

The infant Dionysus in a basket (11).—The baby god is being swung in a wicker basket (λίκνον), such as was used for winnowing corn and cradling children. The satyr holds a thyrsus, the nymph a torch, both inverted over the child's head. Winckelmann refers to this bas-relief as explaining the epithet λικνίτης as applied to Bacchus: Bacchus carried in a cradle. A basket or cradle of the same kind was used in the ceremonials of the god to carry the sacrificial utensils and first-fruit offerings.

Warrior consulting an oracle (12).—Apollo is represented resting his right hand upon a lyre of square form, through which is seen a raven. This bas-relief, which was in the Townley Gallery, was restored by Nollekens.

Very curious is a representation of **Egyptian Hieroglyphics** (15). —Combe suggests that this should be ascribed to the time of Hadrian, when the Egyptianising proclivities of that Emperor had brought Egyptian subjects into favour. It seems more probable, however, that this is a burlesque. Another comic Egyptian scene with pygmies and Nile animals and plants may be noticed (Case 18). In the foreground, a hippopotamus, two crocodiles, some birds, and plants of the nymphæa lotus; in the distance, two buildings on which three ibises are seen.

Victory sacrificing a bull (Cases 15, 18).—This stock subject (see p. 82) appears on several panels.

Venus riding on a swan (16).—A subject which we have seen already on a painted vase (p. 373); on a Sicilian coin (II. C. 18) the nymph Camarina is similarly represented.

The bearded Bacchus appears on another slab (16), with a Bacchante in frenzy; each bears a thyrsus, the nature of which is here well seen. It was a long pole with an ornamental head formed with a fir-cone. On another slab (9) is the youthful Bacchus, carrying a similar pole; by his side is a faun who bears an inverted torch in his right hand, and with his left supports an amphora upon his shoulder. On another slab (14), the youthful Bacchus leans on the shoulder of a faun who carries a similar torch. Bacchus is pouring wine into the mouth of a *panther* placed at his feet. On the other side is a Bacchante holding *a thyrsus decorated* with fillets. On another slab (13) a panther rears

beside a wine-vase, of which the projecting handles terminate in leaves of ivy. "They say," records an ancient explanation of the Bacchanalian rites, "that even panthers delight in wine." A graceful composition (in Case 14) is formed of two young fauns supporting a tazza and leaning over it, as if to see their faces reflected on the surface of its contents.

☞ *We now leave the Etruscan Saloon by the side-door, and enter the Room of Gold Ornaments and Gems.*

CHAPTER XXV

THE ROOM OF GOLD ORNAMENTS

[*In this room much treasure is exhibited in a little space. Objects of small size and special value are here collected from various departments for better security. The collections may roughly be classed under two heads, and we divide our descriptions into two chapters, dealing, as their main subjects, with* (1) *Gold Ornaments* (Ch. XXV.) *and* (2) *Engraved Gems* (Ch. XXVI.) *respectively. In the present chapter we shall examine* (a) *the historical collection of ancient jewellery;* (b) *Roman frescoes;* (c) *British and Mediæval jewellery;* (d) *Roman silver-plate;* (e) *the Franks Bequest. In the next chapter we shall deal with* (a) *ancient intaglios;* (b) *ancient cameos;* (c) *the Portland vase;* (d) *pastes;* (e) *Renaissance gems and other gold ornaments, including* (*f*) *the gold cup of the Kings of France.*]

"The history of Greek art begins, as some have fancied general history to begin, in a golden age, but in an age, so to speak, of real gold, the period of those first twisters and hammerers of the precious metals—men who had already discovered the flexibility of silver and the ductility of gold, the capacity of both for infinite delicacy of handling and who enjoyed, with complete freshness, a sense of beauty and fitness in their work—a period of which that flower of gold on a silver stalk, picked up lately in one of the graves of Mycenæ, or the legendary golden honeycomb of Daedalus, might serve as the symbol" (PATER, *Greek Studies*, p. 200).

MYCENÆAN ORNAMENTS

OF this earliest Greek work in gold, of which Mr. Pater speaks, the British Museum now possesses a rich collection. It is of great interest both historically and artistically. Historically it takes us back to that remote civilisation of which the tradition lingered in the Homeric poems, and which has opened up in the field of Greece a vista of civilisation perhaps

not less extensive than that which has long been known to us in the valley of the Nile. To this period and phase of culture the term "Ægean" is sometimes given, because the remains of it have mostly been found on the islands and coasts of the Ægean sea. Artistically the collection here before us is of interest as showing considerable skill and delicacy in the goldsmith's craft. It is described as "Mycenæan," because remains of this homogeneous prehistoric civilisation, which in the last twenty years have been yielded sporadically by the whole Ægean district, were first discovered at Mycenæ.[1] It was in November 1876 that Schliemann discovered in the so-called "tomb of Agamemnon" one of "the most wonderful hoards that have ever met a treasure-seeker's eye. Gold appeared in abundance never before seen in Greek tombs, or indeed in any but Scythian, beaten into face-marks, head-bands, heart-pieces, and innumerable stamped plaques, into bracelets, necklaces, rings, baldrics, trinkets, dagger and sword hilts. Ivory, silver, bronze, alabaster were there as well and in profusion, the whole treasure in mere money being worth thousands sterling." This wonderful treasure-trove is now in the National Museum at Athens.

Here in Table-case T (Compartments 1 and 2, and 37 and 38 on the reverse slope of the same case) we have the result of another "find" which belongs to the same class as Schliemann's. The objects were found together in a tomb in one of the Greek islands. The exact provenance of this valuable and interesting collection had to be kept secret, owing to the Greek law forbidding exportation,[2] but the island is believed to have been **Ægina.** The find includes the following objects :— .

A cup, of very pure gold, ornamented with a repoussé design of a central rosette surrounded by four returning spirals.—These spirals are very characteristic of Mycenæan work ; Newton suggests that they may have been first suggested by the facility with which gold wire can be worked into such a pattern (*Essays on Archæology*, p. 276).

Gold rosettes, stamped.—Each of these is pierced with a hole, and they were probably fastened on the garments in which the dead were buried. The general character of the ornaments shows that the tomb was that of a woman.

[1] For other references to the "Mycenæan question," see pp. 87, 285, 289.

[2] This law does not altogether succeed in its object. There is an attraction, stronger than restrictive legislation, that still draws antiquities from all parts to our shores. But the law inflicts some injury on science in causing the provenance of antiquities to be concealed.

Gold pendant of two open-work plates, from which are suspended by small chains five gold disks.—The upper plate is embossed with a design of a man holding two water-birds. This is one of several Mycenæan pieces in which Egyptian influence is strongly marked. The design recalls Egypt alike in the attitude, in the proportions, and in the costume, and it may perhaps be meant to represent a fowler in a Nile boat with trophies of his sport (see the wall-painting from Thebes in the Northern Egyptian Gallery, No. 170). It is not believed that Mycenæan art was Egyptian, nor that the influence of the East was brought into the Ægean lands by Egyptians. But the Egyptian character of much Mycenæan art points to a lively interchange between the two peoples.

Necklace of gold and carnelian beads.—In this ornament again Egyptian influence may be seen. Notice the ornaments in the shape of a hand grasping a woman's heart, from beneath which in each case hangs a small acorn of an olive-green stone in a gold cup. The action is that seen in figures of Isis giving suck, and has evident reference to fecundity. Such ornaments were doubtless worn as charms or talismans.

Gold rings.—Six of these equal in weight the **gold bracelet**, and it is probable, therefore, that they were ring money. In a primitive state of society, in the present day, a woman often wears her dowry in coins as ornaments; and these ancient rings may have been both ornaments and substitutes for money (see, for fuller descriptions of these ornaments, Mr. A. J. Evans's article on this find in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiii. p. 195).

Of the same "Mycenæan" character are the objects in Compartments 34 and 35. These come from the cemetery of **Ialysus in Rhodes** (see 285) and from **Crete**. From the former comes a porcelain scarab of Amenophis III., whose date was about 1450 B.C. This shows that the tomb cannot be earlier than that date, but it may have been much later, for the royal cartouches were used long after the time of the owner—just as the discovery of a coin fixes the earliest possible date, but not the latest, of objects with which it may be found. Among the objects from Crete are an ear-ring in the form of a Cretan goat and a gold bee—a neat specimen of early granulated work acquired from Crete in 1875. There are also in the Museum collection fourteen bodies of bees in gold, of late Etruscan work, and the presence of the bee on sepulchral jewellery suggests to a commentator on this gold bee an interesting chapter in zoological mythology:—

The bee when left to itself chooses as its abode (1) some crevice *in a cliff or stone* (thus in the Psalms, "With honey out of the rock

should I have satisfied thee," and in the *Iliad*, "They swarmed like bees that sally from some hollow cave"); or (2) the trunk of a tree; or (3) the carcase of some animal (thus in Judges, "He turned aside to see the carcase of the lion; and, behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion"). These habits of the bees gave rise under each head to a complicated symbolism. Thus (1) cave-bees became the guardians of the infant Zeus: in this connection we have already seen a curious vase-painting (B 177, p. 326); the (2) trunk-bees became bee-nymphs; and (3) the swarming of bees in a carcase suggested the idea that bees represented the life of the defunct animal. Hence gold bees which have been found in tombs were probably intended to symbolise the immortality of the soul. In a Scandinavian grave a bronze statue has been found of a youth with bees arranged on his heart. This belief is not extinct in modern Europe. In the Engadine it is still thought that the souls of men revisit the world in the form of bees, which are there considered messengers of death. When any one dies, the bee is invoked almost as if it were the soul of the departed: Bienchen, unser Herr ist todt: Verlass mich nicht in meiner Noth (Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 218, cited by A. B. Cook in his article on "The Bee in Greek Mythology," *J.H.S.* xv. 1). The bee would of course be specially appropriate in Cretan jewellery, as Crete was traditionally the original home of that insect.

GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM CYPRUS

(*Compartment* 6 *and in the Table-cases below the three windows*)

Another and a more remarkable collection of Mycenæan gold treasure, rivalling even Dr. Schliemann's own, is the result of the excavations at Enkomi, Cyprus, to which we have already referred in connection with the pottery there discovered (p. 287). The objects here exhibited from this "find" number nearly five hundred. We shall note the most important classes, and single out a few of the more interesting specimens.

Most numerous are the **gold plates** which, as we have seen, were used for sepulchral purposes:—

"There are a hundred-and-fifty-five diadems and mouth-plates of pure gold plates, some plain, but for the most part simply and charmingly ornamented by embossed patterns impressed from steatite or other hard stone moulds. Although the ornamentation is so primitive, the variations are more numerous than in any previous finds, and remarkable taste is displayed in the combinations of the moulds made use of. These plaques were placed on the bodies of the dead, the *diadems, six to eight* inches long, being placed on the forehead, and

the mouth-plates, pointed and oval in shape, over the lips. Some of the smaller were armlets, varying from four to six inches, and about three-quarters of an inch broad. The general form of the ornamentation is a coil or spiral about half an inch across, which is made to do duty by intertwining in various ways, or by being implicated in opposite directions, or grouped in sets of three or six, and sometimes interwoven with lotus leaves. In other plates the ornamentation is in rosettes, with a central boss, from which radiate one or two circular sets of linear rays, or a sort of figurative sun. In others the ornamentation is formed by very numerous bulls' heads. In one there is a pleasing mixture of lotus and volutes. Another has a very rich form of double palmette. A third has a palmette of three lobes, and a fourth is most artistically covered with impressions of small sphinxes." (I cite this and some of the following descriptions from an article in the *Standard* of December 19, 1896.)

Another feature of the find is the quantity of **gold-wire rings or coils**, many of which are looped together in chains. These were probably intended and used as uncoined money, and this means of making payment would appear to have been occasionally carried down to later times, if we may trust a passage in Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward*.

There is another remarkable feature in the present find—namely, the **gold-wire pins** (several are in Compartment 6), varying from three to six inches long, but which, perhaps, we should more properly have called fibulæ. At the top of the pin is a boss of gold wire frosted with granulated enamel or gold. Stout gold wire is twisted together to form the shaft of the pin, and midway a loop for a cord to fasten the dress is formed by a wire ring bound on to the shaft of the pin :—

"Pins of this type appear to have been the prototype of the fibula (or safety-pin); and it is remarkable that one or two figures on the François vase (at Florence) appear to have their chitons fastened on the shoulder by means of similar pins, although of course this vase is not earlier in date than 600 B.C. The hole was intended for the insertion of a piece of wire, which was twisted round the drapery and held it in place. The transition from this to the safety-pin type, consisting of pin and bow ending in a hook to catch the end of the pin, can easily be understood. Similar pins with holes have been found in Northern and Central Europe" (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. lix.).

The pins have a long sharp point like a stiletto. Apart from their great antiquity and their interest as articles of dress, they on one occasion played a sufficiently conspicuous part in history to attract the notice of Herodotus. He tells us (v. 87) that from a great battle

between the Æginetans and the Athenians only one man of the latter escaped death; this individual, on his return to Athens, recounted the disaster which had overtaken their army. "And when the wives of the men who had gone on the expedition against Ægina heard it," they, "enraged that he alone of the whole number should be saved, crowded round this man, and piercing him with the pins of their garments (*τῇσι περόνῃσι τῶν ἱματίων*), each asked him where her own husband was: thus he died."

We may next notice a series of gold **ear-rings**. Some are in the form of bulls' heads, about an inch in length and three-quarters of an inch across at the frontal part. There are other ear-rings about two inches in length, made of thick gold bar, the ring being very much thickened at the pendant end. The collection of ear-rings is interesting as showing the evolution of a pattern, by degradation, from animal form to geometrical design. The original is the bull's head; and even when the pattern is at its completest the shape can be traced, and in the spirals one may detect horns and ears and eyes.

One very large **pendant** (in the first window-case) is of special interest from another point of view. It is in the globular form of a pomegranate, and is covered with diagonal patterns consisting of minute globules of gold soldered down on the surface, as in some of the beautiful objects of the Etruscan period. The occurrence of this technical process in the Enkomi finds may have some significance for the dating of these Mycenæan objects. For "it happens that precisely the same process of soldering down minute globules of gold and arranging them in the same patterns abounds in a series of gold ornaments in the British Museum which were found at Camirus in Rhodes, along with a large porcelain scarab of the Egyptian king Psammetichos I. (666-612 B.C.). Our pendant is doubtless older, but hardly seven centuries older" (*Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 18).

The **finger rings** are also very notable; there is a massive double one of solid gold, or, it may be better to say, two single rings joined; it has two large and very long oval tablets, as for signets; but the double article may have been intended as a marriage ring. The tablets are both engraved with lions. There is another fine signet (in Compartment 6), with inscription in hieroglyphics indicating the Goddess Mut. This is of genuine Egyptian workmanship.

Amongst the **necklaces** are two, more or less complete,

composed of long gold beads of seed-like shape, about an inch in length and half an inch across. These are strung together, with small disks between them, most elegant in design. An immense and marvellously fine bracelet, over a foot in length, and fully two inches deep, constituted of link-plates of Homeric shields, is a most interesting and prominent object, in beautiful preservation. It is rivalled in interest, but not excelled, by the far larger and very beautiful **Egyptian pectoral,** to which a crowning position in the general collection may be assigned :—

"It consists of seven rows of ornaments, the rows being more or less fragmentary. As it is, the first or top row consists of thirty cylindrical plain gold beads, with little wire eyes at top and at bottom. Into the eyes at the bottom the little hooks of the second row of ornaments fit. Of this second row fourteen of the ornaments remain. These are in pairs, the one smooth, triangular, with point downwards ; its companion with broad end down and point uppermost—the latter being, as it were, cut open and enamelled. The third row has twenty plain gold tooth-like beads. The fourth row consists of purse-like ornaments, beautifully made, with little pockets and flaps, brightly enamelled, each being hung on two beads of the row above. The fifth row is formed of a series of two purse-like ornaments, with a long-necked, bottle-shaped ornament between them. There are twelve of these remaining. The sixth row has ten round ornaments of gold, and under these again there comes a finishing row of cross-barred gold pendants" (*Standard*, December 19, 1896).

With regard to the date of this piece, Dr. Murray says :—

"As the painted pectorals on the mummy-cases extend over a wide period of time, and do not appear to vary considerably in form, it is hardly possible to obtain from them a guide as to the date of our specimen. On the other hand, it is to be remarked that the process of inlaying in gold with coloured pastes, instead of with precious stones, occurs in the so-called Treasure of Ægina, now in the Museum, which has been assigned by Mr. Arthur Evans, with, we believe, general consent, to about 800 B.C. (*J.H.S.* xiii. 224). The employment of vitreous pastes in Egypt is said by Prof. Flinders Petrie to have been begun between 1100 and 800 B.C. (*J.H.S.* xii. 201). At present that seems to be the nearest approach that can be made to the date of our pectoral. Whether it is of pure Egyptian fabric or a Phœnician imitation has not been determined" (*Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 41).

The whole collection is remarkable for so distinctly showing *the work of a primitive* population who made fine gold ornaments *from the* native gold of their island, and imported from

traders works of higher art than the native industry was able to produce. Cyprus, it will be remembered, was famous for its metals—especially copper, our name for which is derived from *aes Cyprium* (Cyprian brass). It is striking, in the case of the native ornaments, to find representations of animal forms of remarkable naturalism side by side with primitive exhibitions of decorative skill. When, later on, in this room, we come to specimens of Celtic gold ornaments, we shall be struck by the identity of the Celtic spiral with one of the characteristic motives of Mycenæan decoration. "The typical returning spiral seems to have found its way, perhaps through intertribal barter, along the amber-trade route of the Moldau and Elbe valleys, to Denmark and Sweden, and even to primitive Ireland" (*Authority and Archæology*, p. 252). However this may be, it is certainly interesting to find a community of artistic development, or instinct, between the people of the Mycenæan age and the Celts of Europe.

IVORIES FROM CYPRUS

These include some very remarkable specimens. In Compartment 6 is a circular bronze mirror, set in an ivory handle, carved on both sides with a lion attacking a bull. In the small shade above is a similar mirror-handle in a better state of preservation. On one side an armed warrior, whom later Greek legend more definitely specified as an Arimasp, is engaged in combat with a Gryphon, who has large wings, an eagle's head, and a lion's body and legs. On the reverse is a lion attacking a bull nearly as in the mirror-handle already mentioned.

The subject of a man slaying a gryphon occurs frequently in Phœnician art; but in the lion and bull we may see "a largeness and breadth of style quite foreign in artistic spirit to anything that has survived from Egypt, Assyria, or Phœnicia." It is "more like a premonition of Greek genius." There is, too, "singular ingenuity in the composition. There is hardly a slab of the Parthenon frieze on which the background of the relief is more fully occupied by the subject" (*Excavations in Cyprus*, pp. 11, 31).

The ivory **draught-box** (in a shade above Compartments 10 and 11) is the *most* remarkable specimen of its kind that has

yet been found. The lid is divided into squares for the purpose of the game. The central row has twelve squares, and on each side are two rows of only four squares each, grouped at one end. Draught-boards similarly divided may be seen in the Fourth Egyptian Room. The game is of extreme antiquity; the invention of it is ascribed by Plato to the Egyptian god, Thoth (*Phædrus*, 274 C). Professor Ridgeway identifies the game as that known to the Greeks of Plato's time as *Polis*, in which the pieces were called "dogs" (*J.H.S.* xvi. 290). In one box, five of the squares are occupied by rosettes, which may represent the pieces; some of the ivory disks found at Enkomi and similarly decorated may have been used in the game. In that case the box would not have been intended for actual use, but rather as an imitation of a draught-box. The sides of the box are ornamented in relief. On the long sides are hunting scenes, which are like Assyrian friezes in miniature. A man in a chariot drawn by galloping horses pursues a herd of deer and ibex. He is drawing his bow, but most of the deer are already transfixed with his arrows. At the closed end of the box is a group of two bulls, in which naturalism prevails over conventionalism in the forms. At the other end is a smaller relief of a pair of ibex standing on each side of a sacred tree. This group is conspicuously conventional in treatment. An equal mixture of styles is observable on the long sides. The general conception is Assyrian, but it is carried out with "a rough, free treatment, which shows no sign of either Assyrian or Egyptian influence." In this respect it differs from the ivories from Nimroud which are shown in the Nimroud Gallery downstairs (see *Excavations in Cyprus*, pp. 9-14, 31).

Gold ornaments from Rhodes.—Gold ornaments of a period immediately subsequent to those already described are exhibited in Compartments 4 and 5 of Case T. They were mostly acquired by the Museum in 1861 from the excavations of M. Salzmann and Mr. (now Sir Alfred) Biliotti among the tombs of Camirus. Their date is approximately fixed by a porcelain scarab found in one of the graves. This contains the name of the Egyptian king, Psammetichus I. (666-612 B.C.). Some of the ornaments exhibit the process of soldering minute globules of gold which has been referred to above (p. 563). A pair of pendants for ear-rings with winged bulls is very *Assyrian in style.* The types generally are still semi-Oriental

in character. Notice the rings above the plaques, showing that the ornaments were worn threaded on a string, probably about the girdle.

Compartment 5 also contains a gold bowl, for making libations, with figures of bulls in repoussé work. This was found at Girgenti in Sicily.

[*For a description of the Portland vase which stands above Table-case T, see next chapter* (*p.* 654). *The historical collection of ancient jewellery is continued in the wall-cases behind us* (*A-O*), *to which we must now turn.*]

EARLY PHŒNICIAN JEWELLERY

The ancient jewellery of ages later than the Mycenæan is arranged in chronological order, beginning (Case A) with objects of a Phœnician character (*i.e.* free imitation of Egyptian work), found chiefly in Cyprus and at the Phœnician settlement of Tharros in Sardinia (see p. 705). Personal ornaments were, as is well known, among the very first objects on which the invention and ingenuity of man were exercised. There is no record of any people so rude as not to employ some kind of personal decoration, and in all the early civilisations the art of jewellery reached a high degree of skill. We have seen this already in the case of "Ægean" and "Mycenæan" ornaments. The visitor to the British Museum can study the same thing in the Assyrian and Egyptian Collections, while a walk through the Ethnographical Galleries will remind him how far, among the most backward and savage races, the use of natural objects, such as small shells, dried berries, and feathers, is carried for purposes of personal adornment.

Some of the necklaces in Case A approach to this primitive type; they are mere strings of stones and beads. Others are more elaborately worked, and have little idols suspended from them. The bangles with heavy gold ends are of a barbaric type; but many of the objects here exhibited show a high standard of skill. We may note a silver vase from Camirus, on which are Phœnician imitations of Egyptian cartouches, and part of a silver girdle from Cyprus, with plaques in relief and a frieze of flower-bells. But perhaps the most remarkable piece is the silver *ring from Cyprus*, on which, in place of the bezel, a

golden fly has alighted—"a fly of such wonderful truth to nature," says Mr. Cecil Smith, "and yet such cunning skill, that even that prince of goldsmiths, Signor Giuliano, to whom I showed it, pronounces it a marvel of his art" (*Classical Review*, i. 25). This finger ring was found in the same tomb as a charming perfume vase already described, B 668, p. 322 (see *J.H.S.* viii. 291, 318).

ORNAMENTS IN AMBER

These archaic ornaments in amber (Case B), with accessories in gold and silver, are from various sites in Italy, especially Etruria. Amber, now chiefly used among Western nations for the mouthpieces of pipes and cigarette-holders, was among the ancients greatly esteemed for purposes of ornamentation. It was indeed the gem *par excellence* of the ancient civilised world, and as such "it was for ages the important and principal factor in the intercourse of various and widely separated peoples, thereby promoting trade ventures and commercial rivalry, and extending some of the arts of peace and culture to distant and savage lands" (W. A. Buffum, *The Tears of the Heliades, or Amber as a Gem*). The property of developing electrical phenomena by friction doubtless drew early attention to it, and invested it with the romantic interest which attached to it in ancient times, and is preserved in the legend of the daughters of the sun, turned into poplar-trees, whose tears became amber as they fell.

Milton refers to the legend in his reference to the river Eridanus :—

> where weep
> Even now the sister trees their amber tears
> O'er Phaëthon, untimely dead.

The legend is faithful as well as fanciful, for amber was in very truth "distilled by pines that were dead before the days of Adam." It is the fossilised resin of an extinct species of pine which flourished in the Lower Tertiary Period. The yellow amber with which we are most familiar comes from the shores of the Baltic. In the ornaments here exhibited it is of a dark-red hue, and came not improbably from Sicily, where it is still found in various brilliantly coloured varieties. The earliest reference to amber as a material for jewellery occurs in the

Odyssey (xv. 460), in a passage which is also of interest as illustrating the Phœnician trade in jewels. The passage occurs in the account given by Eumæus of his home and adventures in the island of "Syria":—

"Thither came the Phœnicians, mariners renowned, greedy merchantmen, with all manner of gauds in a black ship. . . . There came a man versed in craft to my father's house, with a golden chain strung here and there with amber beads, and the maidens in the hall and my lady mother handled the chain and gazed on it, offering him their price."

Amber necklaces, such as we may see in this case, were even more popular in Italy, for amber was invested with magical qualities. Figures in amber were in such repute in Rome in Pliny's time that he sarcastically remarks (*N.H.* xxxvii. 12), "The price of a small figure in it, however diminutive, exceeds that of a living healthy slave." "True it is," says Pliny, further, "that a collar of amber beads worn about the necks of young infants is a singular preservative to them against secret poison, and a countercharm for witchcraft and sorceries."

The objects in this case, wrought with little gold, more silver, and an abundance of amber, belong to the most ancient jewellery of Italy. "To this style belong necklaces and bracelets of the three materials mixed, or of coloured glass, often with pendants in the shape of axes, vases, or other utensils; fibulæ of eccentric forms in gold, silver, or bronze, adorned with amber or variegated glass; and thin plates of gold marked with straight or hatched lines. It is a remarkable fact that articles of jewellery of similar character and style have been discovered also in Norway and Sweden, and even in Mexico" (Dennis's *Etruria*, i. lxxxi.). There are also several pendant masks, animals, and other carvings in amber.

EARLY ETRUSCAN ORNAMENTS

Case C.—The Etruscans, as we have seen, had a passion for jewellery, and the skill of the Etruscan goldsmiths was exquisite. We must, however, distinguish between the later and the earlier style. The later (Cases E and F) is much coarser; the former has been described by a modern expert as "*the perfection of* jewellery, far transcending all that the

most expert artists of subsequent ages have been able to produce." "It must," says Signor Castellani, "with humility be confessed that we see at present, arising as if by enchantment from the forgotten cemeteries of Etruria and of Greece, objects in gold of a workmanship so perfect that not only all the refinements of our civilisation cannot imitate it, but cannot even explain theoretically the process of its execution":—

> The style (of this early Etruscan work) is easily recognised by its elegant forms, the harmony of its parts, and the purity of its design, but chiefly by the marvellous fineness and elaboration of its workmanship. The patterns, which are always simple yet most elegant and admirably harmonious, are wrought by soldering together globules or particles of gold, so minute as hardly to be perceptible to the naked eye, and by the interweaving of extremely delicate threads of gold, and are sometimes, but sparingly, interspersed with enamels. Tiny figures of men, animals, or chimæras, exquisitely chased in relief or in the round, form another and favourite feature in the ornamentation. On a close inspection this jewellery astonishes and confounds by its wonderful elaboration, and at a little distance it charms the eye by its exquisite taste, and the graceful character and harmony of its outlines.

As examples of globular work, in which the globules are almost as fine as gold-dust, we may especially notice a large brooch along the back of which are small figures of animals, and another smaller brooch, in the shape of a safety pin, on which the minutest patterns are executed by means of globules. The date of this early Etruscan work is seventh to sixth century B.C. It is curious that the secret of the old Etruscan goldsmiths has never been wholly recovered, though the Hindoo jewellery of the present day bears some resemblance to the old Etruscan style. The great goldsmith of the Renaissance, Benvenuto Cellini, abstained from attempting to imitate it. He relates in his memoirs that Pope Clement VII. showed him one day a gold Etruscan necklace of exquisite workmanship which had just been discovered in the ground. Cellini examined it intently and exclaimed: "Alas, it is better not to imitate these Etruscans, for we should be nothing but their humble servants." A famous jeweller of our own time, deploring the decadence of modern taste, did, however, set himself to revive the Etruscan art. This was the elder Castellani, the father of Augusto and Alessandro (the famous connoisseur), who succeeded after many attempts in imitating *the tiny golden grains* with which Etruscan jewels are usually

ornamented, but, though he found out how to solder these grains on to the surface of the jewel, he was unable to make the little balls as small as those of the Etruscans—at least as the ones on the finest specimens, for the Etruscan goldsmiths put larger grains on the coarser and more pretentious jewellery. The younger Castellani's account of his father's experiments is very interesting. Their success was due, it will be seen, to the survival in an out-of-the-way part of Italy of the traditional Etruscan skill, and to the delicacy of women's fingers :—

"The first problem that offered itself to our attention was to find the means of soldering together, with the utmost neatness and delicacy, so many pieces of extraordinary thinness. Among others, those almost invisible grains, like little pearls, which play so important a part in the ornamentation of antique jewellery, presented difficulties nearly insurmountable. We made innumerable essays, employing all possible agents and the most powerful dissolvents to compose proper solder. We consulted the writings of Pliny, Theophilus, and Benvenuto Cellini; we neglected no other source of instruction which tradition could furnish us. We studied the works of Indian jewellers, and those of the Maltese and Genoese; but it was only in a remote corner of the Marches, at St. Angelo in Vado, a little district hidden in the recesses of the Apennines, far from every centre of civilisation, that we found still in use some of the processes employed by the Etruscans. There still exists, in fact, in this region of Italy, a special school of traditional jewellery, somewhat similar—not, certainly, in taste or elegance of design, but at least in method and workmanship—to the ancient art. The beautiful peasant girls of these districts, when at their wedding feasts, wear necklaces and long ear-rings called *navicelle*, much resembling in workmanship the antique. We procured, then, from St. Angelo in Vado a few workmen to whom we taught the art of imitating Etruscan jewellery. Inheriting the patience of their forefathers, and caring nothing for those mechanical contrivances by which geometrical exactness is attained in modern jewellery, these men succeeded better than all whom we had previously employed in the imitation of that freedom of style which is the peculiar characteristic of the art among the ancients. . . . Having come to the conclusion that certain works of the ancients, very delicately executed, must have been done by women, we confided to intelligent workwomen that which required the most delicacy. The result was excellent, especially in the placing and soldering of that little granulation which is carried over the face of most Etruscan jewellery. Nevertheless we are convinced that the ancients had some special chemical process for fixing these strings of small grains, of which we are ignorant; for, in spite of all our efforts, we have been unable to reproduce some exquisitely fine workmanship, and despair of being able to do so, unless aided by *some new scientific discoveries.*"

This process of ornamentation by means of soldering globules of gold, which is the characteristic of Etruscan work, gives to it a charm of artistic individuality never attainable by the uniform punching and casting of modern work. Collectors should, by the way, be on their guard against spurious imitations of the antique, which are often sold as real old Etruscan. This remark does not apply to the professed imitations manufactured by M. Melillo of Naples (*Memoirs of an Old Collector*, by Count Tyszkiewicz, p. 159; Aug. Castellani's *Orificeria Italiana*, cited by Dennis, i. lxxxi.; and Castellani in the *Archæological Journal*, 1861, p. 367).

In this same Case C we may further notice a curious Etruscan brooch for fastening the dress on the shoulder; a very pretty gold ornament in the form of a pomegranate, from Locri (857); and a pendant ornament with a figure of the winged Medusa decapitated: two Pegasi are springing from her neck.

GREEK GOLD ORNAMENTS

Case D (Greek gold ornaments of the finest period, 420-280 B.C.).—In passing to Greek workmanship we may notice generally that "the guiding principle of Greek artists seems to have been to regard workmanship as of far greater importance than the materials employed. Thus it was not the intrinsic worth of precious metals that gave to Greek jewels their high value; it was the exquisite work upon the metal, and the fancy exercised in the ornamentation. The elements of ornamentation are taken from nature; they include fruits, flowers, and foliage, with which is joined imitation of the human body. All these motives are treated with an art that is rich in resources, the sole law in which is the artist's fancy" (Collignon, *Manual of Greek Archæology*, p. 367). It should, however, be noticed that the use to which the jewels were to be put imposed certain limitations upon the artist. Thus fancy was freer in the decoration of pendants, ear-rings, and necklaces, than in that of bracelets or crowns, where custom required that the art should be more severe. Further, it is necessary here, as also in the case of the earlier "Mycenæan" jewellery, to distinguish those ornaments that were intended to be worn by the living from those that were made to be buried with the dead. The latter, as we have seen (p. 451), were often thin and shoddy.

The **gold crowns**, found in many Greek tombs and well illustrated in the collection before us, often belong to this sepulchral class. In many specimens the extreme thinness of the gold leaves, beaten where they had been cut, shows that they were made only for transient use. Some of these diadems show good workmanship, but naturally the jeweller's art reserved its best resources and its highest skill for the ornaments destined to be permanently worn. Many of the gold crowns, it will be seen, imitate the foliage of the oak, the laurel, etc. Crowns of flowers and leaves were, it will be remembered, freely used among the Greeks both for ornament and in the serious business of life. They were worn by the orator while speaking from the tribune, and by the magistrate as the sign of his official dignity, and they were awarded to the victors in the games. So, too, the head and bier of the dead were crowned with fresh wreaths of myrtle and ivy. But in the case of kingly persons in early times, and in that of the richer class in the luxury of later times, the crowns of flowers or wild olive—"type of grey honour and sweet rest"—were changed for golden ones, such as we see here before us rescued from Greek tombs.

In examining the other gold ornaments of Greek workmanship, and comparing them with the choicest products of Etruscan art, the visitor will notice a difference of technique. Instead of the Etruscan globules, we now find that fine **threads of gold** (filigree) are employed with very delicate effect. In the case of figures, these were made by pressing thin gold plates into stone moulds: one such mould for an ear-ring is shown in this case. The jeweller then finished the work no doubt by hand. The process of **enamelling** also occurs in many of the specimens, but the enamel is always used in very small quantities. With regard to the **general characteristics** of Greek jewellery of the best period, Sir Charles Newton says:—

"The gold is wrought with a delicacy which shows how well the artist understood its distinctive qualities of ductility, malleability, and incorruptibility; it is constantly inlaid with vitreous pastes or enamels of various colours; but it is not so much the exquisite taste in the ornaments or the delicate manipulation and incredible minuteness of the work which call for our admiration, as the consummate mastery of the modelling whenever repoussé work, the *toreutikè* of the Greeks, is used. . . . The Melos necklace and the sceptre from a tomb at *Tarentum [both in Case D]* are admirable specimens of that fine com-

bination of filigree and vitreous enamels which characterises the Greek goldsmith's art in the middle of the fourth century, and the bracelet and ear-rings from Capua, ornamented with lions' heads, are still more precious as examples of repoussé work in its perfection" (*Essays on Art and Archæology*, p. 393).

The **sceptre from Tarentum**, just referred to, is very beautiful, and shows the most elaborate workmanship. It is a good illustration of what we have said about artistry and material in Greek jewellery:—

"It has its top formed in the shape of a flower, with outer gold petals and a central boss, which consists of a large rounded emerald, or perhaps a paste—not fine in quality, but very beautiful and magnificent in effect. Most of the emeralds used by the Greeks are very full of flaws, and would be despised by a tasteless modern jeweller, but, used with the wonderful skill and good taste of an ancient gold-worker, they are as decorative in effect as if they were of the most flawless and costly kind. The same remark may be made with regard to all the jewellery of the Greeks, Etruscans, and other classical races: the most beautiful results were gained by the old goldsmiths even when they had to use gems which would now be rejected as valueless. A stone pale in colour and full of flaws, which would have little beauty if cut in facets, when cut in the old *cabochon*[1] form and set in the exquisitely delicate pure gold-work of the ancient jewellers becomes a gem of the highest decorative value. No modern art is in a more hopelessly degraded state than that of the jeweller" (J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Gems*, p. 136).

The beautiful **necklace from Melos** (also referred to above), of vases pendent from a chain on which are rosettes, disks, and enamelled leaves, is certainly a miracle of minuteness. "Extremely delicate and refined in workmanship is a small pendant from Cyprus, showing two winged genii engaged in cock-fighting."

A gold **diadem from Eretria** may be noticed; it is stamped with combats of Centaurs and Lapiths, and in the centre is Caeneus about to be crushed under a rock—a subject which we have seen already (Phigalian Room, No. 530): it is interesting to notice how the same subjects recur in all materials and on all scales.

The collection of **ear-rings**, here and elsewhere in the room, is worth some attention. We have seen on Greek

[1] *En cabochon* is the modern name for the rounded form of cutting stones. "Cabochon" is derived from the Portuguese "cabo," a head.

coins how elaborate they often were, and the inventiveness of the Greek jeweller is in nothing shown more clearly. Two kinds occur more commonly than the rest. One kind is formed of twisted wire, terminating at one end in the head of a lion or other animal; the other is attached to the ear by a hook, which is masked by a round disk (bearing some device); from the disk hang one or more little figures, which form the pendants. The ear-rings terminating in lions' heads seem rather earlier than those with disks and pendants (Newton's *Essays*, p. 394).

In the middle of the case (upper part) is a portion of a **treasure** found in 1865 at **Sta. Eufemia** in Calabria: notice the diadem ornamented with filigree work. The bronze coin here exhibited, which was found with the treasure, was issued by Hiketas of Syracuse, 287-278 B.C.

But perhaps the finest piece of jewellery in the case is the **hairpin from Cyprus**:—

"The pin is seven inches long and is made of bronze overlaid with thin gold plate. A detailed description will perhaps assist the visitor to realise the elaboration of the work. The head resembles a very ornate capital of a column. It is ornamented at the four corners by four heads of bulls (as in the bull capital from Salamis, Ephesus Room, p. 135). Between these are open cups or flowers like water-lilies forming the ends of tubes which run down to the acanthus leaves at the base of the capital. Above the bulls' heads are four doves with outstretched wings, bending down to drink from the cups. Above and below each cup is a rosette of fine granulated work. The whole is surmounted by a large bead of Egyptian porcelain, which was found separately but seems to belong to the pin. It is held in between two cups of thin gold with foliated lines. A smaller bead, which is a pearl, is attached to the top (*Classical Review*, ii. 329; *J.H.S.* ix. 222). On the stem is an inscription, in letters of the Ptolemaic age, recording the name of its former owner, who dedicated her exquisite hairpin to Aphroditè of Paphos. This beautiful example of the best Greek work was one of the treasures which rewarded the excavations on the site of the Temple of Aphroditè at Paphos in 1888—excavations carried on, it is interesting to know, under unusually pleasant conditions. "Our workmen were so many unsophisticated children. None of our personal belongings, leave them about as we might, were ever stolen; and the gold pin, now one of the glories of the jewel room in the British Museum, was found by a man working alone, out of sight of his fellows or ourselves, in the last inch of soil above the rock" (D. G. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, p. 189).

LATER ETRUSCAN ORNAMENTS

In these specimens (Cases E-F) the visitor will notice that the taste of the time takes the form of largeness and display. Instead of admiring the exquisite minuteness of golden globules and the dainty taste with which they are worked into designs, we are here struck by the size and weight of the ornaments. The rings are like fetters; the ear-rings are unusually large; from the necklaces heavy bullæ are suspended; the patterns are coarse and heavy. The jeweller's art, in this age of decadence, reverts in some measure to those barbaric types of ornament which we shall presently examine. It should be noticed, however, that in Case E there are several gold wreaths of real beauty and one very delicate globule necklace.

LATER GREEK ORNAMENTS

The later Greek ornaments (Case G) exhibit a greater delicacy of taste, though the simplicity of the earlier work is to some extent superseded by over-elaboration. Highly ornate is the gold crown in filigree and enamel found in South Italy, and recently acquired for the Museum from the Tyszkiewicz collection. In the centre is the figure of a boy wearing a wreath and chain, holding a jug and vase; the rest is ornamented with rosettes and palmettes in filigree, partly inlaid with blue enamel. The date is the third century B.C. This diadem must certainly have been made to be worn by some reigning lady of position or beauty, and may be contrasted with the diamond tiaras of to-day.

In addition to the gold ornaments, there is here a series in terra-cotta gilt. These were made for funeral purposes from the same moulds as served for the real jewellery—another instance of that economical piety to which we referred above.

ROMAN ORNAMENTS

In the ornaments of the Roman period (Case H) the work is less refined. "I have not seen a single work in gold," says Signor Castellani, "dating from a well-determined Roman *epoch, even* including the most artistic periods, which can in *any degree* whatever be compared for elegance of form or skill

of workmanship with the archaic period of Greek or Etruscan art." The Roman work is less minute, the designs become more commonplace, and there is a strong tendency towards the use of precious stones and pearls. This tendency is specially noticeable in the ear-rings, which are now merely precious stones in a setting of gold. "Two pearls beside each other," Seneca complains, "with a third on the top now go to a single pendant. The extravagant fools probably think their husbands are not sufficiently plagued without their having two or three heritages hanging down from their ears."

Many of the gold chains worn by the Romans had a little case attached to them, containing some kind of **charm**—a custom derived from the superstitious Etruscans. There are here several of these gold amulets with magical inscriptions, and among them is one of the most curious pieces in the collection. This is a gold cylinder suspended from a chain, and once containing the small inscribed plate of gold now exhibited beside it. The inscription gives instructions in Greek for finding the way in the lower world; the tablet was worn as a charm, and buried doubtless with its owner. This curious relic formerly belonged to the well-known antiquary, Mr. Millingen, by whom the inscription was published in 1836. After his death it was supposed to have been lost, but the British Museum acquired it in 1882. It was originally found on the site of the ancient town of Petelia (the modern Strongoli) in South Italy. The inscription, being translated, says:—

"And thou wilt find to the left of the house of Hades a well, and beside it a pale cypress. Approach not even near this well, and thou wilt find another, cold water flowing forth from the lake of Memory. Before it are warders. Say to them, 'I am child of earth and heaven, but my race is of heaven. I am parched with thirst, I perish. Give me quickly cold water flowing from the lake of Memory.' And they will give you drink." . . .

This inscription is doubtless an abstract from a poem containing the mystic belief of the ancient Orphics, whose teachers are referred to by Plato (*Rep.* ii. 364 B):—

"They produce a host of books written by Musæus and Orpheus, which form their ritual—persuading not individuals merely, but whole cities also, that men may be absolved and purified from crimes, both while they are still alive and even after their decease, by means of the mysteries, which deliver us from the torments of the other world, while *the neglect of them is punished* by an awful doom."

Other gold tablets similar to ours have been found on the site of the ancient and luxurious city of Sybaris; one of them was close to the skull of the skeleton whose soul was to be sped on its way by this mystic charm to the bourne from which no traveller returns. According to the Orphic doctrine, earthly life was only a punishment to the soul, whose origin was divine; the human body was the tomb of the soul, and death, a happy release. Bearing this doctrine in mind, we can interpret the inscription given above:—

"The well whose name is not mentioned is Lethè, the fountain of forgetfulness. The soul of the initiated must avoid this spring, leaving it to the crowd of souls who lived and must still live in oblivion of their divine nature. But there is another spring kept by watching guards, and reserved for the privileged souls of the initiated. These obtain admission to it by pronouncing the prescribed words. In opposition to the other, this infernal spring peculiar to the Orphic doctrine is called the spring of Memory, because it renders the soul fully conscious of her divine Nature, and opens to her the blessings of immortal existence" (D. Comparetti in *J.H.S.* iii. 111).

These Orphic doctrines were especially popular in Southern Italy, where, as we know from an inscription still extant, they were suppressed by an Act of the Roman Senate in 186 B.C. Our gold tablet therefore may be ascribed to some earlier date.

Some centuries later is the complete **gold bar**, and a fragment of a second, which were found in a hoard of sixteen such bars at Kronstadt in Transylvania. The inscriptions record that the metal was stamped as being according to sample by the authorities of the mint. From evidence furnished by inscriptions on other of the bars, the date of this gold reserve is fixed between 367 and 383 A.D.

ANCIENT BRITISH, IRISH, AND ANCIENT BARBARIC GOLD ORNAMENTS

The gold ornaments here collected are interesting evidence of the use of that metal among our Celtic forefathers (J to L, lower cases; the upper cases contain Roman silver plate, see p. 594). Diodorus in his account of Gaul says that not only the women, but the men, used gold for ornament; "for round *their wrists* and arms they wear bracelets, round their necks *thick collars of* pure gold and rings of great value, and even

golden breastplates." Of the British Queen Boadicea it is recorded that she wore torcs of gold, and these torcs were, says Strabo, imported in great numbers from Gaul to Britain. The numerous specimens here before us, found in various parts of England, Ireland, and Wales, make it easy to believe the geographer's statement. Celtic literature and legend are indeed full of references to what we may call an age of gold, recalling that which Schliemann laid bare in the tombs of Mycenæ. In the old days the Celts, it is clear, worked native gold mines. Warriors and even horses were emblazoned in gold. Of the ornaments which have survived and which are constantly being dug up, some were votive offerings; others may have been concealed by their possessors for security, and some were buried in the barrows of the dead:—

There Gollah sleeps—the golden band
About his head is bound;
His javelin in his red right hand,
His feet upon his hound.
And twice three golden rings are placed
Upon that hand of fear;
The smallest would go round the waist
Of any maiden here.
And plates of gold are on his breast,
And gold doth bind him round;
A king, he taketh kingly rest
Beneath that royal mound.
L. E. L. (from an old Irish song).

The circumstances attending the finding of some of these monuments of the "gold age" are very remarkable. Thus on one occasion—

"The Bishop of Derry happening to be at dinner, there came in an Irish harper, and sung an old Irish song to his harp. The substance of it was that in such and such a place a man of gigantic stature lay buried, and that over his breast and back were plates of pure gold, and on his fingers rings of gold, so large that an ordinary man might creep through them. The place was so exactly described that two persons there present were tempted to go in quest of the golden prize which the harper's song had pointed out to them" (C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 149).

They dug and they found two disks of gold such as we may see here (Case J). One of these very disks has a curious story. Some Irish labourers were found digging on a field under an

old hag, "Shelah the dreamer," who, "for a certain quantity of tobacco and whisky, had the power of pointing out, to those who gave it her, a great heap of treasure buried in a golden cauldron by the Danes." After many days they did find a gold disk, which one of them gave to a doctor of antiquarian tastes in return for the extraction of a tooth. After other wanderings, the disk has found a final home in the Museum.

A marked characteristic of Celtic art which may be noticed in these ornaments is the absence of animal forms. The decoration is always spiral or geometrical, in keeping with the abstract genius of the Celts. We may see a curious development of this avoidance of animal forms in the armlets or torcs. In Greek and Roman work, a natural way of finishing off the two ends was the introduction of a head—frequently a serpent's head was suggested by the shape. But the Celts never used animal motives in this way. Accordingly the torcs ended in bulbous knobs. These, in order to economise the material, were afterwards made of hollowed-out or trumpet-shaped forms—as we may see in many of the examples here. Sometimes the torcs are fastened with a ring, as in one from Boyton, Suffolk (Case L); this was found by a labourer while digging in a loam pit. Another torc (J) has been twisted into a knot, to fit a younger wearer.

Thirteen gold bracelets here shown (J) were part of a great hoard found at Newmarket-on-Fergus, County Clare, in 1854:—

"This treasure was discovered by four labourers, who netted £6000 between them by its sale. From the fact that the articles, valuable as they are, and infinitely more valuable as they must have been in their day—in those days

When Malachi wore the collar of gold—

it is surmised that they must have been suddenly and hastily deposited where they were found by the fortunate working-men. They were laid only about 18 inches under the surface of a mound, and there they remained uninjured, undisturbed for centuries, while the soil on each side and all around was repeatedly broken up in the process of agriculture. Ancient records state that a chief named M'Mahon went to battle in this region 'laden with gold'; that he was slain and stripped of his ornaments; and that none ever discovered what became of the spoil with which his person was emblazoned" (C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 230).

Another remarkable object is a chain of forty-eight spiral *rings of gold, found* in a tomb near the Lake of Bolsena.

Attached to it was a very large bulla of gold of the form common both to Etruscan and to Roman art. The bulla shows considerable refinement, as also the usual economy of the precious metal. But in fashioning the chain, the gold has by no means been spared; it is used in profusion unusual in gold ornaments, either for personal or sepulchral use. It is no doubt a chain of ring money made of pale gold (Aless. Castellani in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., iv. 347). There are other specimens of **Celtic "ring money"** in our collection, as, for instance, a bracelet with rings (in Case L). This was found by some labourers while digging turf, in the Fens, near Ely. The treasure was four or five feet below the surface, and near it was a quantity of human bones. The larger links are said to be multiples of the smaller (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1st ser., ii. 103). The term "ring-money" is not strictly accurate, for it is of the essence of money that it should be stamped by authority:—

> There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the Celtic gold rings all weigh multiples of the same unit, but very seldom multiples of one another. From their form it is probable that most of them were used as ornaments, and as such they would probably have been generally made to weigh an exact weight without fractions, on the same principle that the ancients frequently avoided fractions of their measures in architecture. They belong to a time anterior to the introduction of money among the Celts, or before its general use, a time therefore at which precious metals must have been weighed when employed in barter. Hence an additional reason, and probably the main one, why their weight is always a multiple of the same unit. In a primitive state of society in the present day, a woman often wears her dowry in coins as ornaments; and thus these Celtic rings may have been both ornaments and substitutes for money (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, xvii. 630 *n.*).

None of the Celtic gold ornaments is richer than a large peytral or **breastplate for a horse** (Case K). It is decorated with curved lines and abstract ornament, and is ascribed to the later bronze period. It was found with human bones and amber heads (some exhibited here) in a barrow in Flintshire. The circumstances of the find are not without an element of legendary romance:—

> On a farm, situated a short distance from the town of Mold, on the Chester road, there stood a gravel heap, known from time immemorial

as Bryn-yr-Ellyllon, the Goblins' Hill; why or wherefore it was so designated, was a mystery. Many years ago, as we learn from most reliable testimony, an old woman was returning from Mold, where she had been to fetch home her drunken husband from a tavern, and had to pass on her way this Goblins' mound. It was near the midnight hour, sacred to ghosts and ghost-seers, when lo! before the astonished gaze of the old lady a spectre of unusual size "appeared, clothed in a raiment of gold, which shone like the sun," and crossing the road before her with measured step, rested an instant on the fairy mound, and then vanished into thin air! Years passed, until on the 11th of October 1833 a new tenant, who had himself heard the vision related by the old woman, gave orders for the mound to be levelled. The workmen had not proceeded far with their task when they came upon stones, and underneath, this golden breastplate, which verily shone like the sun. It was, unfortunately, some little time before its value was properly appreciated; it was left in the field, and several pieces were broken off to make pins of. Some fragments were afterwards recovered (*Archæologia*, xxvi. 442; C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 226; and *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*, i. 370).

A large number of gold crescents — some plain, some incised with patterns—should also be noticed. They come from various places in England and Wales. They are not very unlike the silver ornaments which Swiss, Tyrolese, and Italian peasant-women of the present time wear on gala occasions in their hair.

CELTIC GOLD ORNAMENTS: THE LIMAVADY FIND

This treasure of gold (Case L), acquired by the Museum from Ireland in 1897, is of great value and interest, and round it fierce battles, archæological and political, have been fought. Its presence in the British Museum has figured as a fresh Irish wrong, and desperate attempts have been made in Parliamentary debates and before a Committee of Inquiry to recover the treasure from London for Dublin. But the principle of *Beati possidentes* has so far prevailed, and we are still free to examine these remarkable objects here at our leisure. We will describe in turn the artistic interest of the objects themselves, the manner of their discovery, and the controversies which have gathered about them. The most curious of the objects is a small boat, in gold; the most

artistic, a **gold collar**, with repoussé work designs, "beyond question the most magnificent object of its kind ever discovered." It is formed of two repoussé plates of thin gold, folded over into a tubular form and soldered together. After the repoussé geometrical designs were done, the vacant spaces in the interstices of the raised ornaments were filled by a series of engraved lines in curves, executed by a compass. The work is an example, says Mr. A. J. Evans, of a free and noble decorative style, belonging to the pre-Roman period of British art, about the first century A.D. One of its characteristics is noteworthy :—

"The tendency of all late Celtic art was to reduce the naturalistic motives borrowed by it from the classical world to geometrical schemes. In its earliest phase, the borrowed elements are not yet perfectly assimilated, and Greek motives such as the confronted monsters, the sphinxes, or palmettes are often still distinguishable. But the decorative design of the present torque is of a purely geometrical character. There is no trace here either of animal or spray, and the Celtic spirit has triumphed in a beautiful abstraction of curving lines" (*Archæologia*, lv. p. 404).

The solid gold torcs of stout wire, with thinner wire twisted round them, need not detain us. The bowl of thin gold, with four rings at the edges for suspension, was perhaps used as a hanging lamp. The two **chain necklaces** are of very fine workmanship :—

"Their civilised appearance, and perhaps the quality of the gold, recall certain chains of Greek and Greco-Roman fabric. A plaitwork chain (now B.M.) resembling the smaller of the two was found in a tomb at Cyprus, belonging to the fifth century B.C., and other parallels may be found among Greek, Etruscan, and Greco-Roman objects in this room. The manufacture of fine chains was not, however, confined to the classical world. The use of such chains for suspension between a pair of fibulæ, one worn on each breast, is a well-known Celtic fashion. The chains before us may have been imported to the British Islands from Alexandria about the beginning of the Christian era, or they have been of British fabric closely imitated from Greco-Egyptian models" (*ibid.*).

Lastly, we have to notice the **model of a boat** in gold :—

"It has nine benches for rowers, of which the first is now wanting. The central one is slightly broader than rest, and has a hole in the middle, through which originally the mast passed. Moveable wire rings, attached to the margin by a series of small holes, serve for the

rowlocks, and the number of holes shows that there were originally nine of these on each side, giving two rowers to each bench, or eighteen in all. There is besides another moveable ring on the left side of the boat at the stern for the steering-oar or rudder. This and fifteen of the oars have been preserved. Besides the oars, there were found a miniature grappling-iron, a boat-hook, and three forked implements, which may either be fishing-spears or more probably forked barge-poles, such as are still in use. The object is a rough representation, for votive purposes, of the kind of boats which were constructed by the ancient Irish and other Celtic populations. It would be easy to find an almost perfect analogy among the small votive offerings of returned mariners suspended in the shrines of Roman Catholic countries. In such cases the work itself is often of the poorest kind, but although the local workman was incapable of giving anything more than a general representation of the whole, he is often excessively careful in introducing the proper complement of details, such as, in this case, the right number of oars, spars, and boat-hooks" (*ibid.*).

These gold objects are, it will be seen, from an artistic point of view of very unequal merit, and seem at first sight to belong to different periods. The conditions in which they were found become, therefore, of importance. They were ploughed up by a farm-servant of Mr. Joseph Gibson, in the neighbourhood of Limavady, on the sea-coast in the north-west of Ireland, and the ploughshare somewhat injured the boat and the bowl. Mr. Gibson said that the objects were all found together in the same deposit, and all were certainly covered with the same fine brown clay. They afterwards came into the possession of a jeweller at Belfast, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Day, a well-known antiquarian and collector of antiquities. Mr. Day communicated with Mr. Read, the keeper of the British and mediæval antiquities in the British Museum, with the result that the trustees bought the objects for the sum of £600. "The find was," Mr. Read reported, "the most important that has ever been made of objects of this very interesting period, a period in which the Museum is exceptionally rich, though the examples in the precious metals are by no means numerous." On this state of facts an Irish grievance was ventilated. The objects, it was argued, were treasure trove, and as such should, according to law, have been handed over to the Government of Ireland, in which case they would have been placed in the National Museum at Dublin. Again, the objects were, it was said, Irish in origin, and their proper resting-place was there-*fore Dublin, and* not London. The British Museum, it was

contended, should not have purchased the hoard until the Irish Museum had been offered the refusal of it. On the other side it was argued that the objects had changed hands in the ordinary course of business; that the Irish Museum had had plenty of time to make an offer for the treasures; and that in any case the authorities of the British Museum were now precluded by statute from parting with these possessions, even were they so minded. A committee was appointed by the Treasury to inquire into the whole matter, and after the manner of committees, reported somewhat indecisively. The Government next consulted, in turn, the Irish Law Officers, and the Irish and English Law Officers jointly. The former advised that the objects were treasure trove, and that the British Museum was bound to surrender them. The trustees at this stage produced a new contention. The field in which the gold was found was formerly part of the sea; therefore the objects were not treasure trove. The Joint Law Officers next reported. Their advice was that the question whether the objects were treasure trove was one for a Court of Law to determine. The Government then determined to bring an action; but the trustees had another card up their sleeves. The land where the ornaments were found had been granted by Charles II. to the Irish Society, which Society, and not the Crown, had the right to treasure trove. The question of ownership is at present under consideration by the courts.

At one point the political discussions thus briefly summarised touch a question of antiquarian interest. Are these gold objects which were dug up in Ireland of indigenous Irish manufacture? With this question, we may consider two others: Do they all belong to the same period? and in what circumstances were they deposited in the same place? The chains and collar are, as we have seen, of much more artistic work and are also of better gold than the boat and the bowl. Some, therefore, finding suggestions of Scandinavian influence in the boat, have supposed that the hoard was deposited by some Viking who had plundered earlier Celtic graves. But another explanation of the difference in workmanship is that the boat and bowl, being made expressly for votive or sepulchral purposes, would naturally be of flimsier material and less finished work than the other ornaments which had belonged to the dead man in his lifetime (on this point, see above, p. 451). On this assumption all the objects may be held to belong to one period,

namely the first century A. D. The theory of Mr. Evans on the subject is very interesting :—

"The custom of making votive deposits was (he says) very widespread in the early Iron age, and in the northern counties such hoards are often buried on the borders of lakes and pools, or actually beneath their waters. In the present case the deposit was made close to the seashore, on a rocky part of the coast liable to shipwrecks; and from the votive ship and its furniture, there can be little doubt that it was a thank-offering dedicated by some ancient Irish sea-king, who had escaped from the perils of the waves, to a marine divinity. This was perhaps the Celtic Neptune, the British Nud, whose name in the later form of Lûd is connected with the port of London, and still survives in Ludgate Hill" (*Archæologia*, lv. p. 408).

The question remains whether these ornaments, deposited on the sea-coast of Ireland, are of Irish origin. Mr. Evans thinks that they are, with the exception of the triple chain, which was probably imported from the East. Mr. Read, on the other hand, on behalf of the British Museum, combats this contention. The idea (he says) that Celtic art and Celtic civilisation must necessarily refer to Ireland or Scotland is not borne out by the facts. "Up to the firm establishment of the Roman power in England, there is no more reason for connecting the Celts with Ireland or Scotland than with the South of England." In later mediæval times, Celtic art means Irish art, because elsewhere it gradually disappeared; but in earlier times Celtic art is pre-eminently English :—

"The bare fact (continues Mr. Read) that an object, particularly if made of precious metal, is found in a locality is by no means evidence that it necessarily has any other connection with the place. In the present case the circumstances seem rather to lead to an opposite conclusion, viz. that these golden objects were the prize of some piratical foray, and therefore, in all probability, belonged elsewhere than where they were found. . . . The great diversity of style, as well as the difference in the quality of the gold of the various objects comprised in the hoard, point very clearly to some such explanation of their being found together. Further, there is nothing in the character of the work that is especially Irish. On the contrary, the closest analogy for the most particular feature, viz. the gold chains, is seen in an English discovery of the same period. Even if it be granted that the boat is a model of a coracle, this form of boat was fully as English as it was at a later period Irish. I do not consider that there is any proof, archæological or otherwise, that this hoard has any but an accidental connection with *Ireland*. The probability is fully as great, if not greater, that these *objects were the* production of the people popularly known as the

Ancient Britons. As such they are most interesting illustrations of British history, and could nowhere be more appropriately placed than in the British Museum, the central museum of the Empire."

Thus boldly turning the tables on his opponents with their Irish grievance, Mr. Read suggests, it will be seen, that this golden treasure, which had for so many centuries lain entombed in Ireland, was originally stolen from England; and so comes to the comfortable conclusion that its acquisition for the British Museum is a tardy act of retributive justice. (The facts and quotations given above will be found in Mr. Evans's paper in *Archæologia*, vol. lv., and in the "Report of the Committee on Celtic Ornaments found in Ireland," 1899. See also a letter from Mr. Coffey, keeper of Irish Antiquities at the Dublin Museum, in the *Times* of Dec. 6, 1901.)

MISCELLANEOUS ORNAMENTS

In the Cases M-P (upper portions) and the lower portions also of M and N are ornaments from various countries and of various interests. We may notice, first (M, upper portion), several objects—silver ingots, portions of ornaments, etc.—from a remarkable hoard found at Cuerdale in Lancashire:—

In 1840 some workmen were employed in Cuerdale, near Preston, in carrying earth to replace the soil which had been washed away from behind a wall formerly built to protect the banks of the river Ribble. In digging for this purpose, they discovered, at a distance of about forty yards from the bank, a large mass of silver, consisting of ingots or bars of various sizes, a few silver armlets tolerably entire, several fragments and a few ornaments of various kinds, cut into pieces of different dimensions and weights, amounting to upwards of a thousand ounces, exclusive of about six or seven thousand coins of various descriptions; the whole had been enclosed in a leaden chest, which was so decomposed that only small portions of it could be secured.

An examination of the coins suggests that this treasure was deposited about the year 910; and the ornaments must be considered such as were worn about the time of Alfred or somewhat earlier, for none of them appears to have been actually in use at the time of the deposit. They were rather ornaments laid aside ready to be broken up, and cut in pieces for the greater convenience of traffic, or for facility in melting. The patterns on the armlets are elaborate and sometimes

elegant, but all were produced by the use of a few punches in various combinations. Some of the other ornaments show more advanced methods of workmanship and powers of design. Many of the coins were struck by piratical sea-kings, and the whole hoard must have been deposited for security for use as bullion (*Arch. Journal*, iv. pp. 111, 189). Here also are portions of another hoard of like nature from Goldsborough in Yorkshire.

Below is a collection of African gold ornaments. Among them are the ceremonial hat, sword, and ornaments from the house of King Prempeh; also his executioner's sword, obtained by the Ashanti Expedition of 1896. A collection of gold ornaments of native manufacture from Ashanti was obtained as part of the war indemnity in 1876. An object of considerable historical interest is a gold ring, formerly belonging to Samory, the great Mohammedan Chief of the Western Soudan (given by the Government of the Gold Coast, 1900).

Spoil from China may be seen in the next compartment (N). A Chinese vase of gold, inscribed "Hair Pagoda of the Empress Heaou-Tih," is from the Summer Palace, Pekin. Notice also two figures of Buddha—one in gold, the other carved in ruby (from Burmah).

Masks and other gold ornaments from graves in Central America are also in this compartment. Among the American tribes, as in Greece, such masks were buried in order, no doubt, to avert the evil eye from the dead. A gold breast-plate of unusual size was found in a grave of the Chibcha Indians (Republic of Colombia).

In the remaining compartments (O and P) we may notice silver horse-trappings used by the Indians of Bolivia; personal ornaments and weapons inlaid with silver from Perm (Russia), and a further collection of gold and silver ornaments from Ashanti.

FINGER-RINGS

Cases O and P.—The rings in the first case are for the most part mediæval and later; we shall note many of the different kinds in describing the larger collection, which is arranged in an adjoining corridor (p. 602). Here also is a collection of cameos mounted on rings. A ring with a sapphire, here exhibited, was found on Flodden Field.

In the next case are Greek, Etruscan, and Roman gold

finger-rings, set with engraved stones or precious stones, or having designs engraved on the gold bezel.[1] The first row contains **Roman rings.** The early Romans cultivated a stern simplicity in finger-rings. An iron signet-ring on the right hand was the only wear. Only ambassadors sent to foreign nations were allowed to wear gold rings; these were supplied at the public expense as a sign of their dignity. Afterwards, other officials and classes received the *jus annuli aurei*—the right to wear a gold ring. To distinguish it from other rings adorned with stones, the gold ring retained its original shape unimpaired by fashion. Under the Empire the passion for rings adorned with precious stones or engraved gems seems to have pervaded all classes. Men and women covered their fingers with rings; and every person of consequence had his *dactyliotheca*, or case for holding them when removed from the fingers. An ivory case for this purpose was found at Pompeii, with an upright stick at the top for stringing the rings upon, precisely in the manner now practised on a lady's toilette table. There is an epigram of Martial, satirising a very poor man who made a vain display of wealth. "He wears rings on every finger. He sleeps in them. He never takes them off when he washes. You wonder why? He cannot afford a case for them." The exquisite specially affected rings. Of an elegant poet friend of his, Martial says that you may find in his verses even more gems than he wears on his fingers. They were worn even on the upper joints, falling sometimes, as we learn from another passage in Martial, into the soup or meat. Rich people had their sets of rings to correspond to suits of clothes; lighter rings for the summer, heavier ones for the winter. The wearing of rings in old days, as every one must admit who inspects the collection in the Museum, was no light matter. But then sometimes rings had to carry a good deal—poison, for instance. The row of Roman rings here before us contains principally late specimens, set with a plain stone or paste.

The second and third rows contain the earlier and later **Etruscan rings** respectively. Here one may note the different ways in which scarabs were mounted in rings. In the third row (near the middle) is "the most magnificent Etruscan ring

[1] The part of the ring which bears the device, whether on metal or on a stone, is called the *bezel*; the rest of the ring being the *hoop*; and the thickened parts near the bezel, the *shoulders*.

known" (formerly in the Canino collection). It is formed by two lions, whose bodies make up the shank, their heads and forepaws supporting an elegant bezel in filigree which holds the signet-stone, a small scarabæus charged with a lion *regardant*. The two lions are beaten up in full relief out of thin gold plate in a stiff archaic style, yet exquisitely finished (King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, p. 331). Some of the later Etruscan rings have large agates and sards set in heavy mounts, elaborately decorated with dolphins and waves or other ornaments (compare the later Etruscan jewellery in Cases E and F).

The fourth row contains the choicest specimens in the collection. These are gold rings of **Greek design**, including some of the fourth century B.C. They are massive rings with a large flat bezel, all of gold, engraved like a gem, with designs of great beauty. The following may be specially noticed:—

A copy of the quadriga on the silver decadraches of Syracumse.

On a bezel of pointed oval form, a very beautiful female head (Castellani collection, from a tomb in Magna Græcia).

A figure of a (?) youth on horseback, riding at full speed, "a marvel of spirited design and minute workmanship, cut with as much sharpness of touch as if the material had been a hard stone, instead of soft pure gold"—from the Castellani collection (Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, p. 31).

A Victory nailing up a shield on a trophy inscribed to Zeus Basileus. "The attitude of the figure closely resembles that of one of the Victories on the balustrade of the Temple of Athenè Nikè at Athens"; from Kertch (Murray's *Catalogue of Gems*, p. 28).

A very beautifully engraved female figure holding a wreath and inscribed δωρον (a gift).

A nude figure of Aphroditè standing beside a pillar.

Odysseus preparing to escape from the Cyclops, under the belly of a ram.

Eros, with a wreath inscribed "farewell" (from the Blacas collection).

Some of these rings are among the best work of the kind that has been discovered. The Museum was fortunate in acquiring them with unexceptionable pedigrees or from collections formed at a time before the manufacturers of antiques had set to work in this charming field. The simplicity of Greek gold rings of the best period is very striking and characteristic. It contrasts alike with the complicated gold work of Mycenæan rings, and with the sumptuousness of Roman

times. "Under Claudius," says Pliny, "it became the fashion to engrave the signet in the gold of the ring itself." But this was only a Roman revival of the ancient Greek practice which had been superseded by the added luxury of gems. The use of signet-rings such as we have before us is referred to in Euripides (*Hippolytus*), who makes Theseus say on receiving Phædra's letter: "The impress of the gold-wrought signet smiles on me." It is curious and worth observing that neither in Greek sculptures nor on the innumerable painted vases do we find figures wearing rings on their fingers:—

"We do not expect to see such things worn by gods and heroes; but though there are hundreds of tombstones still to be seen in Athens representing ordinary persons, there are, so far as we know, no rings on their fingers. In Roman and late Etruscan art it is quite different. There we find a profusion of rings on the sculptures. The Greek artists had no objection to ear-rings and necklaces. Why did they draw the line at finger-rings, unless it was from sheer artistic reticence, and a desire to keep the fine articulation of the fingers free from accessories which would have vulgarised them in sculpture or painting, however pleasant they might be to the sight in daily life?" (*Quarterly Review*, October 1901).

ROMAN FRESCOES

On the walls of this room (above the Wall-cases A to H) are some fresco-paintings from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and elsewhere of the period of the early Roman Empire. Ancient mural paintings in a genuine state are so rarely to be met with in the market that these specimens are of considerable value and interest. Most of them were acquired from the Blacas collection, having been presented to the elder Duc de Blacas by the King of Naples.

"The style of the drawing is rather dexterous than masterly; rapidity of execution seems to be more prized than faithful, conscientious representation of the truths of nature. The drawing is generally careless, and effects are sometimes produced by tricks and expedients which belong rather to scene-painting than to the higher branches of art. It must not, however, be forgotten that the majority of these pictures were architectural decorations, not meant to be regarded as independent compositions, but as parts of larger compositions, in which they were inserted as in a frame. As compositions the mural paintings discovered at Rome are superior to those of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and they are further interesting to us,

because it was by the study of these remains that Raphael and his successors in the Roman School formed that beautiful style of decorative fresco which we see in its perfection in the Loggie of the Vatican" (C. T. Newton, *Guide to the Second Vase Room*, 1869, p. 31).

The Pompeian paintings are of course peculiarly interesting as the chief surviving clue to the fresco-painting of Greece. The frescoes by the old masters of Greece have all perished; but some idea of the final stage at any rate in Greek painting may be gathered from the mural paintings so strangely and amply preserved in the ruins of Pompeii, and perhaps also in some of those more recently discovered at Rome. For after all Pompeii was in part a Greek city, and in the late days of ancient Rome, as Dr. Murray points out in his very interesting chapter on Greek Painting (ch. ix. of his *Handbook of Greek Archæology*), "it was a distinction among the Romans, in art as in literature, to be imbued with Greek taste and penetrated with a knowledge of the artistic conceptions of the Greeks." Vitruvius, when comparing the older mural painting with that of his own time, says that the old masters "decorated the walls with scenery after the tragic, comic, or satyric mode; and galleries, from their extended length, they decorated with landscapes, the representations of particular spots. In these they also painted ports, promontories, the coasts of the sea, rivers, fountains, straits, groves, mountains, cattle, shepherds, and natives, figures representing gods and stories such as the Trojan battles or the wanderings of Ulysses over different countries." This style was probably adapted from Greek models, and the passage is applicable to the Pompeian paintings in our Museum. Among the pictures which are of special interest, either for the subject or for the treatment, we may notice the following:—

Ulysses escaping from the Sirens.—This design should be compared with that on the Vase E 440 (see p. 377). Virgil speaks of the "rocks of the Sirens, cruel in bygone days, and white with the bones of many." The vase gives no indication of "the bones of many," but in the fresco we find this ghastly detail faithfully portrayed. "The boat of Odysseus is a richly ornamented Roman galley; he himself is bound high up on the mast above the heads of his comrades. We are irresistibly reminded that, some two or three centuries after the date of our picture, Odysseus became, in the hands of Christian artists, the symbol of a crucified Christ, who was uplifted that he *might draw all* men to him. It is difficult to judge of the colour-*effects of the picture*, so marred is it by the lapse of time; but as we

see it now, the dull-blue water, the dim galley, the white-patched rocks, streaked and splashed with red, are grim and ghastly, and the bird-woman tempters seem rather terrible than alluring" (Jane E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 153).

Dædalus and Icarus (also from Pompeii). Dædalus is flying, and Icarus falling headlong from the sky. In the foreground, a rocky shore on which Pan is advancing with goats; in the distance, a fortified city. The subject is very curiously treated. Visitors who would be interested in comparing the latest with one of the earliest pictures of this subject, may be reminded of Mr. H. J. Draper's "Lament for Icarus" in the Tate Gallery.

A flute-player (said to have been found in a columbarium on the Appian Way, 1823). "Though retouched in places, this head is a very interesting specimen of mural painting. The style is broad and masterly, and the colouring harmonious" (C.T.N.). It would, says another authority, be "the most beautiful extant example of encaustic wall-painting if it had not been injudiciously restored" (*Hawara*, p. 39).

It will not escape notice that on the whole in these paintings the landscape backgrounds are less successful than the figures. Even these landscape backgrounds, however, afford a remarkable contrast to the style of Greek vases, on which, and especially on those of the best periods, there is no indication of a background at all except a few conventional dots. It has sometimes been questioned whether the Greeks had any feeling for the picturesque in nature. The true answer seems to be that they felt the beauty of the natural world, but not as moderns feel it:—

"The enjoyment of mere landscape was excluded and anticipated by a deeper sympathy—that humanising instinct which saw conscious life, and life of a human type, through all the kingdom of nature. And so it came that to the Greek the most adequate representation of a landscape was a representation of the gods who were identified with its rivers and mountains. The sculptor accordingly took the place, and performed the work, of the landscape painter" (Mahaffy's *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, ch. xvi., where this subject is discussed).

In the corridor leading into this room some other Roman paintings are exhibited. Several of these were obtained from the tomb of the Nasones, discovered in 1674, on the Flaminian Way near Rome:—

"These pictures were much broken and required a good deal of putting together. Nevertheless, they may fairly serve to convey an idea of the art as it was practised in Rome in the first century B.C. The

composition and drawing of the figures may be mannered enough at times. Yet there is always in these pictures the singular charm of brilliancy of colour and true pictorial effect which belongs to ancient fresco" (Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 408).

From the Blacas collection is a picture (found at Stabiæ) of two poets, crowned and holding laurel branches, very well drawn. Also one of a Music Lesson (from Herculaneum).

A more recent acquisition is **Bacchus and Silenus** from a villa at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii. "The youthful Bacchus leans on a diminutive Seilenos, at his feet a panther, in his right hand a cantharos, in his left a thyrsus. The Seilenos plays on a lyre. The shading is indicated by rough hatched lines. This group much resembles the Dionysos and Seilenos in a fresco of Pompeii" (*Brit. Mus. Return*, 1900, p. 65).

SILVER-PLATE, STATUETTES, ETC

The collection of silver services and ornaments which we have next to inspect is small but interesting. It consists of (1) Roman silver-plate (exhibited in the Wall-cases J, K, L); (2) Greek and Roman vases, statuettes, and other objects (exhibited in the Wall-case R, between the windows).

(1) The luxurious Romans, after the conquest of Greece and Asia, were in the habit of having their utensils of the table, and even (in the wealthier houses) of the kitchen, made of solid silver. The silversmith's trade was as busy in those days as in ours. Dr. Murray once mentioned in a lecture that he had had occasion to examine a number of specimens of ancient silversmith's work in the British Museum, in company with a skilled silversmith who, with an extensive business on his hands, had yet found leisure to inquire into the processes employed by the ancients. As the result of long experience, he declared that there was no process employed now that was not known to and practised by the ancients (*Builder*, March 23, 1889). Of the finds of ancient silver-plate which have escaped the melters, the **silver treasure of Chaourse** (J, L) is one of the most interesting and valuable. The service, which consists of thirty-six pieces, was found in 1883 by some peasants who were working in a field near Montcornet (Aisne) in France. *The first piece* was turned up by the plough, and this led to *the discovery* of the remainder. The entire service (minis-

terium) had been originally wrapped in a piece of cloth, and must have been buried for security (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1885, p. 112). Some bronze coins afterwards found on the spot fix the date of the deposit at the second century A.D. The workmanship is of great beauty. Its Roman origin is shown by such names as Genialis and Aurelianus which occur on some of the objects (Cecil Smith in *Classical Review*, iv. 71). The pepper-pot is in the form of a squatting Arab slave, whose head is pierced with six holes. There is also a wine-strainer. Part of another silver service, found at Caubiac, near Toulouse, is also here exhibited (K).

(2) Extant works of art in silver dating from the earlier times are comparatively rare, owing to the perishable nature of silver which oxidises when exposed to damp. Nor have the arts of forgery, which in most other departments have so largely increased the supply of "antiques," been successful in the case of silver-plate. "I must mention, however," says Count Tyszkiewicz, "that contemporary chemistry has placed various ingenious processes at the service of forgers, by which they can make an imitation, perfect to the eye, of the violet patina taken on by silver-plate after it has remained in the earth for several centuries. This patina is very soft, and any one who has been warned can detect its falsity" (*Memories of an Old Collector*, p. 171). Among the more ancient silver objects in our collection are some silver-gilt platings from an Etruscan chariot, of about 600 B.C. (Window-case R). These objects are part of a great find of reliefs in bronze and silver which was made in 1812 at Castello di S. Mariano, four miles from Perugia, a spot celebrated in Perugian annals for a victory obtained in the fifteenth century over a band of British condottieri. They were not found in a tomb; which makes it probable that they were buried for concealment in ancient times (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, ii. 427). The reliefs are of silver-plate, beaten out and gilded; they are works in the archaic Greek style produced in Etruria.

In Greece the art of the silversmith was highly esteemed. Among the votive offerings at the Parthenon were numerous goblets made both of gold and silver. Many of the celebrated sculptors cultivated this branch of art; and in the later days of Hellenism, fabulous sums were paid for fine examples. The Greek silver vases are "distinguished by the simple refinement of their shapes, and the delicately chased ornaments. A two-

handled cup, with a finely-chased internal pattern, is said to have been found at Bosco Reale (near Pompeii), but it has the character of Greek work" (*Guide to the Department*).

The collection of Roman silver-plate is continued in this case. Notice especially a fine bowl, in the centre of which is a medallion group of the three Graces; this was found in France at Chatuzange, near Romans (Drôme).

Of special interest are two **silver phialæ** (or libation dishes), found at Eza, near Nice (formerly said to have come from Roquemaure, in the department Gard). The designs are beaten up in a rough way and then finished by chasing. The bowl which is broken at the edge is the finer in style. The subject represented is Hercules being driven in a chariot to Olympus (see for a discussion of the subject, A. S. Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 108, and in the *Classical Review*, v. 342). There are in the collection of vases (Fourth Vase Room, G 118, see p. 407) two bowls of black ware (duplicates from the same mould) of the same shape as these silver bowls, and impressed with almost the same designs. The coincidence is instructive as showing how certain stock patterns, as it were, were used for various kinds of products. We see, too, that the black-ware vases were the poor man's substitute for the silver vases of the wealthy. The quantity of rich silver-plate found at Roman sites in France testifies to the diffusion of luxury in Gaul in Imperial times.

Among the silver statuettes none is finer than the **portrait bust**, much oxidised, supposed to be of **Antonia**, the wife of Drusus and mother of Germanicus. It originally formed a projecting boss in a silver bowl, and was found in 1895 at the Roman villa at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii, which has yielded so many artistic treasures. Our bust was originally bought from the owner of the villa by Count Tyszkiewicz, but being unable to remove the crust which overlaid the lady's face, he exchanged it with a Roman dealer. Several amateurs were soon after it, but they were too late; the bust was already in the British Museum (p. 139 of *Memories of an Old Collector*; a reproduction of the bust is the frontispiece to that entertaining volume).

Very interesting is the **figure wearing a mural crown**, which marks her as the personification of a city, while the *wings suggest* victory (Niké). Hence the suggestion has *been made that* Nicopolis is intended, the city founded by

Augustus after the victory of Actium. More probably the figure personifies Rome herself; she was often worshipped as Protectress of the world. Above her head the row of deities represents the seven days of the week—Saturn (Saturday), the sun (Sunday), the moon (Monday), Mars (Tuesday, French *Mardi*), Mercury (Wednesday, French *Mercredi*), Jupiter (Thursday, Italian, *Giovedi*), and Venus (Friday, French, *Vendredi*). Mars occupies the middle place, and dominates the composition. Above the head of the Deified City are busts of the two "twin-brethren Castor and Pollux, tutelary gods of Rome. In her left hand she has a cornucopia, with busts of Apollo and Diana (or, according to others, Antoninus Pius and Faustina). This interesting piece was found near Macon in 1764, together with several silver figures now beside it" (*Gazette Archéologique*, 1877, p. 82; 1879, p. 1).

[With this silver statuette of a city we may compare four others, which may be seen in the room of Christian antiquities (North Gallery) They were found with the famous Bridal Casket of Projecta and other treasures on the Esquiline Hill at Rome, and belong to the fourth or fifth century A.D. The style of art is poor, but they are interesting as showing us personifications of cities in art:—

"Beneath the feet of each statue is a leaf; and fitting into the back of each is a square socket, adapted to receiving the head of a pole, which was held in place by a silver pin attached to a chain. Probably the statuettes formed the decoration of the poles of a litter, or the cross pieces of a chair. Of these figures one is a copy of the statue of Eutychides and stands for Antioch. A second figure seated wearing helmet, and holding sceptre and round shield, is evidently the deified Roman who is familiar to us from coins and reliefs. A third figure is helmeted like Roma, but there is more profusion of ornament in her attire, and she holds patera and cornucopiæ. She is evidently the new Rome, Constantinopolis, who appears helmeted on coins of her founder, Constantine. The fourth figure wears, like Antioch, a turreted crown; she holds in each hand ears of corn, and her feet rest on the prow of a ship. She must be the fourth great city of the Roman world, Alexandria. To her, ears of corn and prow would be alike appropriate as a great mercantile city and the capital of a region of corn" (P. Gardner in *J.H.S.* ix. 77).]

A **silver disk**, with a pretty representation of **Aphroditè**, comes from Tarentum, and narrowly escaped going the way of so many other antiques in the precious metals—namely, into the melting-pot. It was bought by a travelling jeweller:—

On one of his customary visits to Tarentum he was invited by a silversmith to take some refreshment, and on entering a room behind the shop he observed this bas-relief placed against the wall, and two small lamps burning before it. Being at the very first sight sensible of its antiquity, he carefully asked the silversmith's wife, who was present, where it was found. Her answer was to this effect. Some excavators brought to their shop for sale a quantity of silver, which they had found in digging among the ruins of the old city. On breaking up the mass, her husband discovered these figures within it, and was about to put them into the crucible to melt them, when she snatched the rare relic from her husband, exclaiming with religious horror, "Would you melt the Madonna?"

Thus was our silver Aphroditè saved by the comprehensive charity of a woman's religion! The disk, which, when found, had been soldered into a silver bowl, was no doubt originally a mirror-case. The subject is Aphroditè at her toilet; the accessories, suggestive of various divinities, are characteristic of the pantheistic spirit of the Græco-Roman times (*Archæologia*, xxxiv. 265).

The figure of a **boy playing with a goose** was found near Alexandria, together with coins which prove it to have been buried about 240 B.C. The subject is one of the most common in ancient *genre*. The goose, it should be remembered, had not then acquired its present character. It was thought to be a valiant bird, and its domesticated habits made it the very model for a good housewife. Geese were constant inmates of the house, and, from the time of Penelope downwards, were the much-loved companions of the mistress and her children. The little figure before us is possibly an imitation of a work by the sculptor Boethus, of which we know from Pliny (xxxiv. 84), and which seems to have set the fashion for similar productions in variously modified types (E. A. Gardner in *J.H.S.* vi. 1).

The statuette of Serapis (from the Payne Knight collection) was the only object of silver found with the Paramythia Bronzes (Ch. XXI.). It is Hellenistic work; the dignified posture of repose is enhanced by the long hair and beard.

At the side of this case are three silver-gilt votive tablets, addressed to Jupiter of Dolichè. Two of the tablets have small shrines. These votive-tablets (found at Heddernheim, near Frankfort) "are the only objects, hitherto discovered, which seem to offer any analogy to the silver shrines of Diana, made by Demetrius and the Ephesian silversmiths" (*Guide to the Department*).

BEQUEST OF SIR A. W. FRANKS

In three glass cases within the room and in the corridor is arranged a portion of the *Bequest of Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B.* :—

This distinguished antiquary (born 1826, died 1897) was connected with the British Museum for forty-five years (1851-96), for thirty of which he was Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities. He had, says one who knew him well, "but one idea, the progress and enrichment of the collections under his charge. To this object he devoted his whole time and energies, and his ample means." He was an indefatigable collector, and everything he collected was intended for the Museum. In his will we read :—

> "I bequeath to the Trustees of the British Museum all collections lent by me on loan to the said museum, or to any other museum or exhibition ; my collection of finger-rings and personal ornaments of olden times ; and any of the curiosities or works of art in my possession at the time of my death, which the said Trustees may please to select. . . . I also bequeath to the said Trustees my collection of book-plates (*ex libris*), trade cards, and tickets, together with my catalogues of the same."

He also bequeathed any of his books which were not already in the Museum. The collections on loan at the testator's death include drinking-vessels ; a large collection of Japanese *netsuké*, those fascinating little carvings which represent in miniature the folklore, the daily life, and mythology of Japan ; a collection of Japanese sword-guards ; and a collection of Continental porcelain. These bequests are the more munificent, for the testator had already in his lifetime been a frequent and generous donor to the Museum. Between the years 1855 and 1896 he had presented an extensive collection of Chinese and Japanese pottery and porcelain ; a selected collection of English wares ; a choice series of Italian majolica ; specimens of French, Spanish, and Persian faience ; additions to the Museum collections of glass ; mediæval and other antiquities, including a valuable casket carved in whalebone, with Anglo-Saxon runes ; collections of antiquities from the lake dwellings of Switzerland and France ; collections illustrating religions of the East ; a large collection of Anglo-Saxon coins ; a book of prayers, formerly belonging to Queen Elizabeth, bound in enamelled gold ; and a Roman bronze figure of Hercules found in Cumberland. Indeed, it may be said of Sir Wollaston Franks, of the British Museum, as it is written of Wren at St. Paul's, *si monumentum requiris circumspice.*

DRINKING-VESSELS

The collections bequeathed by Franks with which we are here concerned are three:—(1) Drinking-vessels; (2) the Oxus Treasure; (3) Finger-rings and Jewellery. The drinking-vessels are arranged in three cases, between the windows of the Room of Gold Ornaments; the other collections in the corridor. The first case assigned to drinking-vessels contains principally vessels of pottery in silver mountings; the most remarkable are a fine jug of Rhodian faience and a stoneware jug, with ornament in relief, both in English mounts of the time of Elizabeth.

The second case contains on the three upper shelves objects of ancient date. They include a curious set of silver vessels, found near Van, in Armenia; a silver dish from Central Asia, with a figure of the Sassanian king, Sapor II.; a vase and dish, from Persia; a gold head, jug, bowls, etc., found in the river Oxus; a silver bowl found in Lancashire, full of coins of Canute. There are also a gold vessel from Tarsus, and the ornaments found with it, and ornaments in precious stones. The treasure of Carthage, silver bowls, spoons, etc., found in the Hill of St. Louis, at Carthage. In the lower part, various Oriental vessels.

In the third case there are drinking-vessels, chiefly of Gothic and Renaissance period. Five mazer bowls, four of them English, including the one given by Robert Pechum to the refectory at Rochester (1532); the fifth is that of Louis de Male, the last Count of Flanders, whose devices and arms are upon the foot; it has its ancient leather case; mounted vessels of Chinese porcelain; a Venetian glass jug in English mounts, temp. Edward VI.; an Arab crystal cup of the thirteenth century in Flemish mount of the fourteenth; the Goodricke Cup, and the Aston Tankard, the former of which was, like the latter, originally formed of an ostrich egg; a globe cup, dated 1569, with a map of the world, after Oronce Finé; and a small tankard of clear glass, with the arms of the great Lord Burleigh in enamel.

THE OXUS TREASURE

The gold and jewellery exhibited under this head illus*rate* **Bactrian art** from the time of Alexander the Great.

Bactria, an ancient kingdom of Central Asia, lying to the south of the river Oxus, was subdued by that conqueror and in the following century was the scene of an independent kingdom under a dynasty of Græco-Bactrian kings, some of whose coins we have already seen (pp. 530, 536). These specimens of earlier Bactrian art were for the most part discovered in 1877. In that year a great treasure of coins and of gold and silver objects was found in the sand of the river bank of the Amon-Daria (the Oxus), not far from the town of Iakt-i-Kouvate. The treasure had been hidden either in the sand or in chests which had crumbled to dust. The coins belonged mostly to the fourth and partly to the beginning of the second century. The treasure, it would seem, had been amassed for a great number of years, and ultimately buried by its owner or by some one who had obtained possession of it. The hypothesis of theft or seizure in conquest is very probable, for many of the objects were found broken in a barbarous way in order to facilitate transport. The treasure, on being unearthed from the sandy bed where it had lain for so many centuries, was dispersed, as was feared, for ever. But Sir Wollaston Franks was on the alert. He obtained his collection through Indian dealers, and augmented it by the purchase of the late Sir A. Cunningham's treasures. The collection is of great antiquarian interest, both for its resemblance to objects found in Southern Russia and for the place where the treasure was discovered—the most eastern point at which antiquities of a Scythian character have yet been exhumed. Particularly striking is a grand quadrangular plaque of gold on which is figured a bearded man holding five switches in his hand. This warrior is presumably an Asiatic Scythian (see *Antiquités de la Russie Meridionale*, by Kondaff, Tolstoi, and Reinach, 1891, p. 284).

"As works of art the most important (objects in the Treasure of the Oxus) are:—a large gold armlet with two gryphons in full relief, their wings once set with pastes or stones; the remains of a dagger-sheath with hunting scenes in low relief in Persepolitan style; two disks, one in gold, the other in silver, with designs of a similar character; a gold jug, the handle terminating in a lion's head; and a model of a king in his chariot, in gold. The principal piece of historical interest is the gold signet of a Persian king of about 350 B.C., whose name has been read as Phahaspes" (*British Museum Return, 1898, p. 71*).

FINGER-RINGS

Sir Wollaston Franks's collection of the finger-rings of all nations comprised 3000 specimens, of which about half the number are exhibited. There is another fine collection, formed by Edmund Waterton, in the South Kensington Museum. The Franks collection begins (at the far end of the corridor) with **ancient Egyptian rings**, arranged chronologically, from the twelfth dynasty (2500 B.C.) to Roman times. There is a further collection in the Fourth Egyptian Room (Table-case I). Egyptian women wore many rings, sometimes two or three on the same finger. The left hand was the more favoured in this respect, and its third finger, as with us, was considered the ring finger *par excellence* (the ancient Britons preferred the middle finger). The Egyptians wore rings also on the thumb, as may be seen on the hands of a wooden figure of a woman on the lid of a mummy-case in the Museum. The finest Egyptian rings are of pure gold, and are engraved with figures or inscriptions. Rings worn in Egypt by the poorer classes were made of less costly materials, such as silver, bronze, glass, or pottery coloured with a brilliant blue or green. Other examples have been found made of ivory, amber, and hard stones, such as carnelian.

Next come Greek and Roman rings found in Egypt, and **Greek rings**. Among the latter are several of the finest workmanship, such as we have already examined (p. 590). Note also a row of Greek sepulchral rings. With that ritual economy to which allusion has already been made, these rings are of very thin material.

Among the **Roman rings** several very heavy ones will be noticed. "These are of great weight, nearly two ounces in one instance, and though they are set with a stone, this is innocent of engraving, as it might then be useful as a seal, and tend to diminish the owner's pleasure in a costly and entirely useless ornament." One can well believe what Martial says, that these rings, being worn on the upper joint of the finger, were apt to slip into the dish when the elegant wearers were at meals, and one can understand the point of his gibe that the fops should try the leg instead of the finger:—

> In a whole pound of gold the gem why fix,
> *And bury* thus the unlucky sardonyx?

Though such a ring beseemed your shanks of late,
One's fingers sure require a different weight.
(xi. 47, King's translation.)

In the next compartment are **early Christian** rings. In the third and fourth centuries Roman rings were made engraved with Christian symbols—the monogram of Christ, for instance, or a dove with an olive wreath. Roman objects with any Christian device have been very rarely found in Britain. Of special interest is the **ring of Ethelswith,** sister of Alfred the Great, and Queen of Mercia (855-899). She married Burhed, King of Mercia, in 855. This ring is of gold, weighing 312 grains. In the centre of the bezel is a circular medallion with the Agnus Dei; in the half-circle on each side are conventional animals or monsters. Inside is an inscription, "Eathelsvith Regina." The edges of the ring show signs of wear, but the inscription does not. The suggestion is that the Queen had consecrated the ring at some shrine, and that the priests then inscribed the ring as a record of her gift. The ring was ploughed up in Yorkshire, between Aberford and Sherburn, in the West Riding, and the finder is said to have attached it to the collar of his dog as an ornament (A. W. Franks in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser. vi. 305). It is remarkable that a gold ring of the Queen's father, Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, should also be in the Museum (see p. 666).

On another interesting ring, of the same period, is engraved a cross. From its unusual size, and the prominent position of the cross, it is supposed that the ring belonged to some high ecclesiastic. It was found by a boy in a field on the east bank of the Trent, in North Lincolnshire (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser. iv. 97). Of the same period is a gold finger-ring consisting of a stout band with beaded border; the inscription on the outside has not been interpreted. Another gold ring (found in Garrick Street, London) expands in front to form a bezel, which has in the centre a circle containing a quatrefoil of wire loops, filled in with small rosettes.

The **Byzantine rings** of the eleventh century, in gold and niello, are interesting. A figure of our Lord uniting a bride and bridegroom is a favourite device on wedding rings. Here also are some Gnostic rings. The serpent-headed man

engraved on one of these is one of the characteristic devices of this school of mystics.

Among the ecclesiastical rings, notice a **charm ring** for invisibility. The earliest of all legends about finger-rings—the tale of Gyges, the Lydian—tells of the power of a ring in this respect. Every one remembers, in Plato's version of the legend, how Gyges, a shepherd, had taken a gold ring off the skeleton of a giant:—

"Now the shepherds met together, according to custom, that they might send their monthly report concerning the flock to the king; and into their assembly he came, having the ring on his finger, and as he was sitting among them he chanced to turn the collet of the ring towards the inner side of the hand, when instantly he became invisible, and the others began to speak of him as if he were no longer there. He was astonished at this, and again touching the ring, he turned the collet outwards, and reappeared; thereupon he made trials of the ring, and always with the same result; when he turned the collet inwards he became invisible, when outwards, he reappeared. Perceiving this, he immediately contrived to be chosen messenger to the court, where he no sooner arrived than he seduced the queen, and with her help conspired against the king and slew him, and took the kingdom" (*Rep.* ii. 359, Jowett's translation).

The notion of invisibility attached to a ring was suggested, perhaps, by the way in which scarabs were set in a revolving swivel; turn it inwards, and the device on the signet—the proof of a man's identity—disappears. For many centuries, and under all forms of faith, the belief in this supernatural agency of rings survived. In Christian times rings to procure invisibility had to be engraved with the quotation from Luke iv. 30, *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat* ("but He passing through the midst of them went His way").

Another compartment of the Franks collection contains gold **rings with figures of patron saints.** To these, high protective powers were ascribed. Among them is a remarkable gold ring found in Coventry Park in 1802 by a man when digging up potatoes:—

"The centre device represents our Saviour rising from the sepulchre, and in the background are shown the hammer, ladder, sponge, and other emblems of His passion. On the left is figured the wound of *the side,* with the following legend: 'The well of everlasting lyffe.' *In the next* compartment two smaller wounds with the words 'The

well of comfort,' 'The well of grace'; and afterwards, two other wounds, with 'The well of pitty,' 'The well of merci.' On the inside of the ring is an inscription which is an amulet: 'The five wounds of God are my medicine.' A will of 1487 of Sir E. Shaw, goldsmith and alderman of London, directs similar devices and inscriptions to be made on sixteen rings 'of fyne gold, to be graven with the well of pitie, the well of mercie, and the well of everlasting life'" (*Archæologia*, xviii. 306).

Another ring of great rarity, of the fourteenth century, is of gold set with a green jasper, on which is engraved in intaglio a head in a hood. On the gold setting is an inscription, "S. Cristine Almarici." "It had long been supposed that the art of gem-engraving had been lost in the west of Europe, at the fall of the Roman Empire, the few specimens subsequent to that period which had been noticed being evidently of Byzantine origin. The remarkable crystal, however, engraved for Lothaire, King of France, and now in the British Museum, and also several other Carlovingian intaglios in that material, prove that this art was practised in the ninth and tenth centuries" (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., i. 51). Of the twelfth or thirteenth century is a cameo, now in the Museum, representing our Lord in the Garden.

Among the **magical rings**, several are set with a toad-stone, a gem supposed to be of rare virtue, now identified by science as the palatal tooth of a fossil ray. Another variety is made of ass's hoof.

The **Foreign ornamental rings** include a good collection of rings with precious stones of varied colours, set as **giardinetti** or nosegays (eighteenth century).

The **English signets** (fifteenth to seventeenth century) include several with merchants' marks. Rings of this kind with a badge or trade-mark were not only much used as seals, but the ring itself was often sent by a trusty bearer as the proof of the genuineness of a bill of demand—a revival of the most ancient use of signets (see p. 632). At the same period, private gentlemen used rings with their initials or coats-of-arms or crests cut on the bezel. Some of them are very massive. One thinks of Falstaff's boast that in his youth he was slender enough to "creep into any alderman's thumb-ring." That aldermen wore other rings also, we know from *Romeo and Juliet*:—

O, then, I see Queen Mab hath been with you.
She is the fairies' midwife, and she comes
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the forefinger of an alderman.

We may next notice an interesting collection of **Posy rings**, so called from the "poesy" or rhyme engraved on them. 'Twas such a ring that Nerissa gave to Gratiano in *The Merchant of Venice*:—

A hoop of gold, a paltry ring
That she did give me, whose posy was
For all the world like cutler's poetry
Upon a knife, "Love me, and leave me not."

Among the posies on the rings before us are "A virtuous wife preserveth life," "Hearts united live contented," "Thee and I will lovers die," "If love abide, God will provide."

The **decade** rings form another interesting class; they were common in the fifteenth century. They are so called from having ten knobs along the hoop of the ring, and were used, after the manner of rosaries, to count nine aves and one paternoster. In some cases there are only nine knobs, the bezel of the ring—in the shape of a cross or a skull—being counted in, like the "gaude" in a rosary.

Also of the fifteenth century are some Italian rings with **niello** work:—

"Niello is a term used to express a composition of silver, lead, copper, sulphur, and borax. At a certain degree of heat it fuses, and when allowed to cool becomes hard. The process by which this composition is made to impart the shadows to engravings on metal is called *lavoro di niello*, and derives its name from the black colour which the mixture assumes when melted. The application of this alloy to engravings on silver gives them the appearance of exquisite pen-and-ink drawings on a light background. This result is obtained by carefully washing and cleaning the niello until it is brought to grains like the finest millet seed, when it is spread over the metal surface, which is then heated until the grains are fused. The plate is then taken out of the furnace, and when cold it is cleaned and polished; the only portion of the niello which is allowed to remain is that embedded in the engraved design and in the lines hatched to form the background" (E. Waterton in *Arch. Journal*, xix. 323).

The art of niello work was known in Roman times. An early specimen may be seen in the statuette of a Roman general in the Anglo-Roman collection (p. 727). The art was

constantly practised in Europe till the end of the sixteenth century, and is still practised in Russia and India. Of Saxon workmanship are the rings of King Ethelwulf and Queen Ethelswith (pp. 603, 666). In the early Middle Ages, Byzantium was a centre of the art. We have already seen some niello Byzantine rings. It was, however, in Italy that niello reached its highest perfection, especially at the hands of Tommaso, commonly called Maso, di Finiguerra.

Other classes of rings in the same compartment are those set with diamonds for writing on glass; sundial rings, and rings of serjeants-at-law. It was the custom for serjeants, on their appointment, to give gold rings with mottoes to their colleagues.

The **Stuart rings** form an interesting class. Charles I. is represented by about half-a-dozen nearly contemporary portraits set in rings. An inscription is, "Preparèd be to follow me." The Jacobites executed in 1746 are recorded on a minutely-inscribed ring of which, by a strange coincidence, there was an exact duplicate already in the Museum. Another ring has the cypher of the Old Chevalier and the Papal Arms inside.

A doleful ornament was the **mourning ring**, much in favour in this country in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Some are enamelled with memorial vases; others with an eye.

The last compartment contains Javanese and Oriental rings and Ashanti rings. A more interesting class is that of **Papal investiture rings**, the episcopal ring solemnly conferred upon the newly-made bishop together with his crozier. In the time of Innocent III. (1194) this was ordered to be of pure gold mounted with a stone that was not engraved; but this rule was not strictly kept. In many cases an antique gem was mounted in the bishop's ring, an inscription being sometimes added to Christianise the pagan device. Owing to the custom of burying the episcopal ring in the bishop's coffin many fine examples still exist. The ring was worn over the bishop's gloves, usually on the forefinger of the right hand; hence the large size of the hoop.

Some **Jewish betrothal rings** are also interesting. "Fine examples of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries exist. In the place of the bezel is a model, minutely worked in gold, of *a building with* high-gabled roofs, and frequently movable

weathercocks on the apex. This is a conventional representation of the temple at Jerusalem." On one of our rings is a representation of the seven-branched candlestick.

JEWELLERY

The Franks Bequest of personal ornaments includes examples of the jewellery of nearly all ages and countries, and serves as a supplement to the historical collection already described. On one side of the corridor are cases containing Greek, Græco-Roman, Roman, and **Byzantine** specimens. "The transfer of the seat of empire to Byzantium marked," says Castellani, "a new phase in the history of jewellery. It became quickly grafted on the Arab art, and by means of this new element acquired quite a different style from that which it had derived from the artists of antiquity. Enamels, precious stones, pearls, and coarse chasings, all mounted together with an exuberance of barbaric luxury, constitute the characteristic traits of that Byzantine school which, whilst it preserved in the general disposition of its ornamentation the square forms of Greek art, served so well for the transition between the ancient and modern art at the period of the Renaissance" (*Archæological Journal*, 1861, p. 365).

"Among the **Classical** jewellery may be mentioned two shoulder ornaments of gold from the Fould collection, with Etruscan designs in granular work; a large series of jewellery, ear-rings, etc., from Crete; two small gold bells from the treasure of Tarsus in Cilicia, with the labours of Hercules; and a number of articles of Roman date found in Egypt" (*Brit. Mus. Report*, 1898, p. 72).

Of **Merovingian** and **Anglo-Saxon** jewellery "the characteristics are thin plates of gold, decorated with thin slabs of garnet, set in walls of gold, soldered vertically like the lines of Cloisonné enamel, with the addition of very decorative details of filigree work, beading, and twisted gold."

On the other side of the corridor is a collection of **English and foreign jewellery** of later centuries. We may call special attention to some enamelled portraits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a curious shell-portrait of William III. and *Mary in a locket*. In the next compartment are two enormous *Hungarian brooches*; some silver and enamelled book-covers;

and some Italian translucent enamels. The third compartment contains some beautiful examples of the best Italian work. Notice especially a very fine belt with enamelled rosettes, Venetian work of the fifteenth century; also some fine samples of Italian niello in crucifixes and reliquaries.

☞ *We now re-enter the Room of Gold Ornaments in order to inspect the collection of engraved gems, etc., which forms the subject of the next chapter.*

CHAPTER XXVI

ENGRAVED GEMS

In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria si quem
Numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.

WHAT Virgil says of the humbler themes of the poet is true also of the little works of art which we have next to examine (in the case opposite the door). Engraved gems are for the most part small in scale; the work upon them is minute; it is not always easily seen; its motives are slight. But when the conditions are propitious and the engraver is well inspired, a gem is among the most precious of artistic treasures.

The conditions must be favourable; that is to say, the **stones** on which the artist works must be in themselves beautiful and suitable. This is the first thing that gives value to an engraved gem. If the reader will take a general glance at the gems exhibited in the cases opposite the door, he will at once be struck by the beauty of the translucent stones. These gems are **intaglios**—so called from the Italian *intagliare*, "to cut in"—in which the design is sunk beneath the surface; from them is obtained an impression. They are in fact seals, and beside each intaglio is exhibited a plaster-cast, showing the design as it appears in relief. For intaglios stones of a single colour are generally chosen, such as the amethyst, hyacinth, beryl, and sard. Of these stones none is more beautiful for the purpose of the engraved gem than the beryl and the sard.[1] Antique

[1] "It is worth noticing that some stones, such as the amethyst and the garnet, which often look poor and tawdry when faceted, have great decorative beauty when cut in the older fashion. The modern system is applied with great want of taste on the part of jewellers to many stones, which are quite spoilt by it. In Oriental countries the old method of shaping gems still survives, and modern Indian jewellery of very great beauty and decorative effect is often made with gems which, in the hands of a European jeweller, would be almost valueless" (Middleton's *Ancient Gems, p. 39*).

beryls are very pure and lustrous, and the sard—in its various colours—brilliantly transparent. How beautiful, for instance, is the blue beryl, containing an intaglio of Hercules (Compartment 44, Row *e*), and the blood-red sard in 45 *c*![1] The delight of the connoisseur in such beautiful stones is expressed in the verses which Mæcenas wrote upon the departure of Horace. Not even the sight of his darling jewels could console him :—

> Whilst I thine absence, O my life! deplore,
> Emeralds and lustrous beryls charm no more;
> No more, my Flaccus, can the brilliant white
> Of orient pearls, as erst, my soul delight;
> Nor can my favourite rings my grief beguile,
> Nor jaspers polished by the Thyrian file.

In the process of **intaglio-making** the polisher first gives the stone the desired form, and the engraver then works at it. The tools used for making the designs were of three kinds—the drill, the wheel, and the diamond-point. The drill was worked by means of a bow; the bow-string was wound round the stick of the drill, which was made to revolve by moving the bow rapidly backwards and forwards. Among the gems here collected is one which shows us this operation (11 *a*, *B.M.C.*[2] 305). The point of the drill was of metal, which was smeared with emery powder mixed with oil. By this means the general blocking out of the figure was done, and sometimes the design never went any farther. Thus the three figures rudely blocked out on a red jasper (12 *e*, *B.M.C.* 447) were obviously done with the drill. Pliny describes the process: "These minute splinters (of emery or crushed diamond) gem-engravers greatly value, and mount them on an iron tool, there being nothing so hard that they will not hollow

[1] The numerals followed by letters refer to the places at present occupied by the gems; thus 11 *a* means Compartment 11, Row *a*.

[2] *B.M.C.* = *British Museum Catalogue.* The references are to the numbers as given in the *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (1888); this contains nine plates with phototype illustrations of many of the gems. The best English books on antique gems are J. H. Middleton's *Ancient Gems* (Cambridge University Press), and the various works of C. W. King. These latter are, however, not easily procurable, with the exception of his *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 2nd edition (George Bell). On *Cameos*, both ancient and modern, there is an excellent monograph by Mr. Cyril Davenport in the "Portfolio" series (5s.); this contains capital illustrations of some of the finest specimens in the Museum.

them out with facility." The drill was sometimes tubular, with emery powder set along its working edge. It is curious to reflect that the same invention which, on a minute scale, served to carve these gems has, in our own day, been re-invented to drive great tunnels through the Alps. In one of the earliest Greek gems in our collection (8 *e*, *B.M.C.* 106), a sard with a design of heraldic lions, the use of the solid drill and of the tubular respectively may clearly be distinguished. The eyes of the lions and the terminations of the pillar between them were sunk with a minute tubular drill. The rest of the design was executed with the solid drill and the wheel. This wheel was "a minute disc of bronze which was set on a long, slender shaft of wood or metal and worked with a bow and tube like the drill, emery and oil being applied to it in the same way. The wheel cut at right angles to the shaft, not in the same direction as the drill did" (Middleton). I hope it will not set the reader's teeth on edge to remind him that the wheel and the drill are among the weapons of the modern dentist. But the most artistic work in gem-engraving was done with the diamond-point. The diamond-point of early days was, however, corundum, still the favourite agent of some Eastern lapidaries. It consisted of a natural crystal, set in an iron handle; it was held in the hand like a pencil, or the "dry-point" of an etcher. In the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, written 600 years before Christ, the process is distinctly referred to. "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond; it is graven upon the table of their heart." The use of the diamond-point can be clearly traced in one of the most graceful gems in the British Museum (40 *e*, *B.M.C.* 562), which has the figure of a girl, dressed in a long chiton, standing and holding a hydria. "The lines of the hair, the long straight folds of the drapery, and even the pitcher in her hand, are all executed with the point, thus giving a sort of sketchy look to this very beautiful design, which probably dates from the time of Phidias." Another very beautiful gem illustrates the use of the diamond-point. This is a scarab of green jasper (12 *g*, *B.M.C.* 464), with a head of Zeus of most noble style, within a cable border. "The delicate lines cut with the diamond-point are specially visible in the working of the hair and beard of this head" (Middleton). When the design on a gem had thus been cut, *the file was used* for smoothing level surfaces, and lastly the

internal sunk part was laboriously polished. The engraver took the greatest pains to polish all the cavities, for on this depends much of the beauty of the intaglio itself, as well as the sharpness of the impression in relief obtained from it. A poet of our day has prettily versified the process of making a signet ring:—

> Day after day an ancient goldsmith's skill
> Guided the copper graver, tempered hard
> By some lost secret, while he shaped the sard
> Slowly to beauty, and his tiny drill,
> Edged with corundum, ground its way, until
> The gem lay perfect for the ring to guard.
> Then, seeing the stone complete to his desire,
> With mystic imagery carven thus,
> And dark Egyptian symbols fabulous,
> He drew through it the delicate golden wire,
> And bent the fastening; and the Etruscan sun
> Sank over Ilva, and the work was done.
> (J. W. Mackail in *Alma Mater's Mirror*.)

Of the **artistic value of the engravings** thus made upon gems we shall learn something when we proceed to examine our collection more in detail. Of fine antique gems in general it may be said that they are among the most beautiful works of art in the world. They combine, as nothing else does, exquisiteness of design with the greatest beauty of material. "The more brilliant varieties of sard glow with a sort of internal lustre when held up to the light [an effect produced by the arrangement of the gems before us], and the device engraved upon them comes out at once soft in effect, and clear in outline, with a sort of beauty which can hardly be rivalled in any other branch of art" (Middleton). The engraved gems are very small, and they require, we may add, minute observation for their beauty and interest to be fully appreciated. Mr. Pater has compared them with minor poetry, and we shall often be reminded by the gems of the Greek Anthology. "With perfect grace, the minute intaglio shows also the faculty of structure, the logic of poetry." To grace, the best Greek gem-engravers added dignity. One of the secrets of fine art, to which we have already referred in noticing some of the smaller bronzes (p. 443), is revealed again and yet more strikingly by the best Greek gems; grandeur of effect does not necessarily depend on greatness of size. There are minute

gems in this collection—we shall call attention to some of them presently—which have all the dignity of a large bust in bronze or a marble bas-relief. This effect is produced in the best specimens by the perfect fitness of the design to the artistic method. The treatment is simple; the style is sculpturesque. Another point may be noticed as adding to the artistic value of engraved gems. Marble stains; bronze corrodes; clay breaks; but precious stones endure. "There are few things made by mankind which will retain their original surface, colour, and beauty longer than a cut or engraved gem. Time alone affects them but little, if at all; a thousand years more or less leave no trace" (Davenport).

The **incidental interest** of engraved gems is hardly inferior to their intrinsic beauty as works of art. Sometimes, as in the case of portrait gems, the interest is historical. Another source of special interest in the case of the later Greek and Græco-Roman gems is that the design often represents some important work of sculpture. Thus a famous bronze statue of Apollo with a deer by Canachus at Branchidæ appears to be copied on a gem here (13 *c*, *B.M.C.* 720). Another gem (13 *c*, *B.M.C.* 722) has a representation of the Apollo Sauroctonus of Praxiteles. Again, on a red jasper, there is a representation of Ares and Aphroditè, with a winged Eros (13 *e*, *B.M.C.* 790). This is founded on a Greek design of which more than one Roman copy in marble exists, and which is supposed by some to have been the motive of the group to which the Venus of Milo belonged. Another gem here (39 *e*, see below) may reproduce more or less accurately the Athena Parthenos of Phidias. On a rock crystal (40 *e*, *B.M.C.* 611) is a representation of a statue of Poseidon. In other cases the motive may have been pictorial; amongst our gems (p. 648) is a design which appears to have been taken from a picture by Zeuxis. To the archæologist, to the mythologist, and to the student of religious ideas, engraved gems afford a rich field of interest. It is hardly an exaggeration to say with an enthusiastic student of this branch of art that "in the gems that have been worn by any civilised people, we possess an epitome of that people's arts, their religion, and their civilisation in a form at once the most portable, the most indestructible, *and the most* genuine." "If," says another authority, "we *could but assemble* in one collection the still extant gem-

signets of the different ages and families of man from the days of Urukh to those of the latest Sassanian kings, we should have a more complete representation of the objects that stirred the minds and ruled the hearts of men through all those many ages and changes of circumstance, than would be afforded by any other single form of their arts—indeed, we may perhaps with justice say than by all the other forms of those that remain to us combined" (Story Maskelyne's *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, 1870, p. xxiv.).

It is not surprising that works of so much beauty and interest as gems should have become favourite objects with **collectors** and connoisseurs. The Greeks appreciated them highly; but it was among the Romans of the Imperial period that the collection of them first became a passion. The taste was created, Pliny tells us, by the collection of Greek gems which had belonged to Mithradates, and which Pompey conveyed among his spoils to Rome. The emperors seem to have had special curators of their gem cabinets. These must have been of great value, for we read of Marcus Aurelius that he sold by public auction the collection formed by Hadrian, together with other works of art, to pay the expenses of the war with the Marcomanni. In the revival of taste in the Middle Ages the Roman cardinals took the place of Roman emperors as collectors of gems. There is a passage in Benvenuto Cellini's Autobiography (i. 27), which gives us an interesting glimpse of the trade in antiquities in those days. Cellini was fond of shooting in the Campagna:—

> The sport improved his health and "was also the cause," he says, "of my making acquaintance with certain hunters after curiosities, who followed in the track of those Lombard peasants who used to come to Rome to till the vineyards. While digging the ground they frequently turned up antique medals, agates, chrysoprases, carnelians, and cameos. The peasants used to sell things of this sort to the traders for a mere trifle; and I very often, when I met them, paid the latter several times as many golden crowns as they had given guilders for some object. Independently of the profit I made by this traffic, which was at least tenfold, it brought me into agreeable relations with nearly all the cardinals of Rome." Cellini goes on to describe some of the gems which he thus bought and sold: among others one "of such beauty and skill that our great Michael Angelo protested he had never seen anything so wonderful."

It was from the Roman collectors and dealers that the wealthy English *connoisseurs* acquired their cabinets. One of the

earliest and most celebrated was that of the famous Earl of Arundel who "during the troubled times of Charles the First found solace for the abridgement of his dignities in collecting works of art and monuments of antiquity." His collection of gems afterwards passed into that formed by the third Duke of Marlborough (see below, p. 646). The eighteenth century witnessed an extraordinary *furore* among the wealthy dilettanti for antique gems. Even our bucolic king, George III. ("a man of more liking for cows than for camei"), was caught by the fever.

Supply, as ever, kept pace with demand, and **forgery**, which even in the days of ancient Rome was not unknown, became rampant.[1] There are no lost secrets in the arts of gem-cutting. The *cinque-cento* engravers and many of the moderns used the same instruments with the same skill as the ancients, and the counterfeiting of antique gems has been, and is, a lucrative and busy trade. Baron Stosch, who sold an enormous cabinet to Frederick of Prussia, had a notoriously light conscience in the matter; but the most audacious fabrication in the history of antique art is the collection of 3000 "antique" gems (now dispersed over Europe), which was made by Roman engravers at the beginning of the nineteenth century for Prince Poniatowsky. Count Michael Tyszkiewicz, in his *Memories of an Old Collector*, describes how he, with the help of his friend Alessandro Castellani (then comparatively a novice), set to work in the 'sixties of the last century to form a cabinet of gems. "In fifteen months," he said, "I had expended £5000 in gems, two-thirds of them at least being modern —a fact we were both far from guessing. But towards the end of this time my eyes became a little sharper in detecting the good from the bad. I sold the whole collection to Castellani

[1] Pliny says (*N.H.* xxxvii. 12) that in his hands "are certain books wherein is deciphered how to sophisticate transparent gems, and, to say the truth, there is not any fraud or deceit in the world which turneth to greater profit than this." As one instance of many to illustrate the tricks of the trade, I quote the following passage from King's *Antique Gems and Rings* (i. 21):—"An abraded and scratched surface must not be received as an unquestionable criterion of antiquity, for Italian ingenuity has long ago discovered that a handful of new-made gems crammed down the throat of a turkey will, in a few days, from the trituration of the gizzard, assume a roughness of surface, apparently due to the action of many centuries." If one of those turkeys had been picked up, like the goose in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's story of *The Blue Carbuncle*, even Sherlock Holmes might have been at fault.

for the fourth part of what it cost me. He weeded out the palpably false gems, left the doubtful ones (a large number), added some that he had bought at a later date, and ended by selling them all to the British Museum." Another celebrated collector was taken in, but he never admitted the fact. This was Payne Knight. He was talking to Pistrucci, the well-known engraver, to whom we owe the design of George and the Dragon on our sovereigns. Payne Knight handed to Pistrucci a gem. It was a cameo of Flora (now in the British Museum). "This," he said, "is the finest Greek cameo in existence." Pistrucci at once recognised it as a work he had executed for Bonelli, a travelling gem-dealer. Bonelli had paid him £5 for it, and sold it to Payne Knight as an antique for £500.[1] Many tests have been laid down for detecting forgeries, but none is certain. "All rules," says Middleton, "are quite useless for distinguishing between ancient and modern gems when the work of a clever forger is in question—a man who has carefully studied and copied the characteristics of genuine antique gems. The fact is that in no other class of art is it so difficult to distinguish the genuine from the false; partly because age makes no alteration, gives no patina to a hard polished gem; and secondly, because, owing to the hardness of the material and the laborious method of working it, there is necessarily something mechanical in the process of engraving a gem, which diminishes the prominence of the artist's personal peculiarities and touch." An intuitive *flair*, and careful study of gems whose pedigree places them beyond suspicion, may help towards the distinction of old gems from new; but, as we shall see, experts of equal authority sometimes differ about the same gem.

The collection of antique gems in our Museum—which has been enriched from various private cabinets[2] and from excavations—is not the largest, but, owing to its representative character, is, on the whole, the finest in the world.

The specimens thus collected are so numerous (over 3000), the points of interest raised by many of them are so various, that we cannot attempt to notice them in detail. The object

[1] The story is told at length in Pistrucci's autobiography, which is published in an appendix to Billing's *Science of Gems*.

[2] The following are the principal collections of gems acquired: the Hamilton (1772), Cracherode (1799), Townley (1814), Payne Knight (1824), Blacas (1867), Castellani (1865 and 1872), and Carlisle (1890).

of the following pages will be to call attention to the most interesting or representative gems, and to assist the reader towards following out the history and characteristics of the art. The best plan, here as elsewhere, is to look first at the best specimens, and afterwards to trace the historical evolution of the art. We proceed, then, at once to the Case in the centre of the room (X), where are arranged the finest specimens of Greek and Roman gem-engraving.

SELECT GREEK GEMS

(Arranged in Compartments 39 *and* 40 *of Case X)*

In the best of these Greek intaglios we may notice the same refinement of type, tenderness of sentiment, and careful treatment of drapery which mark the best Greek work in other fields of art. Other characteristics are also noticeable, namely, the appropriateness and the economy of the means employed. Thus, first, the relief is low. "The shallowness or, more correctly, flatness of relief is one of the characteristics of early Greek intaglio and relief work of the best period. The figure is not treated like a statue sawn in half and then applied to a background, but, like the best Florentine reliefs of the fifteenth century, is modelled with a peculiar delicacy of surface, and more relief than actually exists is, as it were, suggested" (J. H. Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, p. 26). Again, in the best Greek gems the lines are few; there is little detail. The designer "had worked out his image beforehand, so as to save all possible labour of hand consistently with its expressing itself clearly." General effect, and not particular detail, was what the artist aimed at. As a specimen of vivid effect the satyr, carrying a full wine-skin on his back, may be noticed (39 *c*). In the same row is Hercules, after the defeat of the Nemean lion, being offered water by the local nymph. This early Greek gem was found in the Punjab, carried there, perhaps, in the army of Alexander the Great. The heads of a girl, and of a youth in a peaked hat, (both in Row *d*, *B.M.C.* 480, 481) are simple and broad in style: they resemble the pre-Phidian sculpture. The contest of Hercules and Achelous, in the presence of Dejanira, engraved on a plasma *(39 a), is an interesting example of archaic gem-engraving. The same subject is mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 18. 15) as*

having been sculptured on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, and often occurs on vases. Note (in 39 *c*) the figure of Athena with helmet and spear on a scarab of banded onyx, set as a finger-ring in gold, with a bronze hoop, found at Amathus in Cyprus (see *Classical Review*, iii. 283). A gem from Curium shows us Athena (39 *e*) — a figure resembling the Parthenos of Phidias, but holding out the ornament on the stern of a ship, the recognised emblem of a naval victory (cf. *Classical Review*, iv. 71, 132).

One of the finest of Greek gems is the sard showing a man seated on a rock and playing the lyre (39 *e*, *B.M.C.* 555) :—

"It is a proof that the gem-engraver may have been at times an artist of perfect attainments. The structure of the body of the youth, the treatment of the drapery round his legs, the manner in which the perspective of the figure is adapted to the necessary lowness of relief, are all points that may afford comparisons with the Parthenon frieze; nor less so is the serene composure with which the youth bends over his instrument, enabling us at once to interpret the music of his lyre. Who, then, is this youth seated at his lyre? There is no indication of Apollo about him. The alternative would seem to be some motive of ordinary life which the artist has idealised" (A. S. Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 153; and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ii. 158).

"There is no gem," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1901), "which may be so justly compared with the Parthenon frieze for its combination of an almost solemn dignity of bearing with breadth and simplicity of execution, which are in perfect keeping with the emotional element in the figure. It is like some noble thought of a great poet, which remains with us as if hewn in imperishable adamant."

In the same row, on a rectangular piece of amethyst (*B.M.C.* 563) are four Bacchantes—full of simple, ideal beauty —in allusion, no doubt, to the supposed protective influence of this gem against the power of wine; hence its name, which in Greek means "not drunken."[1] Next to this gem is a very beautiful design on a sard (*B.M.C.* 562); a maiden, with a pitcher in her hand, stands in a pensive attitude before a sepulchral cippus, as if bringing libations. The attitude and simplicity of the figure recalls the style of the Caryatids of the

[1] A couplet in the *Anthology* on an amethyst engraved with a figure of Dionysus turns upon the play of words, which is untranslatable in English :—

ἡ λίθος ἐστ' ἀμέθυστος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πότης Διόνυσος·
πεισάτω ἢ νήφειν μ', ἢ μαθέτω μεθύειν.

Erechtheum. The design was a favourite one with Greek artists; and in this gem we have a rare specimen of the best period. The wounded centaur in chalcedony (39 *f*, *B.M.C.* 557) is of special interest from its resemblance to the centaurs on the metopes of the Parthenon, and probably dates from about the same time. The lion attacking a deer (39 *c*, *B.M.C.* 125) is remarkable for its delicacy of execution.

Among the curiosities in this compartment are two gems which combine relief and intaglio. The relief on one (39 *a*, *B.M.C.* 473) shows the figure of a boy, from whose left arm hangs a vase—presumably his oil-flask, ready for the bath. He has the features of a negro, and is, perhaps, a slave. The foreshortening of the limbs is admirably expressed (Newton). The subject of the intaglio is Capaneus, struck by a thunderbolt. The stone is an onyx of three layers. On the back of the other gem (39 *c*, *B.M.C.* 479) is a satyr's head in relief; the intaglio represents "a male citharist draped, as competing citharists were draped, in female attire; the drapery is made to fall into the forms and limbs with minute care. This design, apart from the minute treatment of the drapery, is just such as might be seen on a vase of the pure red-figure style, so true is it within its limits to the Greek conception of what was graceful and yet noble in a figure" (A. S. Murray in *B.M.C.* p. 19). Round the margin is an inscription recording that Syrias made the gem.

In the next compartment (40) many of the designs are of animals. The wild goose, flying (in 40 *d*, *B.M.C.* 466), on an onyx, is one of the finest specimens. In the same row notice the fallen giant (*B.M.C.* 553)—a fine design, finely engraved. Notice also the bull (40 *a*, *B.M.C.* 122), a frequent figure on early Greek seals. Readers of Æschylus will remember the proverb: "I'm mute; on tongue a big ox has trodden"—meaning that the person's lips were sealed by a bribe or otherwise to silence. A curious gem (40 *c*, *B.M.C.* 549) is in the shape of a lotus flower, engraved on two sides (on one, two little loves; on the other, two sirens: love and death is perhaps the motive). This gem was obviously worn as a pendant.

In the next row (40 *e*) are some very fine gems. That on which an ecstatic mænad is figured (*B.M.C.* 554) has been broken, and the lower parts of the leg badly restored in gold. "The engraving is kept extremely shallow, the details of the figure are thought out with amazing delicacy. It will be seen

that with all the refinement of beauty pervading this gem, the head is disproportionately large, a circumstance which suggests that the gem is older than the frieze of the Mausoleum, about 352 B.C., by which time such errors of proportion had ceased in all good work" (A. S. Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 158). Very simply treated and beautiful in sentiment is the girl reading from a scroll; in front of her a lyre (40 *e*, *B.M.C.* 556).[1] The beautiful quality of the stone, a golden sard of fine translucency, seems in this gem to be part of the very design.

Very fine is the head of Victory, in the same row (*B.M.C.* 1146). There are wings on her shoulders, and the head is slightly inclined forward as if the goddess were descending from above, perhaps the finest example of work in this very difficult style (King, in the *Archæological Journal*, xxiv. 214). In the next row we may notice a very charming head of a youth, crowned with a wreath of ivy.

A very beautiful chalcedony should also be noticed (40 *f*, *B.M.C.* 1161), engraved with a figure of Victory erecting a trophy, "a somewhat similar design to that on a Syracusan tetradrachm of Agathocles. On the ribbon-like folds of a flag attached to a spear is inscribed a name which may be that of the artist, Onatas. The genuineness of this noble gem has been questioned, but Furtwängler and other good authorities accept it as a genuine Greek work of the early part of the fourth century" (Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, p. 88).

SELECTED GRÆCO-ROMAN INTAGLIOS

(*Arranged in Compartments* 41-43, *Case X*)

The most fertile age in the production of ancient intaglios began with the Roman Empire, but the engravers of the best Roman gems were still Greeks. To distinguish between pure Greek and Græco-Roman work is difficult. This is frequently the case even with large sculpture in marble; in the case of work so minute, and in a measure so mechanical, as that of intaglios, it is often impossible. During the Alexandrine period of Greek art, gems had followed the general course of

[1] It has been suggested that the subject may be intended for a representation of Sappho reading one of her lyrics. But there is not the proper note of passion (see A. S. Murray in *The New Amphion*, p. 33.

development. The type of beauty became softer; and the choice of subjects inclined away from heroic scenes and towards gentler themes. A few further remarks on Græco-Roman and Roman gems may best be postponed till we come to the bulk of the collection of them.

Among the selected specimens here brought together we may notice:—

In Compartment 41, Row *a*: a head of Hera (perhaps a Roman portrait) on a sard (*B.M.C.* 608); and a curious head of a Muse combined with a bearded mask (*B.M.C.* 754). Row *c*: Silenus nursing the infant Bacchus (*B.M.C.* 935); a fine engraving, full of expression. Row *d*: a head of Jupiter Ammon, the beard rendered in an archaistic manner (*B.M.C.* 572). A Bacchante (*B.M.C.* 1075) falling backwards as if sinking under the influence of her god, and vainly supporting herself by placing her hand upon a tall amphora, of extremely graceful shape. The work is wonderful both for design and for finish, "a precious monument of mature Greek work" (King). Row *e*: a very noble and dignified head of Jupiter (*B.M.C.* 569). Row *f*: bust of Apollo on an amethyst (*B.M.C.* 715): "the very beau-ideal of gem work in the best Greek style" (King).

In 42, Row *b*: Apollo Citharœdus on a beautiful jacinth (*B.M.C.* 729). Row *c*: a very graceful head of a Muse on a sard.

In 43, Row *a*: a remarkable bust of a female satyr, which King ascribes without hesitation to one of the most eminent artists of the cinque-cento school. "In spite of the technical excellence of the engraving, the vulgar and gross conception of the Mænad, a mere drunken, jolly beauty, is utterly repugnant to the antique idea of the same character, which was that of inspiration, or rather frantic possession by the deity, having nothing at all jocose in its nature. This Bacchante, on the other hand, is little more than a half-intoxicated, good-looking courtesan, laughing heartily at some coarse pleasantry" (*Arch. J.* xxiv. 215). Row *b*: the radiate head is doubtless intended for a portrait of Alexander the Great as the Sun. In the next row two heads of Medusa should be noticed. The one on a carnelian was noted by the Duc de Blacas as one of the finest gems in his collection. But more beautiful is the head on an amethyst (*B.M.C.* 1253), Medusa being here represented with eyes closed as if in sleep. This intaglio is "almost without a rival for delicacy of finish and exquisite beauty of profile"; it is the original of numerous repetitions, and is full of a dreamy, voluptuous languor.

SIGNED GEMS

(*Arranged in Compartments* 44 *and* 45, *Case X*)

A large number of gems are signed, or purport to be *signed, with the* names of ancient engravers, and for the

convenience of students most of the signed intaglios are here arranged together.

Two questions arise with regard to these signatures: (1) Are they genuinely antique, or additions made subsequently? (2) If genuine, are the names those of the engravers or of the owners of the gems? Both questions have been much discussed by archæologists, and the most diverse conclusions have been reached. Some believe generally in the practice of engravers signing gems; and, accepting many signatures as genuine, compile long lists of gem-engravers. Others disbelieve in all **artists'** signatures on gems, explain away even the best-authenticated signatures, and interpret all genuinely antique signatures as those of **owners** (see C. W. King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*). Without going into these discussions minutely, we may best accept a middle view. Some signatures, but not many, may be taken as contemporaneous with the gems and as being those of the engravers. In other and more numerous cases the signature, professing to be that of the ancient artist, is a later forgery. In many cases both the gem itself and the signature are forgeries. In other cases the signature gives the name of the owner.

To distinguish in any given gem between these various alternatives is often very difficult, and belongs to the archæological expert. Some reference, however, to a few of the known facts and to the more commonly accepted opinions will be of general interest. These intaglios which we now treasure as mere works of art were originally intended for use as signets. It would, therefore, be very natural that the name, as well as the device, of the owner should be engraved upon them. In such cases the name would be likely to be given some prominence. Hence it is accepted as a general rule that signatures in comparatively large letters and in the more conspicuous positions are the names of owners. Such positions are the *exergue* (or space immediately below the design) and the circumference of the stone. On the other hand, there are many gems in which the signature is written in a straight line, often close to or parallel with some vertical portion of the design, and in which the letters are minute. Such signatures escape observation at first, and when discovered appear as subsidiary to the design,—just as on our own coins few people notice the initials of the artist unless they expressly look for them. Signatures which are thus small and inconspicuous may be those of the gem-engravers.

The names of some ancient engravers are known to us. The storied ring of Polycrates was the work of Theodorus of Samos. Another Samian gem-engraver of the first half of the sixth century was Mnesarchus, known as the father of the philosopher Pythagoras. Pliny mentions the names of a few other gem-engravers—Pyrgoteles, who worked for Alexander the Great, Apollonides, and Cronius, about whom he tells us nothing, and Dioscorides, who engraved the portrait of Augustus which subsequent Emperors used as a signet. The

names of two others are known from epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology*.

The number of names professing to be of artists on existing gems is very large. But here comes in the question of **forgery**. Ever since the revival of interest in antique gems in the fifteenth century, the market value of a genuine stone has been enormously increased by its possessing an artist's signature, and unscrupulous dealers have been employed in adding the name of some real or imaginary artist to gems. In the Devonshire collection there is an intaglio bearing the name of Apollonides. The gem is fragmentary, and the design is only of a cow. For the sake of the signature the then Duke paid the enormous price of £1000 for the intaglio. The seller was Baron Stosch, who employed engravers in this profitable form of industry. The fact of forged signatures is notorious; whilst, on the other hand, most of the best gems, which are of indisputable genuineness, bear no signatures. The appearance of a signature on a gem raises, therefore, in these days some *prima facie* suspicion of its genuineness. Signatures are often forged with great skill, and even so competent an authority as the late J. H. Middleton has to admit that "owing to the mechanical process by which they are cut, and the minute scale, it is very frequently quite impossible to decide whether a signature is genuine or not." As we shall notice presently, authorities often differ; and as we have already seen, even if a signature passes its examination and is accepted as genuine and antique, the question remains whether it is the name of the engraver or of the owner. In King's *Handbook* (2nd ed., pp. 245-282) will be found a list (condensed from Dr. Brunn) of the names on gems. They are divided into three classes:—Names handed down by genuine inscriptions, and more or less confidently referred to the artist; names which are from both points of view doubtful; and names due to false readings or which do not refer to a gem-engraver. Shorter lists will be found in A. S. Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology* and J. H. Middleton's *Ancient Gems*.

Referring to these authorities readers who may be interested in further study of the subject, we may now proceed to notice a few of the signed gems which are of special interest.

One of the first to attract attention is (in 44, Row *b*) a rich golden sard, with an engraving of Hercules standing with his club in the left hand, and a cup in his right. "The work is peculiarly soft, and fades into the stone in a manner no modern hand has ever caught" (King). The name **Admon** which is inscribed on it is supposed to be that of the first owner of the gem (*B.M.C.* 1312). In the next row (44 *c*) is a Muse tuning a lyre (*B.M.C.* 747):—

"A large intaglio, at first sight very imposing, but which, examined in its details, more particularly the folds of the drapery, betrays the

feeble touch of the modern imitator. The pretended signature ΑΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ appears conspicuously in the field. The imaginary artist Allion was generated from the "Delion" (of the Delions), accompanying a head of Apollo, which the ignorant forger mistook for a common name. The stone is an onyx of a curious sort, having a crystalline layer interposed between two of opaque grey; but it has been much doctored and roughened to give the whole the required air of antiquity" (King in *Arch. J.* xxiv. 207).

The head of Æsculapius in the next row (44 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1130) is very fine, and the gem is further celebrated as having formerly belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici, and subsequently to Voltaire:—

"The head is in the noblest style of mature Greek art. Nothing in this branch can be cited more worthy of admiration for the dignified expression of the features and the masterly treatment of the flowing hair and ample beard" (King). The gem is inscribed within a tablet with the name of **Aulus**. Its conspicuous placing proves that it was the name of a previous owner, who was perhaps a Roman physician. Owing to the celebrity of this gem, the signature of a supposed artist, Aulus, became a favourite one with forgers. Two adjoining gems, from the Carlisle collection, bear the same name. The "Cupid bound to a trophy" is believed by some authorities to be the work of J. Pichler (a celebrated engraver of the eighteenth century): the large empty space above the Cupid would not be found, it is argued, in an antique work.

To the head of Hercules in blue beryl (44, Row *e*, *B.M.C.* 1281) we have already called attention for the beauty of the stone; the design is worthy of it. The style is purest Greek, and nothing can exceed the refinement and tenderness of the execution (Newton). The rich and varied composition of the hair should also be noticed:—

"As the features are evidently not ideal, we see here the portrait of some Greek prince who thus assumed the character of the mythic founder of his line: perhaps Philip of Macedon himself, who was distinguished for his manly beauty" (King). The gem is inscribed in Greek characters with the Roman name **Gnaios**. This inscription is mentioned as early as 1606; it probably refers to some former owner, conceivably to Gn. Pompey, whose signet it may have been. This beautiful intaglio was formerly in the Strozzi collection. On the sale of that collection to the Duc de Blacas, the original gem was replaced by a modern copy in crystal. The Duc accepted it as genuine, and was much surprised when, some years afterwards, the true original was brought to him. It is said to have been stolen by the person who packed the Strozzi gems. It reappeared in the Schellersheim

collection, and, after passing through various hands, was acquired by the Duc de Blacas. The modern imitation still accompanies the original, and affords a useful comparison between the different styles of art. The fracture in the original is carefully copied in the counterfeit (Newton's *Guide to the Blacas Collection*, and *Intellectual Observer*, July 1867).

In the next rows (44 *f* and *g*) we may notice some modern gems which purport, or have been supposed, to be signed by ancient artists. Such is the "Hermes" (No. 2299) on a sard, inscribed **Dioscorides**, which is probably a copy of a similar gem formerly in the Marlborough collection. Another modern gem is the bust of a youth as Harpocrates. The signature is Hellen. It has been suggested that this was one of the ways in which the celebrated Alessandro Cesati (see below, p. 668) used to sign his works: he was known as il Greco, being a native of Cyprus. A gem in the next compartment (45 *a*, *B.M.C.* 2304), representing Venus riding on a swan, is a copy of an antique by the engraver Cerbara; it is signed Myrton.

With regard to two fine gems, to which the famous name of **Dioscorides** is attached, opinions differ. One (in 44 *f*, *B.M.C.* 1933) represents a wild boar at bay, attacked by a dog, very deeply cut, so that the body, foreshortened, comes out in the impression in nearly full relief. "The inscription, partly in the exergue, follows the contour of the gem, and is inscribed in neat, almost microscopic letters of unmistakably antique work" (King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 1885, p. 249). The other (also in 44 *f*) is a beautiful figure of Mercury carrying a ram's head. This gem came from the Carlisle collection, and was formerly in possession of Baron Stosch. The authenticity of it is condemned by some authorities, but is defended by Furtwängler (*Jahrbuch des Inst.*, 1888, p. 220). On a dark sard is an archaistic figure of Diana with a stag (44 *g*). This design has hitherto been known only from a paste already in the British Museum (No. 765). The gem is from the Carlisle collection. The name **Heios**, with which it is inscribed (on the exergue) is presumably that of an owner (for an alternative suggestion, see *Catalogue of Gems*, p. 108); but the authenticity of the gem is disputed by some. Note the sard engraved with a design of Cupid coming to the rescue of Pysche, who has been caught in a trap (45 *c*, *B.M.C.* 2306). The gem is signed **Pamphilos**; "a charming work of the finest possible execution, which has all the marks of the school of Pichler"

(King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. 55). The "Achilles playing on a lyre" (45 *c*), also inscribed "Pamphilos," is a copy of a well-known gem in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris.

We now come to one of the most celebrated gems extant, and assuredly also—no matter whether it be antique or mediæval—one of the most beautiful in our collection. This is the winged head of Medusa, on a clouded chalcedony, commonly known as "**the Strozzi Medusa**" (in 45 *d*, No. 1256). This is remarkable alike for the size and quality of the stone, and for its elaborate refinement and mastery of execution :—

According to Newton, the style resembles that of the coins of Mithradates ; according to King, "the profile has none of the antique character, but much resembles a portrait from life of the sixteenth century." King objects further that the common white chalcedony, on which the design is cut, has been much clouded by repeated applications of heated wax—a process not used in Græco-Roman times, but common with the cinque-centists. To Middleton, on the other hand, the quality of the stone is an argument in the opposite direction. A forger would not have used so mottled and opaque a stone. To the antique engraver the impression, not the stone, was the thing (*Ancient Gems*, p. 38). The gem was found in a vineyard near the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian Hill at Rome in the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was published in 1707, so that the inscription with the name of Solon is comparatively old ; none the less it is believed to be a forgery. The artist of this gem shows us Medusa, not, as so often, in the baleful beauty which at once horrifies and attracts, but in all her early charms as Ovid describes them :—

> Splendid in form, her beauty blighted hope
> Of envied crowds of suitors ; none could cope,
> Midst all her charms, with her attractive locks.

The head of Alexander (45 *d*, *B.M.C.* 2307), signed **Pyrgoteles** (see below, p. 629), is a modern gem ; so also is that of Hercules (*B.M.C.* 2308), signed Seleucos ; the latter is probably a cinque-cento production. The mask of Pan, deeply cut in an amethyst (45 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1088), is, on the other hand, "one of the greatest masterpieces of antiquity" (Köhler), both for the spirit and thoroughness of the execution and for the skill of the invention ; the head is "replete with life and humorous fury" (King). The name "Skylax" is genuine, not cut in delicate minute letters, but in a bold style to indicate the owner. This is the source whence the forgers have got a name which appears on many of their modern

gems (Brunn). Another fine gem is the head of Silenus on an amethyst (in 45 *f*, *B.M.C.* 985). The design is deeply cut, and is a vigorous impersonation of the character. "A successful imitation of the antique, for the stone," says King, "is a Bohemian amethyst of the most beautiful *ponceau* tint, not the violet or the clouded Indian species alone known to ancient engravers" (*Arch. J.* xxiv. p. 206).

PORTRAITS IN INTAGLIO

(*Arranged in Compartments* 46 *and* 47, *Case X*)

No portion of a cabinet of gems is more interesting than that which contains the portraits in intaglio or cameo. Those in the former sort are here arranged together. Those in cameo, to which we shall presently come, are even more interesting. It is, however, amazing how much character and individuality can be obtained even in a tiny intaglio, made for wearing in a ring. Look, for instance, at the old man, nearly bald, in 46 *b* (from the Carlisle collection). It is a wonderful example of the engraver's skill; noble and dignified in style, and yet treated with much minuteness of detail and realism. Nothing could be more vivid and distinctive. He is represented, like Cromwell, "wart and all" to the life, and his portrait lives for ever. Yet at the same time it is for us lifeless, for we know not whom it represents. "One of the most tantalising things in this study is the continually meeting with faces upon our gems full of genius and of energy, unmistakably belonging to the bright spirits of the first two centuries, but which rest to us voiceless and lifeless from the loss of all means of identifying them with their originals, still eternised by history" (King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 55).

In the earlier and pure Greek period, we find, in gems and coins as in sculpture, only ideal heads (cf. p. 543). Portraiture came into fashion under Alexander the Great and his successors. Contemporary portraits of princes then began to replace the national deities alike upon coins and upon official seals—a substitution connected with Alexander's assumption of *divinity*. The privilege of engraving the royal features was *restricted, by* command of that monarch, to Pyrgoteles, the

first master in the art, "threatening that if any other artist should be discovered to have put his hand to the most sacred image of the Sovereign, the same punishment should be inflicted upon him as was appointed for sacrilege." Among the modern gems purporting to be signed by ancient artists is one of Alexander, inscribed Pyrgoteles (see above, p. 627). The numerous gem portraits of Alexander still extant date, when genuine, from after his time, and belong to the school of the Roman Empire when heads of Alexander were in repute as amulets. In our collection the portrait of Alexander as the Sun (43 *b*, *B.M.C.* 1103) is "deserving of notice," says Dr. Murray, "for the clearness and vivacity with which the general likeness is rendered." The Emperor Augustus originally used for his signet the figure of a sphinx, such as we may see on a scaraboid of chalcedony (39 *g*, *B.M.C.* 476); but after a time, says Pliny, owing to jokes on the sphinx-like obscurity of the Emperor's edicts, he changed the device for a head of Alexander the Great. A striking head, engraved on a beautiful sard (46 *b*, *B.M.C.* 1526), is said to be a portrait of Demetrius I. of Macedon—Demetrius the Besieger, of whom we read that "he showed such heroic dignity that strangers who came and saw comeliness adorned with the pre-eminence of a king, marvelled and followed him as he went abroad for the very sight's sake." The portraits on gems often closely resemble those on coins. This one of Demetrius Poliorcetes is an example (cf. p. 526).

It is with the Roman Empire that the grand era of portraits upon gems opens. It produced "countless offspring of adulation, love, affection, and friendship." First, of adulation; for "it became a mark of loyalty to adorn one's house or one's hand with the visible presence of the Sovereign." Again, it was believed that a ring, thus worn as a mark of subservience, secured for the wearer the favour of the divinity latent in the Emperor's person. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in our collection a large number of intaglios with portraits of the Emperors. First, however, we may notice, as an example of contemporary portraiture, the head of Brutus on an amethyst (46 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1553). Two portraits of Julius Cæsar (46 *e*, *B.M.C.* 1557-58) are signed with the name of Dioscorides, who was the great gem-engraver of the age of Mæcenas, but the authenticity of neither signature can be accepted. The style of these portraits is worth notice:—

"Obviously the same model has served for both. But, while the engraver of the jacinth has bestowed infinite pains on the minutest detail, with the result of driving all artistic sense out of his work, the engraver of the sard has treated his subject with a simplicity and absence of disturbing details which announce in him artistic powers such as have not often been displayed by other than ancient engravers. So far the sard may fairly claim to be antique as well as beautiful. Nor indeed does the laborious minuteness of the jacinth finally dispose of it as comparatively modern, since that quality of minuteness, though hardly with so bad effect, is not infrequent among really ancient gems." Thus Dr. Murray (*Catalogue*, p. 36). But his predecessor, Sir Charles Newton, saw in the jacinth "a *chef d'œuvre* of ancient art" (*Guide to the Blacas Collection*). Another eminent authority, Dr. Billing, sees in both examples alike faults of which a modern gem-cutter would be ashamed. The sard is, he admits, "deeply and well cut, but assuredly there never were such eyes in any human head in any nation on earth; the mouth is most ungraceful, and the point of the nose is under-cut." As for the jacinth, it is "celebrated, but the right eye squints, and the nose is not like Julius Cæsar's, being more like that of the Duke of Wellington or William III." (*Science of Gems*, 1875, p. 25).

Of Mæcenas, a great connoisseur of gems, as we have seen, there is a good portrait on a jasper from the Carlisle collection (46 *e*). Of Augustus we shall see some grand portraits presently in cameo. Some of the intaglios here contain remarkably vigorous portraits of later emperors—note especially those of Vespasian and Titus (46 *g*, *B.M.C.* 1605-6).

The portrait of Septimius Severus (47 *c*, *B.M.C.* 1627) is engraved on a fine plasma (a translucent variety of the green jasper) of beautiful emerald tint. A curious gem (47 *f*, *B.M.C.* 1686) contains two tiny portraits (supposed to be Germanicus and Agrippina), which occupy two votive shields borne aloft by a winged Victory; "a very remarkable performance of the Augustan age; the subject having been so cleverly adapted to the material that the shields coincide exactly with the two eyes of a richly coloured onyx" (King). On a bloodstone (47 *e*, *B.M.C.* 1665) there are portrait busts of a man and woman, with a smaller male bust between. They are inscribed "Anteros, Felicitas, and Hieron"—a mother, father, and their child, perhaps.

Among the portraits of Imperial ladies, we may call attention to Livia on an amethyst, very fine (46 *f*); Antonia (46 *f*), which should be compared with the silver bust from Bosco

Reale (p. 596); and Faustina the younger on a red jasper (47 *a*, *B.M.C.* 1620).

Not inferior in interest to the Imperial portraits are those of the poets and philosophers. We have seen, in the case of sculpture, how the taste grew up at Rome for portrait busts of famous poets (p. 47). The same taste extended to gem portraits. Men wore rings engraved with their favourite poets as a badge, as it were, of their literary idolatry.

Here we may see on a topaz a portrait of Horace (46 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1555), so identified by the sprig of bay and the letter H placed conspicuously in the field. The gem was cut when authentic portraits of the poet were still extant, such as the statue at his birthplace, Venusia. It was worn, perhaps, in a ring by some admirer. This was still more the custom with gem portraits of philosophers. Cicero ridicules his Epicurean friends for carrying about their master's likeness on their rings. There are also found among antique gems innumerable heads of Socrates and many of Plato, all of Roman workmanship, testifying to the widespread vogue of the Neo-Platonic cult. These philosophic cults were indeed religious, and Epicureanism resembled a Church. We may thus compare the wearing of these engraved gems of Epicurus or Plato among the ancients with the wearing of gold crosses or crucifixes in our own day. Of Epicurus there is here a portrait in red jasper (46 *b*, *B.M.C.* 1517). Of Socrates there are several; that in 46 *a* (*B.M.C.* 1510) is a replica of a stone in the Devonshire collection. The ideal type of Plato (46 *a*, *B.M.C.* 1512) shows two butterfly wings above the right ear—an allusion, it is supposed, to his argument for the immortality of the soul, of which the butterfly was a symbol.

But many of the portraits upon gems are "unknown," and in most of these cases we should, doubtless, be none the wiser for a knowledge of the names. Yet they are not without their human interest. They tell us of the loves and friendships of old days, when portrait gems were exchanged as tokens and forget-me-nots. It may have been on the gift of a portrait gem that Meleager wrote his lines:—

> Ah! who hath shown my lady unto me,
> Her very self, as if she spake?

Who brought to me one of the Graces three
For friendship's sake?
Full surely brings he me a joyful thing,
And for his grace the grace of thanks I bring.
(Translation by W. M. Hardinge).

Tokens, sometimes, of lasting friendships and permanent bonds; sometimes also of light loves, for did not Clemens of Alexandria inveigh against the fashion "of the licentious world of keeping in their rings the likenesses of their mistresses or other favourites, so that they are never left for a moment free from the torments of desire"?

THE EVOLUTION OF ENGRAVED GEMS

(*See Case U, Compartments* 7-12)

We have now examined some of the intaglios of the best and later workmanship. We must next retrace our steps, and, examining more cursorily the earlier examples, note the evolution of this charming art (Case U, Compartments 7-12). The origin of intaglio gems is obvious from what we have already seen. They were wanted as seals. In Asia the use of signets goes back as far as historic records extend. In the Babylonian and Assyrian Room in the Museum cylinder-seals may be seen which are 4500 years old. In Egypt the use of scarabs (see below) for the same purpose prevailed also from very ancient times. Of the cylinder form a few examples may be seen among our early Greek gems. Thus among those from Camirus is a cylinder in blue porcelain, with snakes and archers (in Case U, Compartment 9, Row *c*, *B.M.C.* 132); and from Tharros there is a similar cylinder in ivory in Row *h*, *B.M.C.* 191). Classical and Biblical literature contains many allusions to the use of signets for security. The treasure-chamber of Rhampsinitus was, Herodotus tell us, secured by the impression of his seal; the stone closing in the den of lions was sealed with the signet of Darius. The cylinder-seal of Darius the Great is preserved in our Museum (in the Babylonian and Assyrian Room, Table-case D, No. 28). In fact it would seem that this method of securing property was coeval with the institution of property itself. "The idea *must* naturally have suggested itself to the first individual who *deposited his* property in a closed vessel, that it might be

protected against pilferers by a plaster of clay laid round the junction of the lid and rolled flat with the joint of a reed. Hence the first origin of the perforated cylinder, of which the bit of reed was the true prototype, both as to its form and its mode of application, and way of carriage" (King). The next stage was the assumption of exclusive ownership in a certain configuration of lines—a process which may be traced up to the great seals of kings.[1] Along the artistic line of development, the stage next to the reed was that of incision by means of some cutting instrument, whether flint or bronze, capable of operating upon a comparatively soft material. Thus Herodotus describes the Ethiopian contingent, in the host of Xerxes, as equipped with reed-arrows tipped with sharpened stones, "by means of which they engrave their seals." Next came the incising of hard stones by means of the implements described above (p. 611). The processes thus described were certainly long older than Jeremiah. Among the Eastern signets preserved in the British Museum is that of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (705-681 B.C.). (It is shown in Table-case D, in the Babylonian and Assyrian Room.) "It is made out of one of the finest substances known to the lapidary, the Oriental amazon-stone; and nevertheless presents an intaglio that, by the extreme precision and complicated detail of its drawing, strikingly declares the perfection to which the art had thus early attained—a perfection indicative of the long practice of the school capable of such a performance" (King). The materials employed for the seals changed with the improvement of the instruments—beginning (as we shall note in the earliest Greek specimens) with steatite or soapstone, a silicate of magnesia, and easily worked, and ending with the hardest of precious stones. The use of seals in Greece is recorded in a law of Solon, which forbade the gem-engraver to retain an impression of a seal which he had made. The earliest Greek seals of all were, as we shall see, very rude and devoid of beauty. By the time of the Peloponnesian war they had become precious "objects of art and virtu," for the lists cut on marble, as inventories of the sacred treasure preserved in the Parthenon at Athens, include many signet-gems of precious stones and in gold settings. Thus may we trace in our Museum the evolution of signet-gems from clay to gold and

[1] There is a very rich collection of mediæval seals in the British Museum *(in the Mediæval Room)*.

amethyst, from rude scratches to designs of the utmost grace and delicacy.

"ISLAND GEMS"

(*Table-case U, Compartments 7 and 8*)

The shapes of the earliest examples of Greek gem-engraving are neither the Assyrian cylinder nor the Egyptian scarab. These early gems are engraved on rounded pebble-stones, mostly shaped either like a broad-bean (*lenticula*), or like the ordinary lead sling-bolts (*glandes*). Hence they are called "**lenticular**" and "**glandular**" gems respectively. It has been suggested that "the adoption of these forms by the Greeks may be connected with their use of pebbles to record votes at public trials, and of beans at the election of magistrates. But the shapes would seem to have come naturally from the form of the nodule of chalcedony or the water-worn pebble, which was polished, and had the signet device engraved on it, with very little cutting away of its natural surface." Of the lenticular shape the very early gems from Ialysus in Rhodes are examples (U, 8). (These gems were presented to the Museum by Mr. Ruskin, who at the instance of his friend Sir Charles Newton had defrayed the cost of excavations in Rhodes.) The commonest material for the earliest Greek gems is steatite, but harder stones, such as rock-crystal, carnelian, and chalcedony are also used.

The gems of lenticular and glandular shape were first obtained from the Greek islands; hence the name by which they are commonly known, "Island Gems." They have, however, also been found in various sites of "Mycenæan" culture on the mainland.

The designs on these "island gems" belong to the same Mycenæan stage that we have already noticed in other arts:—

"The rude gems from the Greek islands seem," says Sir Charles Newton, "to carry us back to some remote time before Hellenic art had any style of its own; before it was sensibly, if at all, affected by foreign influences, whether Asiatic or Egyptian, and the majority of the subjects represented on these primitive gems are such as would be taken direct from Nature by a semi-barbarous people. In these designs—as in the similes of Homer—the lion, either alone or devouring cattle or deer, is a favourite subject; we find, too, the wild goat *with very large horns*, which still inhabits Crete, and was once general *in the mountains* of the Archipelago. We would refer our readers to

the interesting series of these *intagli* in the British Museum, and invite them to compare their rude designs with those of the rings in gold in Dr. Schliemann's work (describing his discoveries at Mycenæ); the resemblances will be found most striking, not only in the subjects and general design and execution, but also in certain minute details" (*Essays on Archæology*, p. 280).

The engraving on the island gems is for the most part rude and primitive; the subjects are generally animals.[1] These are frequently arranged in a heraldic way: two similar animals being set face to face or back to back, forming a stiffly conventional design like the beasts sculptured over the "Lion Gate" of Mycenæ (cf. p. 88). That design is at once recalled by the gem from Rhodes (8 *e*, *B.M.C.* 106) on which are two lions heraldically grouped with a column between them. Another characteristic example is the gem of rock-crystal in which are cut two goats (7 *i*, *B.M.C.* 57), standing on their hind legs, with bodies turned inwards. This quaint device is, it should be noticed, skilfully designed so as to occupy the whole area of the gem. Heraldic devices of a similar character may often be noticed on the shields depicted on early Greek vases.

In these early gems there is little attempt to produce anything beautiful. Their object was use as signets. If the engraver succeeded in producing something distinctive, so as to express, by device or symbol, the owner's identity, it was enough. Hence the various contortions of animal form, the fantastic combinations, which meet us as we glance at these gems. Yet they are worth examining with some little care, for artistic effort, if not intrinsic artistic success, can thus be discerned, and this is always interesting. Whether it was that different engravers at one time differed in skill, or that the gems before us represent successive stages in artistic development, we do not know. But certainly the gems

[1] Dr. Murray draws an interesting distinction in this connection. On the primitive Greek pottery there is a fondness for plant life. In some cases the designs on the gems represent the same subjects as on the pottery; but in general the gems aim at higher forms of animal life, as lions, bulls, and horses, occasionally introducing the human figure in a rude elongated form. In gem-engraving, as in sculpture, no lines tell with effect but those which are clear, strong, and well defined; hence the love of animal and human forms, which have been moulded on the principle of resistance, not as in plant life, where the principle of yielding plays so important a part (*Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 40).

exhibit very different degrees of artistic merit. To the ingenuity with which designs are made to cover the whole space we have already referred. Sometimes there is vigour, as well as ingenuity. Look, for instance, at the bull engraved in a rock-crystal (8 *h*, *B.M.C.* 107); its boldness and comparative naturalness of design contrast very favourably with many of the rude forms on other gems. One of the finest existing examples of "island gems" has come from Crete. It is an agate chalcedony (8, Row *c*), and in it is admirably engraved a bull, guided by a man who stands on the farther side of it, and holds a cord in both hands which is fastened round the bull's horns. "The figure of the man forms a curious contrast to that of the bull, with its rudely-drawn features and pinched-in waist, which gives a triangular form to the upper part of the body. The anatomy of the legs is well rendered, and the arms fairly so, but the head is as usual quite incorrectly pourtrayed, though free from Oriental influence" (*J.H.S.* xiii. 220).

It is interesting to notice the quaint and naïve expedients to which the engraver is sometimes reduced to express his ideas. Look, for instance, at the hæmatite gem (found in Greece), showing two men leading a bull (8, Row *e*). The correctness of this description will perhaps be doubted by the reader, till it is explained that the jumping figure above the bull is meant to represent the man on the other side of the animal. In a wall-painting of the Mycenæan period at Tiryns (Plate 13 in Schliemann's *Tiryns*) there is a similar and yet quainter design.

SCARABS

(*Table-case U, Compartments* 9-12)

The next oldest stage of Greek gem-engraving is seen in the shape of **scarabs** and in the **scaraboids**. The scarabs are in the form of the sacred scarabæus beetle of Egypt. (In the principal Egyptian Gallery of the Museum a large green granite scarab may be seen, and in the Fourth Egyptian Room upstairs is a collection of small Egyptian scarabs.) This beetle was accepted as a symbol of the sun-god Ra, the fertiliser of the world, on account of its habit of moulding balls of clay, round like the world, in which it encloses its eggs, to be hatched by the sun. The back of the scarab is cut into the form of a

beetle, and the signet device is cut on the flat under-side. A hole was then drilled longitudinally through the scarab, so that it might be set by means of a wire or swivel in a ring, or worn on a string round the neck. To the Egyptians the scarab was a sacred emblem or amulet; by other nations, to whom the beetle had no such religious significance, it was accepted as a convenient form for an engraved stone. The Greeks for a time adopted this form; but they did not for long continue the labour, to them meaningless, of carving beetles on the backs of their gems. They preferred the **scaraboid,** as it is called; that is to say, a stone approximately of the beetle shape, but plain on the back.

The more archaic of the scaraboids resemble in treatment the lenticular gems which we have already discussed, but some little advance is made in artistic skill. The contorted forms of the earlier period gradually disappear, and there is an approach to simplicity and naturalness. See, for instance, the animal suckling its young on an agate (9 *a*, *B.M.C.* 114). The lion attacking a deer and the bull which we have already seen among the select Greek gems (39 *g* and 40 *a*) show a further advance in the treatment of animal forms. To appreciate the gradual advance made by the gem-engravers in depicting the human figure, we may compare with the beautiful gems already examined one or two typical specimens of earlier styles. In the nude male figure, kneeling and playing on a lyre (39 *b*, *B.M.C.* 475), "the proportions—a short body and long legs—are such as accompanied archaic Greek art. But there is a massiveness of the lower limbs, and in the general simplicity of the design, a distinct effort to lend dignity to the figure" (Murray).

A large scarab of striped chalcedony (10 *i*, *B.M.C.* 289) is one of the finest known gems of archaic style, dating from about the middle of the sixth century B.C. It represents a bearded satyr dancing with a wine-cup in his hand, within a cable border:—

The workmanship, in spite of its archaic stiffness, is very spirited and sharp in treatment. The use of the tools described above (p. 611) is here plainly visible: a large drill for the body of the amphora, small drills for the hair, and delicate strokes of the diamond-point for the satyr's tail. The gem also illustrates the pains taken by the Greek engravers to occupy with the design the whole "field" or surface of the stone, leaving the least possible quantity of empty margin. In archaic

gems such as this, the principle is carried almost to absurdity, the figures being bent into strained attitudes. In Greek gems of the best period, such as we first looked at, the highest skill and taste is shown in designing the composition so as to fall easily and gracefully within the necessary limits (Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, pp. 25, 98, 113).

PHŒNICIAN SCARABS

(*Table-case U, Compartments* 9 *and* 10)

The scarabs and scaraboids here collected belong to two different classes. The one class bears designs of Assyrian or Egyptian character, and these are the workmanship of the Phœnicians. Various deities and sacred symbols are arranged without any particular meaning, but often with considerable decorative skill and effect. In later Phœnician scarabs, Greek motives occur, such as Hercules (9, Row *f*), the tide of influence having turned, and Phœnician art being modified by that of Greeks. In the later Phœnician gems a peculiar border may be noticed, usually called "the cable border," or in French the *guilloche*. Examples may be seen on gems in 9 *i* and 10 *g*, *B.M.C.* 197, 274. The larger part of our collection of Phœnician gems (9, Rows *e-i*, and 10, Rows *a-c*) comes from Tharros (in Sardinia), and was included in the collection of antiquities from that site acquired in 1856 from M. Barbetti (cf. p. 705). Tharros, a deserted site on the Gulf of Oristano, was a Phœnician colony; the tombs in which these gems were found contained other objects ranging in date from the fifth to the third century B.C.

ETRUSCAN GEMS

(*Table-case U, Compartments* 10-12)

The second class of scarabs and scaraboids has Greek designs (Compartments 10 *d*-12). The scarabs in this class have mostly been found in Etruscan tombs. Some were imported by Phœnicians; others are presumably of native Etruscan workmanship, for many bear Etruscan inscriptions. The scaraboids in this class come from Greek sites. "The best examples of the Etruscan scarabs appear to date from the sixth century B.C., and are characterised by great refinement in the execution, with a flat rendering of the figure which

corresponds with the treatment of Greek bas-relief in marble of this period" (*Guide to the Department*). The designs are often very fine and the subjects interesting. It is doubtful how far the Etruscans used their scarabs as seals. Many specimens are mounted too elaborately in gold for such use, and necklaces made of scarabs have been found in Etruscan tombs. From the heroic or palæstric subjects on these scarabs it is thought that they were symbols of valour and manly energy, and were worn by the male sex (Dennis, i. lxxvii.).

One of the most admirable of the Etruscan gems is a sard, in which is cut a combat between Hercules and Cycnus, son of Mars (10 *g*, *B.M.C.* 276):—

"The hero appears lifting on high his club and rushing in to give the finishing blow to his heavy-armed adversary, already sinking back fainting from its previous strokes. The grouping of the figures is truly wonderful, scarcely any composition in the whole range of glyptics can be pointed out so full of spirit and movement, and this is matched with equal excellence in the execution; the artist's talent being as conspicuously displayed in his treatment of the nude in Hercules, as of the minute details of the panoply in his opponent. The names of the two inscribed in large Etruscan letters leave no doubt as to the nationality of the artist claiming the honour of this wonderful performance" (King in *Arch. J.* xxiv. p. 211).

Another very fine gem is the ideal bearded male head, cut in the rare sap-green Indian jasper (12 *g*, *B.M.C.* 464):—

An invaluable specimen (says King) of the first essays at portraiture from the life, for though some may consider the head to be an archaic Jupiter's, yet there is better reason for supposing it drawn as the *vera effigies* of some Etruscan *lucumo*.

In the Museum Catalogue, however, this gem is attributed to a Greek, and not an Etruscan, craftsman, and in this opinion Middleton concurs. It is a work, he says, of the finest Greek style, "with a slight trace of archaic stiffness or rather dignity." He adds that "the delicate lines cut with the diamond-point are specially visible in the working of the hair and beard of this head" (*Ancient Gems*, pp. 27, 112).

Among the other scarabs we must notice one or two for the interest or curiosity of their subject. On a banded agate (11 *a*, *B.M.C.* 298) is Hercules seated on the funeral pyre, the tongues of flame rising from all points towards him. "The easy posture, by which the artist means to depict the hero's

composure, has a comic gravity about it," says King, "which is irresistibly ludicrous." The representation of Sisyphus (11 *b*, *B.M.C.* 306) is peculiar. He is not, as in later designs, copied from Homer, rolling a huge rock up a steep, but is more prosaically lifting a big building-stone up the steps of a pyramid which evidently is supposed ever to fall to pieces at the moment of completion. To a gem catalogued as "Hermes about to slay the tortoise" (11 *g*, *B.M.C.* 434; and see also a similar gem in 12 *h*) King gives a more interesting interpretation. It represents, he says, "Ulysses kneeling upon the back of a monster turtle that is carrying him over the waves, and which he rewards by holding a bunch of grapes above its upturned mouth." The engraver was referring, we are told, to some old Pelasgic myth of the preservation of a traveller by a turtle. The reader of the veracious voyages of M. de Rougemont may remember that the same adventure befell a traveller of our own time. Notice some curious gems (probably of the sixth century) on which a Gorgon's mask or other figure is cut in very low relief (10 *d*, *B.M.C.* 244-47); these are the oldest existing examples of cameos (see p. 643).

GRÆCO-ROMAN GEMS

(*Table-case U, Compartments* 13, 14, 28-33)

The other antique intaglios, which we have not examined, are Græco-Roman, arranged according to their subjects (Case U, 13, 14; and on the opposite side of the Case, 28-33). The subjects are mostly deities represented in forms taken from Greek art. There are also many portraits and several scenes from ordinary life. Perhaps the most interesting group in the collection is that of the cycle of Eros and Aphroditè (13 and 14). This cycle of myths "set in play the artists' imagination and furnished them with charming compositions, when a felicitous conception is allied with most delicate execution." Into plastic forms of the most exquisite beauty, engravers often translated the epigrams of the poets of the *Anthology*. There seems to be a natural bond connecting these higher forms of art and poetry. In an epigram the poet Crinagoras addresses Eros in chains as one punished for his misdeeds:—

Yes, cry and sob, thou traitor, now that thy hands are tied; it *becomes thee to weep*. No one shall release thee. Do not look to

one side. Thou hast made many eyes glisten with tears, shooting thy arrows into hearts, while thou distillest the poison of desires from which one cannot escape. O Eros! The sorrows of mortals seem to thee matters for laughter. Very well, now thou sufferest as thou hast made others suffer. There is good in justice.

May we not believe that, in writing these lines, the author had before his eyes a beautiful intaglio (in 13 *f*) that represented Eros disarmed, his hands tied behind his back, and in confusion because of his mishap? On another gem (also in 13 *f*) Eros is torturing Psychè, the image of the soul, by burning it with his torch (cf. the figurine of this subject, p. 698). This motive is found in an epigram of Meleager:—

> If thou too oft dost burn the soul that hovers
> About thy flame with moth-like flutterings,
> At last she will take flight, O Love—remember,
> Cruel one that thou art, she too has wings.

"Engraved stones make known to us a whole phase of Greek thought that was developed principally in the Macedonian epoch, where are observed refinement in taste pushed to playful affectation, extreme subtlety, and rare facility in putting into ingenious forms the fine analysis of sentiment" (Collignon's *Greek Archæology*, p. 340; and see *The Story of Psyche*, by Elizabeth Strutt, with designs in outline by John Gibson).

Among the gems engraved with other mythological or typical figures we may notice Hyacinthus (so inscribed) in the attitude of the Discobolus (see p. 49) of Myron (13 *c*, *B.M.C.* 742)—"the finest representation of this subject on a gem anywhere known" (King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. 63):—

> "From the name on this gem we learn that the disk-thrower is not an actual athlete, but the legendary hero who was killed in playing at disk-throwing with Apollo, and from whose blood sprang the hyacinth. There cannot be much doubt that the true name for Myron's statue was also Hyacinthus. With his habit of observing nature he had been caught with the beauty of the attitude of the disk-thrower. He next looked round among the known legends of heroes for a subject which would allow him to use this attractive motive" (Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 154).

A young Faun and vase (14 *c*, *B.M.C.* 1028) is remarkable for its stone—a rare variety of plasma (Pliny's *jaspis monogrammos*). This stone is highly valued in the East (says King) as an amulet, and is declared by magicians to be of service to

orators. A late gem, inscribed "Assembly of the Gods in Olympus" (14 *e*, *B.M.C.* 1102), is noteworthy.

Of the gems containing designs of incidents in daily life, one of the most interesting is a sard (U 31, bottom row), engraved with a man playing a water-organ :—

"The performer stands before the row of pipes; at each side stand workmen at the hydraulic pumps which force the water into the great brazen cylinder, and thereby condense the air within, and which answers the purpose of the wind-chest in the modern instrument. The description of the hydraulis, first invented by Ctesibius of Alexandria, as given by Athenæus (iv. 75), exactly applies to the instrument before us: 'The hydraulic organ seems to be something after the nature of a water-clock. Perhaps it ought to be termed a wind instrument, inasmuch as the organ is filled with breath by means of water; for the pipes are bent down into the water, and the water being pounded by the attendant, whilst tubes pass through the body of the organ itself, the pipes are filled with wind, and give forth an agreeable sound. The instrument resembles in shape a circular altar.' The letters in the field seem to form the word *Vivam*, 'Success to myself!' and as no proper name is added, this interpretation has much to recommend it, supposing it to refer to the owner of the gem" (King's *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. 62).

CAMEOS

(*Arranged in Compartments* 48-55, *Table-case X*)

We now pass to a second division of engraved gems—the cameos. The derivation of the word is unknown. Its meaning is a small sculpture in low relief cut in any material, but more particularly in stones of different coloured layers. There are cameos on stones of single colours, such as the large head of Medusa on an amethyst (in Compartment 50); but what is more generally thought of as a cameo is a relief cut in different layers. For this purpose the ancients used the onyx, the agate, and other stones, and especially the sardonyx. The onyx is a variety of agate consisting of layers of variegated chalcedony, arranged in parallel bands. The colours of these strata, superimposed one on the other, vary; in the typical onyx they are black and white. If one of the layers consists of the brown chalcedony known as "sard" or the red variety called "carnelian," the resulting stone is called a sardonyx. It was probably this kind of stone that originally suggested the name onyx (Greek for "nail"), since the contrast between

its layers remotely resembles that between the flesh-coloured part of the finger-nail and the white half-moon at its root. Of a sardonyx cameo the large head of Augustus (in Compartment 53) is a very beautiful example. The natural onyx is formed by the gradual infiltration of water charged with silicious particles into hollows in trap-rock; if, when the stone was forming, there were traces of oxide of iron in the water of infiltration, a natural sardonyx is produced. In old times the onyx was imported from India, and the possibility of colouring stones by an artificial absorption of metallic oxides was not unknown to the ancients. In Europe the principal locality for the onyx is the neighbourhood of Oberstein on the Nahe, a river which flows into the Rhine at Bingen. The quarries are, however, now abandoned, in consequence of the discovery of larger and finer stones in South America. These are imported to Oberstein and there cut, polished, and coloured.

In the **cutting of cameos** the artists employed were, as in the case of intaglios, Greeks; but, whereas ancient intaglios are essentially Greek, cameos are Roman. The elements of a coloured cameo existed indeed from earlier times. The onyx was used for intaglios, and reliefs were engraved on the back of scarabs. We have already seen a gem in which the material and work in relief were combined (in 39 *a*, see p. 620). The oldest examples of cameos, in the sense of gems with work in relief, are some Greek or Etruscan representations of a Gorgon's mask (in 10 *d*, see p. 640). It was, however, only under the Roman Empire that cameo-cutting came into fashion.

The reader will notice that the antique cameos in our collection are much less numerous than the intaglios. Stones suitable for intaglios are much less rare, and are more easily worked. Which is the more beautiful—a fine intaglio or a fine cameo? It is a question of taste. Here are two opinions on the artistic merit of the cameo, which may serve to suggest some points of view:—

"On the whole," says Middleton, "the Roman love for cameos cut out of stratified gems had a degraded influence on the glyptic art. It was rather a tricky sort of ingenuity that was fostered by the wish to have gems with the design worked out of three or four layers of different colours, the background being one colour, the flesh of the head another, the hair a third, and perhaps a wreath round the head in a fourth—the uppermost stratum. Great skill is often shown

by the way in which the artist has designed his subject to suit the successive layers of varied colour, but he was usually seriously hampered by the exigencies of the thin strata; and the work of this elaborate kind has an awkward flatness of modelling, and necessarily a complete want of graceful modulation in passing from one plane to another of the relief. However, cameos such as these are showy and highly decorative at a distance, and that is what Roman taste seems to have preferred in all branches of art" (*Ancient Gems*, p. 64).

That is a depreciation of the cameo. We must listen next to an appreciation:—

"The larger cameos were always very interesting as wonderful works of art only, and also because they often bear portraits of great personages. In regard to cameo portraiture in onyx, if there can be any certainty as to the person represented, it is always most valuable, because of the marvellous quality of permanence in the material in which it is cut. No existing form of portraiture is so strong and, at the same time, so delicate and beautiful as that to be found on a first-rate antique onyx cameo. Such portraits were cut by masters in their art, and are comparable with the finest art of any age or executed in any medium. A coin, however finely cut, cannot compare with a fine cameo, because at best it is only stamped, it has no master's touch upon it, and the exquisite beauty of the stone is wanting. Also there may be many specimens of the coin, undistinguishable one from the other, but the cameo is unique. Ordinary sculpture, compared to such a gem, appears coarse. Antique cameos, if not actually broken, are nearly always in perfectly good condition in all material particulars" (Cyril Davenport's *Cameos*, p. 19).

The portrait of Augustus, already referred to, shows the cameo in its highest beauty. It is a beauty different from that of the intaglio—"the bold cameo speaks," says an old writer, "the soft intaglio thinks"; but the beauty is undeniable.

The **instruments** used by the ancients for cameo-cutting were much the same as those which we have already described in the case of intaglios. Nor is there any technical difference between a cameo cut by Pistrucci in the nineteenth, and a cameo cut by a Greek artist at Rome in the first, century. The fabrication of modern "antique cameos" is therefore easy. But in one respect the modern artists are at an advantage. Modern saws have made it much easier to cut off large flat pieces of the stone. Hence, there is a distinction between ancient and modern cameos, which may sometimes assist the *judgment* of the connoisseur. In ancient cameos there is *generally only* a very narrow margin; the design is made to come

as near up to the edge as possible. In **mediæval and modern cameos** large margins are often found, and very well they look. There is force in what Dr. Billing says, that the preference for the other style is only a mistaken devotion to the imperfect methods of the ancient craftsmen. Ancient cameos are sometimes signed by the artists. If the signature is, like the rest of the design, in relief, it must have been cut by the original engraver. If it is incised, then the same doubts arise as in the case of intaglios.

In the matter of **use** cameos differ fundamentally from intaglios. The latter were intended for use as seals. Cameos were from the first intended only as beautiful works of art. Sometimes they were used as personal adornments—very small ones being set in rings, larger ones being worn as fastenings for cloaks or brooches. It may be doubted, however, whether the spirit of the cameo is altogether congenial to use as personal jewellery. We may say of a fine cameo what Professor Henry Smith used to say, with a smile, of some discovery in pure mathematics: "The great beauty of it is that it cannot be of the slightest practical use to any human being." The place of the cameo is in the cabinet or the shrine.

The most beautiful cameo in the collection, and perhaps in the world, is the **profile bust of Augustus**, cut out of a sardonyx of three layers (in the centre of Compartment 53, Case X, *B.M.C.* 1560):—

This celebrated gem was formerly in the Strozzi and Blacas collections, and in it all the essentials of a cameo are seen in their perfection. It is Græco-Roman work, probably of the time of Augustus himself, and is in the same fine condition to-day as when it left the artist's hands. (The diadem in gold and gems was added in the Middle Ages, and restored at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the stones in it are emerald, beryl, cameo head of Artemis, topaz, cameo head of boy, emerald, cameo head of satyr, garnet and diamond. This diadem overlies a plain one cut in the original stone, of which the bands show at the back of the head.) In the classical features of Augustus the artist had an admirable subject, and there is no finer portrait of the Emperor in existence than on this gem. The expression of the countenance is brought out with great delicacy and refinement, and the colours and shades of the stones are taken advantage of with the utmost skill. In front of the Emperor's breast-plate (which is in a light-brown layer of the stone) is a large cameo head of Medusa. Of actual gems of Medusa which once were worn in this way there are *specimens in our collection* (see below, p. 648).

Equally famous, and in some respects more remarkable, though not more beautiful, is the largest of the four antique gems from the Marlborough collection which were acquired for the nation in 1899.[1] This cameo, which represents an **Emperor and an Empress** facing each other, is one of the five largest cameos in the world, and of all these it is the most remarkable as a stone, if we consider the quality of its brilliantly-hued layers and the parallelism in which they lie superimposed. The gem is a fine example of that opulent effect which the old gem-engravers sought in the combination of rich colour and rich material:—

The price of the gem in 1899 was £3300. The cameo has at some time been broken into four pieces, and some of it has disappeared. The missing part has been restored in silver gilt; the four pieces have been cleverly joined, and the whole is kept together in a silver-gilt setting. The stone on which the cameo is cut is in three layers. The Emperor's hair, eyebrows, beard, and mantle, and the Empress's hair, eyebrows, ear-rings, necklace, and part of the dress, are cut in the upper brown layer; this shows as dark or pale, according as it is left thick or thin. The flesh is in the creamy white of the central layer; the background, a dark gray. It is one of the pleasures derived from the art of cameo-cutting to notice in the finer specimens how ingeniously the artist handles his material so as to give the most contrasted effects to the various layers of the stone. Another point will be noticed: "The first impression given by this cameo is, I think, its curious flatness. This is, of course, due to the necessities of the stone itself, and something of the same effect may be seen in almost all cameos, except those on a very small scale. The coloured layers in the onyx stone are seldom thick, and the larger the cameo the thinner the layers are in proportion" (Cyril Davenport, in the *Anglo-*

[1] George, third Duke of Marlborough, formed, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, one of the finest collections of gems, intaglios, and cameos ever made in England. He had purchased two existing collections entire—the Arundel and the Bessborough; the rest of his collection he had acquired piece by piece, aided by his own knowledge and taste, and by his long purse. The Duke evidently desired that posterity should know him in his character of a collector of gems, as in the large family group by Sir Joshua Reynolds at Blenheim he caused himself to be shown holding in his hand his favourite sardonyx with a cameo head of the deified Augustus. It fetched £2350 at the recent sale. Near him Lord Blandford holds one of the ten red jewel-cases in which the collection was kept. The collection was sold in 1875 to Mr. David Bromielow for 35,000 guineas. On his death it was dispersed in 1899. The gems fetched in all £34,827. It is sad to think that the Arundel collection of *gems were at one* time offered to the British Museum for £10,000, and *refused.*

Saxon Review, Sept. 1899). With regard to the execution in other respects, the modelling of the heads is excellent, and all the accessories are cut with great delicacy and skill. These accessories do not, unfortunately, suffice to identify the portraits. The Emperor (on whose brow are a ram's horn and oat wreath) is represented as Jupiter Ammon; the Empress (with wheat-ears, pomegranate, and poppy-heads) as Isis. Circular escutcheons in the upper corners of the setting bear the names Didius Julianus Augustus and Manlia Scantilla Augusta—the sexagenarian usurper who bought the purple at auction, inspired by his wife's ambition, and who was murdered after a disturbed reign of sixty-six days (193 B.C.). The portrait is too young for that worthless Emperor, and the shortness of his reign makes the attribution additionally improbable. A work of this magnitude requires several months of unremitting labour to complete. This objection, however, is not conclusive, for the work might have been begun during the reign, and finished afterwards. Some critics find a likeness in the portraits to Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Elder; there is an intaglio of them at St. Petersburg, the design of which resembles our cameo. Others identify the heads with Commodus and Crispina (his wife) or Marcia (his concubine); or with Julian the Apostate and his wife, Helena. On the back of the setting is the following inscription: "Ingens anaglyphicum opus, olim Sannesiorum ducum, nunc vero pretio acquisitum in Fontesiano cimelio asservatum." The cabinet referred to is probably that of the Marquis de Fuentes, Portuguese ambassador to Rome in the eighteenth century. He is known to have been a gem-collector, and from him the Duke of Marlborough may have obtained the cameo.

The other antique gems from the **Marlborough collection** must be noticed more briefly. A head of Agrippina the Elder is a noble gem of the Augustan age, in an exquisite cinquecento setting; the work is "very fine and worthy of the magnificent stone on which it is cut." It was in the Earl of Arundel's collection; price in 1899, £370 (No. 416 in Marlborough Catalogue). Another Arundel gem is the cameo bust of Claudius (No. 423, £100). More elaborate is the bust of Marciana, sister of Trajan, cut on chalcedony of mottled yellow; she is represented in the character of Juno being conveyed, seated on the back of a peacock, to the abode of the gods. This gem was once in the collection of the Dukes of Medina (£620). The nation also acquired four post-classical gems at the Marlborough sale. With these we shall deal presently (p. 667).

We now return to inspect the collection of ancient cameos in order of arrangement, noticing, however, only a few of the more beautiful or interesting specimens (Case X, Compartments

48 to 55). Among the Bacchanalian subjects, the Drunken Faun (48 *f*), dancing and brandishing a thyrsus, is the most remarkable; the design is thoroughly Greek. The small sardonyx cameo (48 *d*) with the head of a Mænad is fine. The Silenus (49 *b*) is cut on a very pretty stone, corundum. In the same row is a cameo (*B.M.C.* 1237) of a centauress recumbent, suckling an infant foal, "engraved after the Greek manner in a peculiar and flat relief." It is interesting, "as there is the best reason to suppose it preserves to us a copy from the picture by Zeuxis of the same subject so minutely described by Lucian. His account of that portion of the painting would serve literally for this cameo" (King). In the next row (49 *c*) is a Hermaphrodite reclining; a fine example of the grace and finish which may be imparted to a minute cameo. Another of the chief beauties to be found in cameos —the skilful adaptation of means to end—may be studied in the chariot-groups (49 *f*). The "Minerva in a Biga" shows a spirited design, and the artist has ingeniously employed the different colours of the sardonyx to give the goddess a pair of black and white steeds. Similarly, in the "Victory in a Quadriga," each of the four horses is of a distinct colour.

The **head of Medusa**, cut in an amethyst (in Compartment 50, *B.M.C.* 1240), is "of exceptional size and brilliancy for this material." It is a fine Roman work. It was found at the beginning of the nineteenth century by a peasant in a vineyard at the foot of the Aventine in Rome. The exquisite Medusa intaglio described above (p. 622) was also found in a Roman vineyard. Those were the old days of collecting, never, perhaps, to return, when priceless treasures, picked up by peasants, were still to be picked up also by amateurs with modest purses. An old collector, the late Count Tyszkiewicz, has left some interesting memories of those glorious times:—

"At the Villa Massimo, for instance, opposite St. John Luteran, dwelt a certain Checco, who acted as porter. Every morning this little old man took a walk among the vineyards, and had a gossip with the owners and their vine-dressers. He heard of any discoveries they had made in the course of their work, and he was able to buy whatever he wanted for only a few sous. Any collector who called upon Checco at home was sure of finding something in the way of gems or coins. The old man was absolutely ignorant of the value of what he sold, but he had good taste and good luck, and a happy instinct led him to buy the best stones only. There was another Checco who kept a tobacconist's shop in the Piazza Barberini. Like Checco I., he was

a daily visitor to the vineyards, and was kept well supplied with antiquities by the peasants, who came on Sundays to buy his cigars. Fine gems were his speciality also."

The Count mentions another superb cameo of Medusa, which was thus sold in the Rome of old days for a few halfpence. But visitors to the Museum, if they are troubled with qualms on the morality of "expertising," may enjoy the good things here provided with an easy conscience. Museums do not make sharp bargains. Before a gem reaches a cabinet such as this it has generally changed hands many times for very valuable consideration. We have seen the large prices paid for the Marlborough gems. The other principal treasures before us came from the Blacas collection, and for that the British tax-payer paid £48,000.[1] The Medusa now before us is, among single-coloured gems, one of the grandest in existence. It is supposed that its primary destination was to decorate the imperial cuirass, as is shown in the cameo portrait of Augustus. Another head of Medusa in this compartment—in three-quarter face, on a large and fine-coloured sardonyx—should be noticed. It is very much of the type made famous by the picture ascribed to Leonardo at Florence.

The place of honour in the next compartment (51) is given to a large sardonyx portrait (from the Carlisle collection) of **Julia**, daughter of Augustus, partially idealised as Diana—somewhat damaged, but very fine in style.

Note in this same compartment (51 *a*) a portrait of Socrates, cut on nicolo (a variety of onyx), and mounted as a finger-ring.

In the next compartment (52) is a beautiful cameo of two profile heads, supposed to represent **Julia**, only daughter of Augustus, **and Livia**, his third wife. The foremost head, that of Julia, is in the character of Minerva, and wears the helmet and ægis; the latter is cut in a light-brown layer of the stone. This fine work (which has been broken and mounted on an agate back) comes from the Carlisle collection which was purchased for the nation in 1900-1. It was formed by the fourth Earl (1694-1758); and a letter of Horace Walpole, written from Rome in 1740, lets us into some of the secrets of collecting as it was once practised by English "milords":—

[1] This collection included also coins, vases, terra-cottas, sculptures, and *silver*.

"There are now selling no less than three of the principal collections, —the Barberini, the Sachetti, and Ottoboni; the latter belonged to the Cardinal who died in the Conclave. When Lord Carlisle was here last year, who is a great virtuoso, he asked leave to see the Cardinal's collection of cameos and intaglios. Ottoboni gave leave, and ordered the person who showed them to observe which my Lord observed most. My Lord admired many; they were all sent him next morning. He sent the cardinal back a fine gold repeater; who returned him an agate snuff-box, and more cameos of ten times the value. '*Voilà qui est fini!*' Had my Lord produced more gold repeaters it would have been begging more cameos."

The exquisite cameo which we were last examining probably came from Cardinal Ottoboni. Another beautiful cameo here is the head of Julia, daughter of Titus, on an agate (52 *b*, *B.M.C.* 1607). This is apparently copied from the famous stone at Paris, which is signed with the name Euodos, and which can be traced back to Charlemagne. The authenticity of our cameo as an antique is doubtful.

In the next compartment (53) the great attraction is the magnificent portrait of Augustus, which we have already discussed. Very fine also is the onyx cameo of Germanicus (53 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1589)—another gem of the Blacas collection, always greatly esteemed, says Sir Charles Newton, for the beauty of its workmanship, and believed to be one of the very few genuine examples of artists' signatures on gems. The name inscribed (in Greek characters) is Epitynchanus (see for a discussion of this signature, *Catalogue of Gems*, p. 37). This gem belonged to Fulvio Orsini, and an engraving of it was published as early as 1598.

A beautiful sardonyx cameo (53 *d*, *B.M.C.* 1532) represents the heads of a youthful king and queen. These have been called, without any good reason, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë. "In no cameo in this collection is the hard and ungrateful material more skilfully dealt with than in this beautiful work" (Newton). It is in a Renaissance setting of gold, enamels, and gems. Another beautiful cameo in pale onyx (53 *b*) has a head of Livia (?), the finest female head in the collection. A fragment of what must once have been a magnificent cameo should be noticed; this is a figure of Livia as Ceres, enthroned, seated on a cornucopia, held up by the hand of a figure now lost (53 *b*, *B.M.C.* 1571). The head of Augustus (53 *e*, *B.M.C.* 1561), though broken, is very fine; so is the unknown youthful head (53 *f*, B.M.C.

1599). These last are in Renaissance settings of gold and enamel.

The other ancient cameos (54-55) are of slighter interest. They belong to the same class as the later intaglios, and show us Cupid in a trap, or being flogged, or playing the flutes, or with the butterfly. Note (in 54 *c*) an onyx from the Carlisle collection (formerly in the possession of Cardinal Ottoboni), representing Cupid leading the panthers that drew the chariot of Bacchus. This is a fine ancient gem; the alleged artist's signature (Sostratus) is probably a modern addition. A fine but broken head of Ceres is worth noticing (in 55 *a*). Another fine fragment is from a cameo representing Actæon attacked by his hounds (54 *f*).

Motto Cameos (Compartment 56).—Not the least interesting class of cameos consists of those with mottoes which came into vogue in the days of the later Roman empire. These stones present short sentences enclosed within a myrtle wreath, or taking up the whole surface. The words show that they were designed for ornamenting rings and other small jewels intended for new year's gifts or birthday presents (King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 77). An onyx cameo in the Marlborough collection appears to have been a love gift from a lady. It is engraved with a hand pinching an ear, and the inscription:—

> Remember me, your pretty love.
> Good luck to you, Sophronius.

In our collection there is a cameo from Cyzicus with a similar inscription, "Remember me, your darling, wherever you are." Here also there is a hand pinching an ear. The ear, according to the then popular notion, was the seat of memory, and several of the cameos here bear this device, with the word "Remember," the ancient equivalent of our "Forget-me-nots."

Some inscriptions are simpler, conveying only "Good luck," or "Long life to you." One ring says, "Good-bye, my love"; another, "A gift to my pretty darling." Others are perhaps betrothal rings, as, for instance, the one on a nicolo, showing two hands clasped and inscribed "OMONOIA," "alliance" (56 *c*, *B.M.C.* 2147). On a ring from the Carlisle collection there is also "alliance," with a design of a vase and bird. Lastly, some preach a moral and give good advice to the

recipient. A common inscription is, "They say what they like. Let them say. I care not" (56 *d*, *B.M.C.* 2154-55). The maxim might well be the motto of all men in all ages who seek to possess their souls in patience. A free translation of it is inscribed over the doors of various houses in Scotland built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:—

They have said,
What say they?
Let them say.

Sometimes a ring seems to have come with good advice to a lover, as on a sardonyx here (56 *b*, *B.M.C.* 2168), on which the inscription seems to say, "If you are in love say nice things, and without actually perverting embroider."

PASTES

(*In the frames in the windows*)

In the windows are arranged three frames containing "paste gems"; those in two of the frames are **pastes of the Roman period**, those in the third were made by J. Tassie, 1791. In all cases they are imitations of ancient gems. "Paste," it should be explained, is only another word for the finest sort of glass. It was made with great skill by the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans; and in Roman times it was very largely used for glass gems, in order to meet the taste of the poorer classes. "Glass gems from the rings of the multitude," Pliny calls them. "Through these ingenious multiplications, which afforded almost the full enjoyment of all the artistic merit of the originals, the poorest were enabled to gratify both taste and vanity at a very trifling outlay." We read in Martial of "the well-dissembled emerald" on the finger of a dandy who, after asking the price of all the most expensive articles in a jeweller's shop, was glad to sell his ring for two shillings to get himself a dinner. In most cases antique pastes were no doubt innocently manufactured as cheap substitutes for the use of the poorer classes; but Pliny speaks also of imitations by lying glass, and says that he refrains from divulging the secrets known to him for fear of propagating this *fraud—thus showing* that forged gems were rife in his time. *It may be added* that ancient pastes are in turn themselves

forged, and it is by no means easy to distinguish genuine antique pastes from imitations.

The ordinary method of making a paste intaglio was simple :—

"A mould was made from an engraved gem by pressing it against a mixture of clay which had been ground in a mortar, together with a large proportion of finely powdered pottery, till it was a perfectly smooth, plastic, and homogeneous mass. The clay mould, with the impression of the original intaglio in relief, was very carefully baked in a potter's kiln, and then a red-hot lump of the glass or paste, in a soft pasty state, was gently pressed upon the mould till it received the complete imprint of the original gem. If done carefully, by a skilful glass-worker, the result was almost an exact facsimile of the original intaglio. . . . The material of which pastes were composed was a pure, hard glass, without any admixture of lead—what is now called 'flint glass.' The chief pigments used to colour them were various metallic oxides and salts" (Middleton's *Ancient Gems*, pp. 115, 153).

Clay moulds for making paste gems have been discovered. When the paste had cooled, its ragged edges were cut smooth and polished. In our collection there is a large colourless paste, with a head of Aristippus, which has not been thus finished off; its ragged border is just as it came from the mould (*B.M.C.* 518). The colours of ancient pastes are, as will be seen, often very magnificent. They are sometimes bought by Italian jewellers, Mr. Middleton tells us, to sell, when cut in facets, as real gems. Our examples (obtained mostly from the Townley collection) include some of the largest and finest of their kind. The sharpness of impression and splendour of colour frequently give them real artistic merit.

The **modern pastes**, here exhibited, are inferior in these respects to the ancient. They are also much softer. The quality of hardness is one of the tests by which a paste may be known from a stone; and similarly "a fragment of an antique paste will scratch a modern one as easily as rock crystal will scratch flint glass." James Tassie (1735-1799), the maker of the pastes here shown, was the best modern imitator of antique gems; he imitated in all more than 16,000 pieces (catalogue by R. E. Raspe). "He sold intaglios from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d., and cameos from 10s. 6d. to 42s., and these pastes, unless exceptionally fine, can be bought now for much the same price. His colours were very like those used by the ancient Romans, the blues especially being almost identical, but his

reds are much more brilliant; his glass is usually beautiful transparent" (C. Davenport's *Cameos*, p. 27).

THE PORTLAND VASE

(*Above Table-case T*)

We now turn to a production which may be called a paste-cameo on a large scale. The "Portland" vase of dark-blue glass, with cameo-like designs in white, is one of the most celebrated objects in the British Museum. It is remarkable as a fine specimen of a rare art, for its own intrinsic beauty, and also for its eventful history. It is the finest specimen extant of what is called "**cameo glass.**" "In this process a bubble of opaque white glass was formed at the end of the tube used by the glass-blower; this was coated with transparent blue glass, and that again with opaque white, and the vessel was formed from this threefold globe. The outer coat was then removed from that portion which was to constitute the ground, leaving the white for the figures and other ornamentations; these were then sculptured by means of the gem-engraver's tools." The process is referred to by Pliny (xxxv. 26, 66). But on account of the difficulty in carving in glass and the brittle nature of the material, which might at any moment break in the hands of the artist, works of this kind are of great rarity.

The **delicacy of workmanship** in the vase before us is most remarkable. Its "points" in this respect are well explained by Josiah Wedgwood, the famous English potter, one of whose principal works was an accurate copy in clay of this glass vase:—

"It is apparent (wrote Wedgwood to Sir William Hamilton) that the artist has availed himself very ably of the dark ground in producing the perspective and distance required, by cutting the white away nearer to the ground as the shades were wanted deeper, so that the white is often cut to the thinness of paper, and, in some instances, quite away, and the ground itself makes a part of the bas-relief; by which means he has given to his work the effect of painting as well as sculpture; and it will be found that a bas-relief, with all the figures of a uniform white colour upon a dark ground, will be a very faint resemblance of what this artist has had the address to produce by calling in the aid of colour to assist his relief. That hollowness of the rocks, and depth of shade in other parts, produced by cutting down to the dark ground,

and to which it owes no small part of its beauty, would all be wanting, and a disgusting flatness appear in their stead. It is here that I am most sensible of my weakness, and that I must of necessity call in the engraver to my assistance, in order to produce the highest finished and closest copies we are capable of making. But in this resource difficulties arise, and I fear insurmountable ones; for how few artists have we in this branch whose touches would not carry ruin with them to these beautiful and high wrought figures! And suppose one or two could be found equal to the task, would such artists be persuaded to quit a lucrative branch of their profession, and devote half a life to a single work for which there is little probability of their being paid half so much as they earn by their present employment, for I do not think £5000 for the execution of such a vase, supposing our best artists capable of the work, would be at all equal to their gains from the work they are now employed in" (Eliza Meteyard's *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, ii. 578).

It is in the delicacy of the cameo-like work, rather than in the shape of the vase itself, that its beauty consists:—

"I suppose it is admitted (continues Wedgwood) that the form of the vase is not so elegant as it might be made if the artist had not been possessed of some very good reason for contenting himself with the present form. Either, perhaps, that he would engage the undivided attention of the spectator to his sculpture—the vase itself being the production of an inferior artist, the Verrier; or because the material made use of under the circumstances necessary for the display of his art—that is, the body being made of one colour, and the surface covered over to a due thickness with another, was not capable of taking a form with those delicate parts on which its beauty as a simple vase would in a great measure depend, and which might be given to a vessel of any metal or more manageable materials" (*ibid.* p. 579).

The **subjects** of the figures have been much discussed, and the interpretation is still doubtful. On one side is a woman, seated; she is approached by a lover, who is led on by Cupid. This group is supposed to represent Thetis consenting to be the bride of Peleus in the presence of Poseidon—a subject which, somewhat differently treated, we have seen on one of the most beautiful of the Greek painted vases (E 424, p. 361). The group on the other side is supposed to represent Peleus watching his bride Thetis asleep, while the goddess of love presides over the scene. The inverted torch held by Thetis is the symbol of sleep. On the bottom of the vase, which is detached, is a bust of Paris wearing a Phrygian cap. This bas-relief had belonged originally to some other vase or fragment, and had been ground down and inserted on our vase.

The **history** of this "Portland" or "Barberini" Vase is remarkable. It was discovered during the pontificate of Urban VII. (Cardinal Barberini), 1623-1644 A.D., enclosed in a marble sarcophagus (now in the Museum of the Capitol) in the Monte del Grano, about three miles from Rome, on the road to Tusculum. This has been supposed to be the sarcophagus of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and his mother Julia Mammæa, who were both killed in the year 235 A.D., and to that period it almost certainly belongs. The **date** of the Portland Vase, however, is unquestionably earlier. The "Vase des Vendanges" in the Naples Museum, which is of similar workmanship, was entombed in Pompeii in 79 A.D.; to about that time, or a little earlier, must be assigned the production of the finest glass work ever accomplished. For many years after its discovery our vase was a conspicuous ornament of the Barberini Palace at Rome. In 1770 it was bought by a connoisseur, to whose taste the British Museum owes so many of its treasures, Sir William Hamilton. When, in December 1784, he paid one of his visits to England, the vase came with him; its fame had preceded him, and had already excited the desires of many virtuosi. Among these was the Dowager Duchess of Portland, whose passion for increasing her museum amounted almost to monomania. She at once began to lay siege to the vase, approaching a niece of Sir William Hamilton in the matter. The two ladies transacted the business in the most secret manner by whispers, signs, and confabulations, with an air of mystery and solemnity greater than the ambassador would have thought necessary in concluding a secret treaty (see *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany*, ii. 191, 199, etc.). At last Sir William Hamilton consented to sell the vase for the sum of 1800 guineas. "I hear," wrote Horace Walpole, "that Sir William Hamilton's renowned vase, which had disappeared with so much mystery, is again recovered; not in the tomb, but in the treasury of the Duchess of Portland, in which, I fancy, it had made ample room for itself." The Duchess, however, only lived to enjoy her treasure for a few weeks. At the sale of her collections in June 1786, the vase was bought in by the Duke of Portland for £1029. In 1810 it was lent by the third Duke for exhibition in the British *Museum,* where it has remained ever since, on loan from *successive holders* of the title.

On February 7, 1845, this unique treasure was maliciously **broken** by a visitor to the Museum. The culprit, who was described as a theatrical scene-painter, threw a stone at the vase, which, with the glass case containing it, was shattered to atoms. The man was at once arrested and was charged at Bow Street Police Court four days later. He said that he had been drinking heavily, that he was "suffering from a kind of nervous excitement," and that "whatever punishment might be inflicted on him, he would have the satisfaction of feeling that it had been richly deserved." Curiously enough, it was necessary, owing to an ambiguity in the existing law, to charge the miscreant with the destruction not of the priceless vase, but of "a certain glass case, value £3." He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment. This one act of wanton violence in 1845 is, I believe, the only instance of serious injury, arising from open exhibition to all comers, which the annals of the Museum record. The vase was thus broken into one hundred pieces. It was, however, so skilfully joined together by a craftsman in the service of the Museum that the beauty of its design and execution may still be appreciated almost as well as when it was intact. The base was not replaced; it is shown separately. A water-colour drawing, showing the fragments to which the vase was reduced, is exhibited in this room. This accident to the vase lent additional interest to the **copies** which, as already related, were made before its fracture. In the Glass Room of the Museum (Case 64) may be seen a plaster cast, and an early copy in Wedgwood's Jasper Ware. Wedgwood took an infinity of trouble in the matter, and it was three years before a satisfactory result was obtained. In studying the vase closely, he discovered, by the way, that it had been previously broken and repaired. Wedgwood's copy was regarded as a great triumph of his art, and the first specimen was exhibited as a proof of his skill at many foreign courts. The copies first issued, at the price of £50, were all finished by hand work, and examples are now of great scarcity. The subsequent copies, cast from moulds, are of no special value.

Immediately below the Portland Vase is a graceful gold vase of the Roman period, which was dredged up off the coast of Asia Minor. An inscription on the foot gives its weight as two pounds and half an ounce.

Costly cups were much admired by the wealthy connoisseurs

of Imperial Rome; and we may here notice two other remarkable examples in this sort which the Museum is fortunate in possessing. Of similar workmanship to the Portland Vase is the "**Auldjo**" **Vase** in the Glass Room (Case C), which also has been broken, though not wantonly. It was found at Pompeii, in the House of the Faun. Some fragments were bequeathed by Miss Auldjo in 1859; others were subsequently acquired, and the vase has now been cleverly restored. It is ornamented with a beautiful spray of vine, bearing grapes, a motive very appropriate to a drinking-cup or decanter. The same motive appears on another of the treasures of the Museum—the "**Rothschild Vase**" of mottled agate in the Waddesdon Room :—

The body is an example of ancient Roman cameo work, while the mounts are in the most elaborate style of the Italian Renaissance, and the whole is in the most perfect state of preservation. The skill of the Roman lapidary was fully equal to that of his later collaborator, though the nature of his material exacted a broader treatment. It is somewhat rare to find an ancient vase of hard stone so symmetrical and graceful in outline, and it is probably this quality that led the goldsmith of the Renaissance to bestow his skill upon it. The body is formed of a single piece of honey-coloured stone of great beauty, hollowed, with handles carved in the form of heads of Pan, while the surface has vine branches and grapes in relief. The enamelled decoration of the gold mounts is of unusual richness, and in a wonderful state of preservation. The enamel is partly encrusted and partly translucent, the latter being used to fill engraved designs. The designs on the mounts carry out the Bacchanalian ideas suggested by the vine of the vase itself—figures of satyrs, Bacchus, grapes, and rams' heads (*Guide to the Waddesdon Bequest*, No. 68; Davenport's *Cameos*, p, 43, where a coloured picture of the vase is given).

This vase, the most beautiful known specimen of its kind, belonged to the Duke of Devonshire, and was in 1897 exhibited by him with four other cups (Nos. 69-72) at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. "They had emerged from a cabinet at Devonshire House, where nobody took much notice of them. An agent of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild's approached the owner and, much to his amazement, offered him the irresistible price of £25,000 for the five pieces. The curious thing is that if they were put up to auction they would certainly bring the same figure again, so numerous are modern *millionaires* and so eager to obtain anything that reaches *the necessary* standard of rarity, beauty, and workmanship"

(*Times*, April 9, 1900). The early history of the vase is unknown. "It may date," says the same writer, "from the age of Domitian or Hadrian, and have been made by Greek workmen for some amateur like Martial's Instantius Rufus, the owner of the *phiala*, which the poet describes in the most famous of his epigrams."

RENAISSANCE AND MODERN GEMS, ETC.

(*Arranged in Table-case W*)

We now turn from antique gems to those of later times. Together with this portion of the collection of gems there are exhibited various objects of Mediæval Renaissance and modern jewellery—objects in all cases precious in themselves (for costliness of material, or artistic merit, or both), and often of great historical interest. On the revival of the art of making engraved gems, Vasari has some interesting remarks:—

"Since the art of engraving oriental stones and of cutting cameos was carried to such perfection by the Greeks, whose works in that manner may be called divine, I should consider myself to commit no slight error if I were to pass over in silence the men who, in our own times, have imitated those admirable artists, although there has been none among the moderns, as it is said, who, in this present and fortunate age, have surpassed the ancients in delicacy and beauty of design. . . . Many years passed over during which the art was lost, no one occupying himself therewith, or if at times anything was done, it was not in a manner which renders the result worthy to be taken into account; and, so far as is known, it was not until the time of Pope Martin V. and Pope Paul II. that any one was found who began to do well in this matter; but after that period there was a gradual progress down to the time of the magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici, who took much pleasure in the engravings of antique cameos, and between himself and his son Piero a large number was collected. . . . They then resolved to attempt the establishment of this art in their city, and to that end they invited masters from divers countries, when these men not only restored the stones which Lorenzo or Piero then possessed, but executed many other beautiful works of the kind. . . . The labours of these masters brought that very difficult art to such a state that Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, Valerio Vicentino, Matteo dal Nassaro, and others have been enabled to produce the admirable works of which we will now proceed to record the memorial" (*Lives of the Painters*, Bohn's edition, 1874, iii. 469).

What Vasari says of Valerio Vicentino may be applied to the gem-engravers of the modern time generally: "Had nature

imparted to him as much power in design as she gave him patience, care and rapidity in carving, and diligence in bringing his works in completion, he would not only have equalled the ancients, which he did, but would have very greatly surpassed them."

We begin our inspection with the Table-case W, Compartment 15. Here we find five **large intaglios**, of the School of Valerio (died 1546), "with the usual flat treatment of that school, compositions crowded with figures in violent action." These come from the Carlisle collection. Here also are several vessels of rock-crystal, much in favour in the sixteenth century. The so-called "Cellini cup" is a German work of that period.

The **cameos** in the next compartment (16) are of various interest. Some are set in very graceful mounts, enriched with enamels and precious stones; some are cut on shells—a material which gives a pleasant softness of colour, but lacks the hard durability of the onyx; others are used as the lids of snuff-boxes. There are also some fine intaglios here, notably that of a Cæsar engraved on an amethyst, set in a French mount of the seventeenth century.

Among the jewels and **relics of historical interest** we may notice: a pattern five-broad piece of Charles I., usually known as the "**Juxon medal**," said to have been presented by Charles I. to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold:—

"Since the coin was sold in public (at the Montagu sale for £700) some further interesting facts have been ascertained connecting it with Archbishop Juxon, from whom it descended to his great-great-niece, Miss Henrietta Gythens of Gloucester, who in her will, dated 1751, states that it was 'given by King Charles I. on the scaffold to my great-great-uncle, Archbishop Juxon.' Miss Gythens bequeathed the coin to the Rev. James Commeline, vicar of Haresfield, Gloucestershire, and from him it descended to his grandson, who, in 1835, sold it to Lieut.-Colonel John Drummond. Since that time it has passed through several well-known collections, and finally was purchased by Mr. Montagu" (*Athenæum*).

A book of Morning and Evening Prayer in English, made by the Lady Elizabeth Tirwitt, 1574, in enamelled gold cover, on which are the Brazen Serpent and the Judgment of Solomon. This belonged to Queen Elizabeth. Gold signet-rings of Mary Queen of Scots; a watch, said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell; a gold watch and snuff-box of Gibbon the historian; two **snuff-boxes presented by Napoleon** to Lady

Holland and the Hon. Mrs. Damer. "The former was presented by Pius VII. to Napoleon upon the occasion of the Treaty of Tolentino. The lid is set with an excellent antique cameo on a sardonyx of many strata; the subject, in flat relief, is a young Faun riding upon a goat, well drawn and minutely finished. This precious antique was, doubtless, chosen by the tasteful Pontiff to grace his offering as really surpassing in value the diamonds that usually adorn such testimonies of regard" (King's *Handbook*, p. 162). The other snuff-box was given to Mrs. Damer as a "souvenir" in consequence of her having presented the Emperor with a bust of Mr. Fox executed in marble by herself. The bust had been promised at the Peace of Amiens, was finished in 1812 and sent to France, where it remained, but was not presented till May 1, 1815, when Mrs. Damer had an audience for that purpose at the Elysée. The history of this relic is told in an inscription on the lid of the gold box.

A **Buddhist relic casket** in gold (presented by the India Office, 1900) is an object of the highest interest in connection with the history of Indian art, and illustrates the wide diffusion of Greek influence:—

It was found by Mr. Masson in one of the Buddhist topes built on the sandstone slopes which stretch away westward from Jellalabad in the Cabul valley towards the Lughman hills. It was found in a vase, and the casket itself was filled with burnt pearls and fragments of precious stones. By some coins found beside it, Professor Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 71) fixed the date of the relic to the dynasty of Græco-barbaric kings who ruled in this part of India about 50 B.C. "The upper and lower rims of the casket are studded with rubies, and the whole is executed in the finest style of beaten goldsmith's work. Like all the Buddhistic remains found in the Panjab and Afghanistan, it is strikingly Byzantine in its general character; and the storks or cranes with outstretched wings in the spaces between the arches in which the apostle-like figures are niched, recall at once the figures of angels carved in the spaces between the arches in Christian churches. The peaked arches resemble Venetian Gothic. But the date of this casket shows that its European character must have been due to the Greek influence, which came in the wake of Alexander's invasion. It was probably executed by an Indian workman from Greek designs or models" (Sir George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, i. 144-47). "The exterior of the casket is embellished with eight figures, or two sets of four figures repeated, evidently intended for Gautama in the act of teaching, and having on his right a religious, and on his left a lay, follower; the fourth figure is a female disciple" (*Magazine of Art*, 1900, p. 561).

The tope, it may be mentioned, is a shrine peculiar to the Buddhist religion; those who wish to obtain some idea of the sculptures which adorned such shrines need only pause upon the principal staircase of the Museum; for there, arranged on the walls, are some of the sculptures from the great Buddhist tope at Amaravati, chiefly collected by Sir Walter Elliot, and presented by the India Office several years ago. The relic-caskets, such as the one before us, were the holy of holies of the shrines. "The relics generally found in Afghanistan are mostly discovered," says Mr. Masson, "in small recesses or apartments in the centres of the buildings, enclosed in caskets. These vessels usually contain smaller cylindrical cases of gold or silver, often of both, distinct or enclosed one within the other. In one of these will generally be found a fragment or two of bone, and these appear to have been the essential relics over which the monuments were raised."

On the top of these cases stands a most valuable and interesting **Reliquary** of Christian origin. This had for some time been lent to the Museum by Mr. George Salting, who, in 1902, presented it to the nation. Relics of the Passion of our Lord and of the saints formed, as is well known, part of the recognised commerce of mediæval Christendom. The most sainted kings encouraged it; and, when a holy relic was obtained, all the resources of the art of the time were employed to give it a worthy setting. The reliquary before us resembles a small oval locket. The sides are of amethyst set in gold. Between them is an oval box with a lid. In a narrow central compartment this box contains what purports to be a spine from the Crown of Thorns. The sides of the box and the inner sides of the locket are enriched with scenes from the Passion, in translucent enamel (see below, p. 664). This reliquary is stated to have been given by St. Louis (who bought the alleged Crown of Thorns from the Venetians) to a king of Aragon; but the style of the work is believed to be half a century later than the time of St. Louis, who died in 1270.

A **vervel** in gold of the time of Henry IV. (1399-1413) is curious. The vervel was a ring fastened to a hawk, as in Colonel Lovelace's poem, *The Falcon*:—

> Free, beauteous slave, thy happy feet
> In silver fetters, vervails meet,
> And trample on that noble wrist,
> The gods have knelt in vain to kiss.

Our specimen was found near Biggleswade, about 1795.

A celebrated **cameo** of unusual excellence and interest (from the Carlisle collection) is to be seen in the next compartment (17):—

An oval cameo in a sardonyx of three layers; a composition of nine figures of excellent design. The subject, Noah and his Family about to enter the ark, the foreground filled with the various animals that accompanied them. Noah, in full robes, an angel hovering over his head, holds open one of the folding-doors of the ark, resembling a mediæval shrine. Noah's sons and the four wives are artistically grouped upon the other side. On the doors of the ark is inscribed, "LAUR. MED.," showing that the gem was made for, or belonged to, Lorenzo de' Medici. It is probably the work of one of the Italian artists of the quattro-cento period, possibly Domenico de' Camei (for whom see Vasari, iii. 468). King suggests Pollaluolo, but there is much to remind one of the earlier Niccola Pisano (King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 52; A. W. Franks in *British Museum Return*, 1890-91, p. 79).

There is also here a notable **intaglio** (from the Carlisle collection), on a sard, with a battle between Greeks and Trojans. The work is ascribed to Matteo del Nassaro, who was for some time in the service of Francis I. of France, and of whom Vasari has left us a very interesting account (iii. 473-476). The sard has been broken, and the fractures have been ingeniously strengthened and concealed on the back by an elegant monogram in enamelled gold of K.B., possibly Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham, daughter of James II. Among other gems we may notice a sardonyx cameo of Diana of the Ephesians; a bloodstone intaglio with a hunting scene (showing a large amount of blank "field," a characteristic of Renaissance work; see above, p. 645) and a fine cameo head of Medusa. This is

"exquisitely carved by a clever hand of the last century out of one large and perfect Peruvian emerald. So beautiful a work has obtained a setting of equal merit in its way, being mounted with true Parisian taste in an *enchâssure* of the most appropriate character that could be imagined. Numerous serpents in enamelled gold continuously entwining produce a broad open-work frame that much augments the effect of the Gorgon in their midst. The brooch was presented by the late Duc de Blacas to his daughter, who was unfortunate enough to lose possession of the gift, in consequence of its having remained in the cabinet at the time the gems were valued for sale" (King in *Arch. J.* xxiv. 34).

Enamelled gold cup of the Kings of England and of France.—Above the table-case is a very remarkable cup of fine gold, weighing nearly sixty-eight ounces. This cup, one of the gems of the Gem Room, is celebrated alike for the perfection of its workmanship and for its long historical record. It is one of the finest existing specimens of the process known as *translucent enamel on relief*. In this process the design is chased in very low relief on the metal, and is then covered with powdered enamels of various colours. Differences of shade are obtained by the varying thickness of the enamels in different parts of the design. The details are produced by the work beneath. It is only on gold that the fine ruby colour can be produced. As may be imagined, the process of fusing by heat requires the greatest possible care, in order to prevent the colours running together. On the cover and bowl of the drinking-cup are ten subjects from the martyrdom of Saint Agnes. On the lower part of the stem are enamelled the symbols of the four evangelists, below which is a coronal of leaves and pearls. A similar ornament that surrounded the cover is now lost, as well as the knop (boss), which was originally a bunch of jewels, and later an arched crown. The stem has been lengthened by the insertion of a portion with enamelled Tudor roses, over the upper part of which has been placed a band with a Latin inscription. The history of the cup is believed to be as follows:—

"It was probably made to be presented to Charles V. (the Wise), King of France, who was born on the feast of St. Agnes, January 21, 1337, and who had a special devotion for that saint. He died in 1380; and in 1391 the cup was given by his brother Jean, Duc de Berry, to his nephew Charles VI., in whose possession it remained at any rate till 1400, as shown by the French inventories. From Charles VI. it passed to his grandson Henry VI., King of England, who certainly possessed the cup in 1449-51, when it was included in schedules of plate to be pledged for loans.

"We next find it in the inventories of King Henry VIII., by whom the addition to the stem and the alteration in the knop were probably made. It is also found in the inventories of Queen Elizabeth, and in documents of James I., by whom the cup, with a large quantity of other plate, was given in 1604 to Don Juan Velasco, Ducque de Frias and Constable of Castile, when he came to conclude the treaty of peace between England and Spain.

[This is the gift recorded in the inscription:—



GAZÆ SACRÆ EX ANGLIA RELIQUIAS, PACIS INTER REGES PACTÆ

MONUMENTUM, CRATERA AURO SOLIDUM, IOAN VELASQ. COMESTAB., INDE R. B. G. REGIENS, XPO PACIFICATORI DD.]

"The Constable gave it in 1610 to the nunnery of Santa Clara de Medina de Pomar near Burgos; and a few years since the abbess sent it to Paris, where it was sold to the well-known collector, Baron Pichon, from whom it was purchased by Messrs. Wertheimer" (*Guide to the Exhibition Galleries*, 1896, p. 195).

A movement was set on foot to secure so famous a work of art for the British Museum. Messrs. Wertheimer ceded it for that purpose at cost price (£8000) in 1892. The Treasury contributed £2830. The remainder was raised by subscriptions. The principal subscribers were the Goldsmiths' Company, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Savile, Lord Iveagh, Mr. C. E. Drury Fortnum, Sir A. W. Franks, and Mr. S. Wertheimer (£500 each).

In the compartment below this cup (18) are jewels from the Castellani collection (purchased in 1872), including a fine necklace, with pearls and rubies, of Italian seventeenth-century workmanship.

Anglo-Saxon and other gold ornaments occupy the next compartment (19). Of the Merovingian jewellery of the fifth century and of the Anglo-Saxon of a later date, "the characteristics are thin plates of gold, decorated with thin slabs of garnet, set in walls of gold soldered vertically like the lines of cloisonné enamel, with the addition of very decorative details of filigree work, beading and twisted gold" (Wallis). The Anglo-Saxon patterns, it will be seen, are largely geometrical. Thus an ornament, found near Little Hampton (Worcester) together with a skeleton and a Saxon sword, consists of elegant pieces of gold filigree linked together with shorter pieces, which are in the form of a figure 8. In the centre of the circular ornament in the midst is a garnet, from which proceed eight lines forming a wheel pattern (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., iii. 27). On the gold piece, found near Lancaster with coins of Canute, a human head is figured, but it is in the very rudest style of workmanship (*Archæologia*, xviii. pl. 17). The Anglo-Saxon jewellers ultimately attained great skill, and enjoyed a European reputation. They were also held in great repute at home, as we may tell from a poem in the collection known as the Exeter Book:—"For one a wondrous skill in goldsmith's art is *provided*, full oft he decorates and well adorns

a powerful king's nobles, and he to him gives broad land in recompense."

Here also is the **gold ring of Ethelwulf**, King of Wessex (836-858) and father of Alfred the Great :—

"This precious relic of antiquity was discovered by a most fortunate accident during the summer of 1780, in the parish of Laverstock, Wilts, not far from Salisbury. It had been pressed out of a cart-rut in a field, and was picked up by a labourer who sold it to a silversmith in Salisbury for 34s., the value of the gold. The ring bears some resemblance to a bishop's mitre, and bears the legend 'Ethelvvlf R(ex)' which leaves no doubt as to the ownership. Above this is a device, filled in like the inscription, with niello, representing two peacocks pecking a tree; the work is somewhat rude, but is evidently an attempt to reproduce a piece of symbolism common on early Christian monuments" (*Catalogue of the Alfred the Great Millenary Exhibition*, 1901, p. 13).

Another gold finger-ring consists of a plain hoop with pearled edges, bearing around it in gold letters on a nielloed ground an inscription recording the name of the owner Ethred, and the maker, Eanred. This ring was found in Lancashire. Another (found near Peterborough in the river Nene) is peculiar for having two facets (on one, interlaced triangles; on the other, flowing curves). The ornaments are engraved and inlaid with niello (for a description of this process, see above, p. 606). Three rings—of gold, agate, and bronze respectively—are engraved with Runic letters. The inscriptions are supposed to be charms, and it has been suggested that the rings were used to hang from the handles of swords. The gold ring was found in 1817 at Kingmoor near Carlisle. Its inscription has been interpreted as "Whether in fever or leprosy let the patient be happy and confident in the hope of recovery" (see *Archæologia*, xxi. 25).

Among other gold ornaments here are four pieces which show enamelled work, and more or less resemble the famous "Alfred Jewel" (in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford). One of our pieces is a gold medallion with a half-figure of Christ having a cruciform nimbus, and a book in the left hand, the right hand raised in the act of benediction. The figure is executed in **cloisonné** work (see, for this process, p. 748 *n*); filled with translucent enamels of various colours. A gold brooch, ornamented with filigree and set with pearls, has medallions of translucent enamel, divided by lines of gold.

Another gold brooch (found in Southern Italy) is decorated with enamels and threaded pearls. In the centre is a medallion with a bust, in a very rude style. The fourth specimen is a brooch of gold filigree, set with four pearls, and having in the centre a medallion (found in Thames Street, London):—

"The bust in this jewel has the almost grotesque air not uncommonly seen in enamels of this time and make. The head-dress is remarkable, and has been thought, with good reason, to be a crown, surmounted by three globes or pearls; from the crown, near the ears, proceed two simple scrolls, while the dress worn by the figure is classical in appearance, and seems to be fastened on the right shoulder. . . . There is as much difference artistically between the style of the Alfred jewel and any one of the three human figures now shown as there is among the latter themselves. These differences seem to accentuate the difficulty of tracing the origin of this enamelled work. It may well be that some of it was executed in this country by the craftsmen in the employ of King Alfred; but it may fairly be assumed that on the journeys to Rome and elsewhere, undertaken by Ethelwulf, Alfred, and Ethelswitha, they and their suites would acquire jewellery of this class, which must have been comparatively common in Rome, and in other important centres at that time" (*Catalogue of the Alfred the Great Millenary Exhibition*, 1901, Nos. 17-20).

The Renaissance Gems bought from the **Marlborough collection** are in the next compartment (20). They are of great merit as gems, and are also remarkable for the beauty of the setting and for their historical interest. One is a double cameo, with a head of Hercules on one side and of Omphale on the other. Such combinations were often made when the thickness of the stone was sufficient. It used to be supposed that the head of Hercules was antique, the Omphale being added later. More probably, however, both cameos are of the Renaissance period, the heads being portraits of contemporary personages in those characters. The gem is mounted in a broad gold plaque edge, set with diamonds and rubies arranged alternately, and enriched on the edge with a twist of vine branches and leaves in black enamel on gold. It has the historical interest of having been a gift to the Pope Clement VII. from the Emperor Charles V., and is said to have been afterwards given by the Pope to the Piccolomini of Siena. It was acquired by the Earl of Bessborough from the collection of Medina (a Jew of Leghorn), and from the Earl passed to the Duke of Marlborough (No. 309; £483). A cameo of Lucius

Verus is mounted in a very beautiful setting, and is further remarkable for its perfect preservation. "The mount is an ingenious collection of enamel and jewels, arranged in an open-work of an intricate design. The back is modelled in low relief and coated with brilliant enamels, producing a rich and harmonious effect" (No. 478; £700). The third of the cinque-cento gems is a fine portrait cameo of a male head, said to be from the hand of Alessandro Cesati (Il Greco). The work is of unusual force and vigour. The delicate pierced mounting, daintily enamelled with flowers, is in striking contrast to the severe lines of the portrait, and was probably added in the seventeenth century (No. 538; £300). The works of Il Greco, says Vasari (iii. 480), excelled all others. "Michelangelo himself, looking at them one day, while Giorgio Vasari was present, remarked that the hour for the death of art had arrived, since it was not possible that a better work could be seen." The other Marlborough gem is an intaglio in nicolo, representing the Dioscuri (No. 256). Towards the purchase of these gems Mr. Charles Butler contributed £1000.

Among other objects in this compartment (20) is a **pomander case** (found in the Thames) of sixteenth-century workmanship. Perfume balls, carried in cases, were worn as amulets. "I have sold all my trumpery," says Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale* (Act iv. Sc. 4), "not a counterfeit stone, not a ribbon, glass, pomander, brooch, table-book, ballad, knife, tape, glove, shoe-tie, bracelet, horn-ring, to keep my pack from fasting."

There is also here a collection of **Anglo-Roman Gold Ornaments.** On a gold plaque found at Colchester is a portrait of the Empress Faustina the elder. Of late Roman, or of Celto-Roman work, is a heavy gold brooch, found in a garden at Odiham (Hants). Several ornaments here exhibited were found inside an elegant silver vessel, resembling a saucepan, on the handle of which is an inscription recording its dedication to the **Deae Matres,** divinities worshipped by our ancestors in those days, and supplicated for fruitfulness in the seasons. The wheel, so often introduced, may have been symbolic of the rise and fall of prosperity, or the revolution of the seasons (see E. Hawkins in *Arch. J.* viii. 35). The gold *neck-chain* with wheel was found at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the neighbourhood of Backworth (Northum-

berland). Another similar ornament was turned up by the plough at Llandovery. Among the Irish ornaments are a chain and two bracelets found in 1842 by a labouring man within a few yards of the entrance to the caves at New Grange, Co. Meath (*Archæologia*, xxx. p. xii.). A gold-wire bracelet was dug up at Virginia, Co. Cavan, in 1833 (*Arch. J.* v. 154). We may also notice an important acquisition from Wales, viz. "a broad gold bracelet, ornamented with applied wires, with enamelled clasps, displaying Celtic scroll-work; an incomplete pair of gold bracelets in quadrangular panels, set with garnets and sapphire pastes, and a heavy gold ring set with an onyx intaglio of an ant—all found together at Rhayader, Radnorshire" (*Brit. Mus. Return*, 1900, p. 73).

Passing to the other side of the Table-case, we find in the first compartment (21) a collection of **Renaissance Cameo Portraits** (many of them from the Carlisle collection). One of the most interesting is a contemporary portrait of Réné, Duke of Anjou and titular King of Sicily (1409-80). The execution is very fine. King Réné was a great patron of art of all kinds, and is said himself to have engraved gems. There are also portraits of Francis I. of France (1494-1547); Alessandro de' Medici, first Duke of Florence (1510-1537); and Philip II. of Spain (1527-1598). The collection of Renaissance and modern gems is continued in Compartments 22, 24, and 25. (In 23 are the antique Marlborough gems already described.) In Table-case U 26 and 27 are modern intaglios. Several of the later are signed by well-known engravers of the eighteenth century.

☞ *We now leave the Room of Gold Ornaments, and, passing out of the Etruscan Saloon, enter the Room of Terra-cottas.*

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ROOM OF TERRA-COTTAS

Despise *me*, Mercury, because I'm only clay—
Cheap product of the potter's art!
I glory in my humble birth, and say
"I only saw the humble giver's grateful heart."

(From the *Greek Anthology*, translated by Miss HUTTON.)

"The statuettes of terra-cotta from Tanagra constitute a little world by themselves of infinite variety. They reveal an art which is quite new to us, with whose methods we were scarcely acquainted, and whose perfection we did not suspect. They introduce us to the everyday life of ancient Greece, and they are charming in themselves" (DIEHL'S *Excursions in Greece*).

THE room of terra-cottas is often treated by visitors as a passage only. This is a pity, for it contains some of the prettiest and most interesting objects in the Museum. They are, however, small in scale; they do not readily catch the eye; they are, from the artistic point of view, very unequal in merit; and the light, it may be added, is often very bad. We propose, therefore, to look first at some of the prettiest objects here exhibited, with a view to obtaining an attractive hold of our subject at the outset.[1]

TANAGRA FIGURINES

The most famous and characteristic of the ancient terra-cottas are the Tanagra figurines—the little figures, that is,

[1] A charming companion to the study of the terra-cotta room is *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, by Miss C. A. Hutton ("Portfolio Monograph" series), 5s. It contains numerous illustrations from specimens in the Museum. *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, by Marcus B. Huish (John

found at Tanagra (Cases 16-24). The best collection of these is in the Louvre, but here also are several capital specimens. Looking at them for a while, we shall find ourselves in a new world of familiar domesticities and of dainty grace. Look, for instance, at the row of quaint little children with wings and fans (Case 14, C 39 and 40); the old nurse with the child on her ample knees (Case 16, C 279); the two ladies having a cosy chat on the sofa (Case 26, C 529); the girl with her pet bird (Case 23, C 248); the lady in her out-door cloak and curious peaked hat (Case 22, C 264). These are all marvels of airy grace, and will at once appeal to the spectator. They are small and they are trifles. "Can any one be imagined," asks Socrates, "who would compare Zeuxis or Parrhasius to the painters of ex votos or Phidias to a maker of figurines?" No one would do so; yet these figurines have a charm that is all their own. Among these laughing boys and pretty ladies, we are far removed from the world which the great sculptors peopled for us. We have descended from the majesties of Olympus to the playfulness of home. From the Greek vases also, these terra-cottas are quite distinct; there is here little of the legendary lore, nothing of the conventional treatment, little of the decorative severity which characterise the vases. The transition from sculpture to figurines is like the change from the tragedies of Æschylus to the songs of the *Greek Anthology*—from the lofty rhyme of Milton to the *vers de société* of Praed or Austin Dobson; and

> Why should little things be blamed?
> Little things for grace are famed.
> Love, the winged and the wild,
> Love is but a little child. [1]

These little Tanagra figures constitute, it has been said, a world of their own, and it is a world which none of the other remains of antiquity bring before us so vividly. Greek art—and, to a large extent, Greek literature—reflects only the public life of the Greeks. It brings before us the life of the battle-field, the senate, the temple, the philosopher's porch, and the

Murray), is also a valuable work, on a more elaborate scale; its illustrations include specimens from other collections. One of the best chapters in M. Charles Diehl's fascinating volume *Excursions in Greece* (H. Grevel) is devoted to the Tanagra figurines.

[1] From the *Greek Anthology*, translated by T. P. Rogers.

gymnasium; it does not introduce us into the home. Let us enter there by the aid of these figurines, and make the acquaintance of some Greek children, their elder brothers and sisters, and their mothers.

How charming is the picture (Case 17, C 278) of "a graceful young mother in her high-backed chair, singing her baby to sleep"! This little group has, it has been truly said, "all the sweet serenity of a mediæval Madonna."

Sometimes the babe was entrusted to the care of a nurse, though the Greek poets, like our own Shelley, were much against the practice. In a figurine here before us (Case 16, C 279) the old nurse is treated in a grotesque spirit; but, as we know from an epigram by Theocritus, nurses were sometimes held in high honour:—

> The babe Medeius to his Thracian nurse
> This stone, inscribed 'To Cleita,' raised in the mid highway.
> Her modest virtues oft shall men rehearse,
> Who doubts it? Is not 'Cleita's worth' a proverb to this day?
> (CALVERLEY'S translation.)

In the same spirit of caricature is the statuette of the tutor engaged in giving a writing lesson (Case 16, C 214).

Up to the age of seven, a Greek boy remained at home, and the world of childhood, which the statuettes have opened up to us, is full of

> "laughing and refractory little ones, who busy themselves with charming naïveté and grace with their childish games. Sometimes seated on a square altar, scantily clad in a little shirt, the child holds in his hand the net containing his ball or the bag with his knuckle-bones. Sometimes he is trundling a hoop or spinning a top, and at other times he has harnessed himself to a little carriage, or is gravely wearing a comic mask, or carrying a musical instrument. The greatest pleasure of these children is, however, to play with their favourite animals. We find them sitting astride geese, cocks, and rams, generally on very bad terms with their steeds, and struggling with them with all the strength of their little arms" (Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, p. 393).

Many examples in this sort may be seen in Table-case A. Here we may notice the boy in a peaked cap mounted on a horse (Case 15, C 32), and another boy riding apparently on a dog (Case 10, B 257). But none of the statuettes of children is more charming than that of the laughing boy (C 334 in Case 22).

At the age of seven a boy passed into the care of an elderly male servant, called a pedagogue, who had no literary duties, but whose function it was to attend his pupil to and from school and teach him the ordinary rules of good behaviour. The statuette (C 281, Case 17) is amusing; it shows Dionysus, as a good little boy, being taken to school by Silenus: the old rascal has not left his wine-jar behind. Among other duties the pedagogue had to teach a child how to wear the big cloak which was his outdoor dress—a mode seen in the pretty statuette C 334: the boy here is in his Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes. Another lad not far off (C 324, Case 24) is off, no doubt, to play with a school-fellow; he has in his hand a bag of knuckle-bones, the marbles of the ancients.

At fourteen a boy began his gymnastic training; at eighteen he became a citizen, and entered on his two years' military service. He put away childish dress, and donned the garb of man's estate. He put off the great mantle and fillet which formed the boy's dress and assumed the chlamys, or short cloak, which was the traditional dress of the ephebe. He also "sported his straw," as our public-school boys say—he put on, that is to say, the straw sun-hat which we see in so many of these statuettes. Male costume in Greece, we may observe, was very simple. The chlamys, introduced from Thessaly, was principally worn by travellers and soldiers. The usual costume worn by men was a *chiton* of wool held in at the waist by a belt. In later times sleeves were added, and amongst the better classes linen formed the material. He also wore the *himation*. This was worn in many ways: sometimes like a Scotch plaid, sometimes like a cloak; sometimes it was worn without any garment beneath it. From Macedonia came a large and thick cloak, like our ulster, which was used on journeys; it may be that which is illustrated in the cloaked figure C 322 (Case 23). Usually the Greek went about bareheaded. He often also went barefooted. At other times he wore sandals, and in hunting, buskins (Huish, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, p. 223). It will be noticed that among these statuettes representations of men are much rarer than those of women. The feminine type was the more popular, for several reasons presently to be discussed. Statuettes of elderly men are generally caricatures. When the statuette-makers represented men at all, it was the

young man in his strength and beauty that Greek taste required. The type is pleasantly illustrated in the Tanagra figurine (C 323 in Case 23) of a youth, clad in straw hat and chlamys, on his way to the training-ground with the scraper and oil-flask in his hand.

The education of girls was conducted entirely at home, and, as they married young, they had little knowledge. "Was it likely," says Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Economist*, "that my wife should have such knowledge when I took her away, seeing that she came to me before she was fifteen, and after living under the most watchful care that she might see, hear, and say as little as possible?" There is a pretty figure of a demure little girl (C 321, Case 23) "dressed in her best, seated on a square stool, quivering all over with suppressed excitement at the prospect of some outing" (Hutton, p. 50). Some years older are the maidens (C 246 and 248) strolling, it may be in the garden, with their pet birds cooing on their shoulders:—

> Sweet pet it was: the darling bird
> Knew her as well as she her mother:
> It never from her bosom stirred,
> But hopped about,
> And in and out,
> Nor twittered to another.—From CATULLUS.

Of the life and still more of the dress of Greek women, the figurines have much to tell us. We have called attention already to a charming group of mother and child. Of two women at an afternoon call, what a pretty picture is brought before us in the group from Myrina (C 529, Case 26) of two ladies seated on a sofa, enjoying a confidential chat. It is, as Miss Hutton happily remarks, the plastic representation of the opening scene between Gorgo and Praxinoë in the idyll of Theocritus:—

> *Praxinoë.*—My dear Gorgo, at last! Yes, here I am. Do sit down.
>
> *Gorgo.*—I could hardly get to you, Praxinoë, through all the crowd and all the carriages. Nothing but heavy boots, nothing but men in uniform. And what a journey it is! My dear child, you really live *too* far off.
>
> *Praxinoë.*—It is all that insane husband of mine. He has chosen to come out here to the end of the world, and take a hole of a place —*for a house it is not*—on purpose that you and I might not be *neighbours.*—*M.* ARNOLD'S translation.

Afternoon calls played, we may suppose, a large part in the average woman's life then as now. Not less important, we may be sure, was the great question of dress; nay, more important, since the materials were home-made. "It was more than enough," says Ischomachus in describing his choice of a wife, "to find in her one who could turn a fleece into a garment, and one whose eyes had taught her how to set her handmaidens at their spindles." Nothing was more simple than the dress of a Greek woman, but the simple pieces of broad stuff of which it consisted were capable, as these figurines show us, of numerous and graceful dispositions. In the sculptures of the Parthenon we see Greek costume idealised. In these statuettes we have exact representations of everyday dress. "From the variety of costume with which they are clothed, they evidently reflect the fashions of the time"; and under this aspect we may examine them as "fashion-plates of a couple of thousand years ago" (Huish, p. 215). The ordinary indoor dress of a Greek woman was the *chiton*, somewhat resembling the long, embroidered garment still worn by Albanian women. This dress was skirt and bodice in one. Sometimes it had short sleeves; sometimes it was open at the top and buttoned on the shoulders. The girl in the statuette C 246 (Case 16) wears the chiton gracefully. But perhaps the best example of it, in its very simplest form, is in a statuette from Tarentum, D 143 (in Case 45). Here the garment is not even fastened between the breasts. "As a rule it was white with a coloured border, and was confined with a girdle. Young girls put it round their waists, so as to make the chiton cling closely to the body and reveal its outline, while married women wore it higher, after the fashion which the Directorate borrowed from classical times." This somewhat scanty and careless attire was supplemented by the *himation*, or shawl—a large rectangular piece of stuff, sometimes white and sometimes coloured. This shawl was often worn indoors, as for instance by the pretty lady with a wreath in her hair, who is standing against a pillar, robed in a blue himation (C 254, Case 19). When a Greek lady went out the himation was *de rigueur;* and the figurines show us in how many different ways it might be worn. "If the weather were warm and she wished to be at her ease, a Greek woman would allow her shawl to fall down behind to her waist, only keeping it up by her folded arms and letting

the ends fall at either side, or, taking up one of these ends, she would throw it carelessly over her left shoulder. It was then nothing more than an elegant scarf, an excuse for graceful attitudes" (Rayet). The lady from Corinth (C 7 in Case 14) is an example of such easy grace. If, on the other hand, a Greek woman wished to drape herself more closely, she placed the piece of stuff on the top of her head, and threw the right end over the left shoulder, so as to let it hang down behind. The garment clung close to the breast and left one hand at liberty. Of this arrangement there are numerous instances in the figurines before us. None is more graceful than the lady from Tanagra (C 215 in Case 17). With such examples of good taste and elegance before him, the poet may well have asked of a more careless or less well bred lady, "What hinders you from walking well? We put no tax upon it, and it costs nothing. Those who possess this advantage do themselves honour and give pleasure to the passers-by. If you are wise you should always try to gain it."

Sometimes a large straw hat is worn over the hood formed by the shawl—as, for instance, in C 263 (Case 21). This round hat, almost flat but rising to a peak in the centre, is one of the most striking features of the Tanagra figurines. This was, no doubt, the straw hat which Praxinoë wore when she went out with Gorgo (Θολία, wrongly translated as "parasol" by Calverley). The hat illustrates also the passage in the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, where Ismene enters wearing "a Thessalian hat to shield her from the sun." Equally important in a Greek lady's toilet was the fan, shaped like a lotus-leaf, which we see on so many of these figurines (see, *e.g.* C 215 and 247 in Case 17). It is not unlike those which our æsthetic ladies sometimes carry, made of dried palm-leaves, and is one of the accessories which give so very modern an effect to these terra-cottas.

"Another very important feature in the toilette was the style of dressing the hair, and it is strange to see how fashion in its changes always comes round to the same point. The coiffure of a fashionable lady of Tanagra would do no discredit to a Parisian *élégante*, and it would often be easy to tell its modern name. Thus in many of the figurines the hair is drawn back from the forehead, not at all in what is considered *Greek style*, but rather à l'Eugénie, as we used to say when *we were young*" (Mahaffy). Three styles are most frequently

met with. In the first, the hair is carried up to the top of the head and there tied with a fillet, so as to form a kind of tuft or bunch. This is the style noted by a Greek dilettante, Dicæarchus, of the third century, who has left us his impression of the women of Tanagra—an impression which forms an interesting commentary on these figurines. "Their height, beauty, and graceful carriage make them," he says, "the fairest and most elegant women in all Greece. Their method of wearing the shawl over the head is such that only the eyes show, the rest of the face is veiled. This shawl is always white. Their hair is auburn, and they wear it twisted up in a knot on the top of the head. The local name of this coiffure is *lampadion* (the torch). Their shoes are thin, cut low, red in colour, and so neatly fitted to the foot that it looks almost bare." A pretty example of this style is the half-draped girl with auburn hair (C 316 in Case 24). In a second style, the bunch of hair is worn much lower down (as in C 254 and C 529), sometimes on the nape of the neck (as in C 75). This style was much in favour among English beauties in the 'seventies, and may be seen in several of Millais's pictures. In other cases the hair is curled and parted (as in C 6). By the side of these simple and graceful coiffures, we find others which are much more elaborate, showy, and complicated. In some cases the elaborate head-dresses may represent a survival from those archaic and conventional modes which we shall presently examine. In others the elaborate superstructure is a monument of the ostentation of professional beauties, singers, dancers, and the like.

Lastly we may notice the mirrors which many of the ladies hold in their hands—mirrors such as we have already seen among the bronzes. The lady in C 211 (Case 17) is looking in the mirror as she tidies her hair. It was not only, however, for doing the hair that mirrors were needed. A fashionable Greek lady had also to study the effect of painting or enamelling her face. Among the vases and the bronzes, we have already become familiar with these secrets of the toilette —secrets of which a stern husband did not always approve. "I one day saw," says Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Economist*, "that my wife had a quantity of white lead rubbed into her skin to make her look whiter than she really was, as well as a quantity of rouge to make her look redder than she really was, while she had on high-heeled shoes to make her look taller

than she really was." Ischomachus converted his wife to see the error of her ways by an appeal alike to first principles, and to the fear of detection; for "though these deceits may possibly escape the passing stranger, and he be deceived by them, still those whose life is spent together, must, if they attempt to deceive one another, ever be caught in so doing—either when they rise in the morning, before the deceit is renewed, or, if not so, the sweat of their brow convicts them, or tears put them to the test, or again, whilst bathing, some eye is upon them, and they are unmasked and seen." So far the worthy Ischomachus. But we at least are strangers, and need not grudge to the pretty ladies of Tanagra any of their piquant coquetry or studied daintiness. Such things only enhance their bewitching realism, their marvellous modernity.

DISCOVERY OF THE FIGURINES

This account of some of the Tanagra figurines here exhibited will serve to illustrate their interest as historical documents. Their artistic grace and charm the visitor will have noted for himself. The romance of their discovery was another factor in the *furore* caused by these exquisite and fragile marvels:—

"The unexpectedness of their wonderful preservation, and their tardy discovery, add to their interest. Whilst the priceless marbles, fashioned by the greatest of all plastic artists, have, from their size and material, been the object of every indignity, being mutilated from sheer wantonness, and finally thrown into kilns erected on the site of every temple by utilitarians desirous of obtaining the lime which they contained, the modest statuette of the unknown "dollmaker," formed of common mother earth, is preserved in its entirety, and even with its original colouring, thanks to the singular fortune which consigned it for a couple of thousand years to the seclusion of a grave or the ignominy of a temple rubbish-heap. Wars, revolutions, and recurring inroads of barbarians have only added to the secure hiding-place of the uncared-for statuette by heaping fresh ruins upon its burial-place. Whilst for centuries unique masterpieces of Greek art have graced the palaces and galleries of Europe, the Tanagra statuette has had no place in either until nigh upon a quarter of a century ago. Its reappearance has been as startling an irruption as that of Japanese art" (Huish, p. 4).

It was in 1870 that a Greek from Corfu, Giorgios Anyphantis, better known under his nickname of Barba-Jorghi (old George), heard a report of discoveries of statuettes made

accidentally by some peasants while tilling their fields on the site of the ancient city of Tanagra in Bœotia. He hurried to the village, and speedily made some splendid hauls. Encouraged by his example, the peasants left their farms and also began to excavate, and the windows of the Athenian dealers in antiquities soon contained a large number of lovely figurines. The prodigious success which they met with in Europe, and the rapid increase in price which followed in consequence, brought sudden riches to the people and redoubled their zeal. The excavations furnished the public and private collections of Europe with thousands of exquisite figures. The Greek Government came upon the scene only when most of the tombs had already been rifled—with zeal but without any scientific method or record. The British Museum, though it was left behind by the French Government in this matter, has, as we have seen, been fortunate in securing several good examples, both from Tanagra and other places.

MEANING OF THE FIGURINES

The interest excited by the discovery of the charming Tanagra figurines was heightened by the mystery surrounding them. With what object were they made? What beings did they represent? To what uses were they put? Lively controversies, not yet composed, have raged round these questions. Perhaps he will be nearest the true point of view who does not press such questions too far. "Suspended between the ideal and the real world," as a French writer has gracefully said, "many of these figures remain in an uncertainty which forms part of their charm. They are fragile and delicate things, which science must not touch with too heavy a hand lest it should crush them." It would, perhaps, be a mistake to seek for any deep meaning in these dainty little figures with their piquant air and exquisite grace. They were meant to charm, and that is enough :—

> Like memory of music fled,—
> Like aught that for its grace may be
> Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery.

Yet the large number of terra-cotta statuettes collected in this room, and their scientific arrangement, compel us to penetrate somewhat into the mystery, to consider the place of

the Tanagra figurines in the evolution of the statuette, and to discuss their *raison d'être*. Broadly speaking, there are two rival theories in the field, and the truth probably lies somewhere between them. According to one theory, the Tanagra figurines have a religious and spiritual meaning, and under their mundane appearance are concealed the great and mysterious divinities of the lower world. According to the other theory, they are representations of daily life, mere *genre* subjects. The truth seems to be that the statuettes conformed originally to the former type, and gradually passed into the phase assumed by the latter theory. In the earlier statuettes, which we shall presently examine, the religious and symbolical intention is indisputable, and the same types survived into later ages. But even the most subtle ingenuity fails to convince us that any such intention is to be found in the fashionable ladies arranging their draperies or their hair, in the children at their games or their lessons, in the distorted and sometimes obscene grotesques. To what uses, then, were the statuettes put? They have all been found either in the ruins of temples or in tombs. Some were, no doubt, temple images; others were placed in the sacred precincts as *ex votos*—a custom of which we know from Plato. "A fair and shady resting-place," says Socrates, "full of summer scents and sounds. Judging from the ornaments and images, this must be a spot sacred to Achelous and the Nymphs" (*Phædrus*, 230 B). Among the statuettes found in the ruins of temples are, however, many of a *genre*, and even grotesque, character. The offerings were as miscellaneous, and sometimes as inappropriate, as those which the devout dedicate at Catholic shrines to-day. With regard to those found in tombs, a controversy has raged similar to that already noticed. Were the statuettes placed in the graves in order to protect the dead, or in order to provide them with pleasant company? Probably both explanations are correct. The most ancient figurines undoubtedly represented the guardian divinities of the dead. Afterwards, figurines were placed in the tombs in accordance with the practice common in antiquity of burying with the dead man objects, or representations of objects, which had surrounded him in life. In very early times the Greeks buried with the beloved dead their weapons of war and stores of food and drink, and even slew, to send in their company to the next world, their female kindred or captive women. With the

progress of more spiritual ideas, these customs became conventionalised. Empty vessels were substituted for real stores; for light, the dead were given lamps that had never been lit; loaves of terra-cotta were substituted for real bread; and, similarly, terra-cotta images may have been buried to people the solitude of the grave and afford pleasing companionship (see *J.H.S.* ii. 326). But it is probable also that figurines were purchased with no strictly symbolical or sepulchral meaning simply as a way of doing homage to the dead, just as we now send flowers or wreaths. It is worth noting that different places observed different customs in this matter. At Athens "no figurines" seems to have been the rule; vases were the common form of offerings to the dead; and, generally, tombs in which few figurines are found are rich in vases, whilst those in which figurines are abundant contain hardly any pottery:—

"It deserves to be noted," says Mr. Frazer, "that these pretty statuettes are almost always found broken in a purposeful manner, the head being generally torn off and lying by itself. And they are as often found in the earth over and beside the grave as in the grave itself. Hence it has been suggested that while the grave was being filled in, the friends of the deceased stood beside it with these figures in their hands, which they first broke and then threw down into the hole; and this custom, it has been conjectured, may have been a substitute for an older custom of sacrificing human victims at the tomb, the breaking of the images taking the place of the earlier slaughter" (Frazer's *Pausanias*, v. 81).

It may occur to some readers that the manufacture of these dainty figurines to be broken and thrown into an open grave was very wasteful. It should, however, be remembered that they were the product of common craftsmen, and were made, as we shall see, from moulds. They must have been far less costly than the wreaths of choice flowers which the piety or ostentation of our own day devotes to a like purpose. It is a strange fortune that has preserved these fragile offerings of pious respect to pique the curiosity and attract the taste of long-subsequent ages. But though some of the figurines may have been expressly manufactured for the tomb, there can be little doubt that many also, and probably most among the later specimens, were originally intended for domestic ornament, and had once adorned the dead man's dwelling, like those which have thus been found in the houses of Pompeii. "Some at least *were highly* valued by their owners, for two skeletons

were found in the streets, fugitives who had gathered up their treasures in haste—one, a man, clutched his money, his jewellery, and a statuette; the other, a woman, was still holding a little female figure with a child in its arms" (Hutton, p. 8). Moreover, many of the terra-cottas found in tombs had, as we shall see, obviously once served as children's toys.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE

How were these figurines made? What processes did the potters employ? There are numerous examples in the British Museum collection which throw light on these questions, and the subject is interesting as illustrating the extreme economy of method which characterises Greek art. In the case of the larger and more elaborate statuettes, the figures were built up with clay, and worked like a sculptor's model. In the case, again, of the smaller figures of toys, animals, and the like, they were rudely modelled in soft clay, rolled in the hands, and roughly pinched to the desired shapes—just as children make shapes out of dough. But in the great majority of cases the figurines were made from moulds, a collection of which is exhibited on the other side of the room, with plaster casts taken from each mould beside them (Cases 62-64). With these specimens before us, we shall have no difficulty in following the processes employed in the production of the dainty little figures which we have been examining. (1) First, a figure was built up with clay and worked like a sculptor's model. (2) Then a mould was taken from the original model by squeezing clay on to the model. This mould was then baked, and the potter's stock-in-trade was ready; for (3) from the mould numerous copies could easily be taken. Duplicates from the same mould have, as we shall see, often been found. "It is easy to imagine how the coroplast, or maker of images, set to work; with a first layer of fine well-kneaded clay he took the impression of the mould in terra-cotta, by pressing the clay with his finger into all the cavities of the mould; then to the first layer he applied a second, and so on, until he obtained the required thickness. In many statuettes we can still trace the marks of the workman's fingers on the inner side of the figurine." In order to make a perfect figure in the round it is *of course necessary* to have two moulds, each of which shall

fit precisely to an opposite piece, the two casts being carefully joined by a little liquid clay. This plan was sometimes adopted, and there are a few statuettes in the collection (*e.g.* C 14, p. 692), in which the back is modelled as carefully as the front. But as may be seen on the moulds here exhibited, it was in most cases the front of the figure alone that was moulded. The back of the figure was formed by affixing a mass of clay and finishing it very roughly by hand. So far the processes of the potter were almost mechanical, and sometimes they ended here; many of the statuettes in this collection are devoid of individuality or artistic merit. (4) But in the figurines of the better kinds and periods, the artistic process now began. The cast, on its removal from the mould, which was often worn by long use, would naturally present a rather rude appearance. The rough-cast figure was therefore "**touched up** with modelling tools, and completed and connected, so that each figurine received an individual stamp under the potter's hand. He emphasised the somewhat lax modelling, he hollowed the folds of the drapery with his graving-tool, rendered the head more expressive with a touch of his thumb, and delicately threw into relief the dainty edifice of the hair, thus impressing on the work the mark of his individuality." We are fortunate in having in this room two statuettes produced from the same mould (C 535-6, p. 698); one is not touched up, the other is; a comparison of the two will show the visitor in a moment how much of the artistic merit of a statuette depended on this stage in the procedure. (5) But there was another stage which also gave wide scope to the individual fancy of the maker. The head, feet, hands, and **accessories** of all kinds—hats and fans, balls, wreaths, wings, and the rest —were often made separately. The earlier and stiffer statuettes were indeed made in a piece from one mould; but in the later several moulds were employed, and various and ingenious combinations thus became possible. The figurine, after emerging from the principal mould, was dressed by means of parts and accessories from other moulds:—

"The coroplast could adorn it to please his fancy. He chose one or another of these little heads, attached its long neck to the top of the statuette, and fixed it with a touch of his finger; then he bent or raised it, and bestowed upon it, according to his fancy, a dreamy or coquettish, a sad or gay expression, thus giving quite a different aspect to *two casts from the same* mould. He would put a garland of flowers

into the hands of one, and give a fan or a mirror to another, and his fancy combined the accessories of all kinds which were at his disposal with astonishing fertility of imagination. Thus with a very small number of moulds the coroplast produced a display of marvellous originality and novelty, and we cannot sufficiently admire the changeful fancy and the prodigious dexterity with which these unknown artists succeeded, by skilful retouching and ingenious combinations, in giving infinite variety to a small number of types" (Diehl, pp. 370-374).

There are some examples here of the way in which figures from the same mould were thus diversified by varying the accessories (*e.g.* D 81, 82, p. 703). (6) Further variations were possible at another and final stage in the processes which a figurine went through before being offered for sale. When it had been retouched it was fired, and was next coated with a white lime-wash to make a surface for the **painting**. Through their long burial, most of the statuettes have lost their original brightness, but enough survives to show that the colouring of the figures was very fresh and brilliant. "Red-brown was used for the hair, red for the lips, rose-pink for flesh-tints, pink and blue for marks of drapery, green for borders and patterns, and yellow or gold for trinkets." Thus decorated the toilette of the figurine was at an end, and it was ready to stand on the potter's stall and attract the passing customer.

FORGED FIGURINES

The method of manufacture thus described opens an easy door to the supply of false antiques, and on this subject a few words of warning may be of interest to the connoisseur and collector. Some years ago genuine Tanagra figurines or heads of them could be picked up cheaply enough. Mr. Huish, in his work on the subject, mentions that a "lot," consisting of some charming little heads, fell to his bid at Puttick and Simpson's for a few shillings. When once, however, the vogue of the figurine set in, prices went up by leaps and bounds. A really choice specimen fetches as much as £40, £60, or even £80. An admitted copy, even if well executed, would barely be worth as many shillings. The temptation to the forger, therefore, is considerable. It is not resisted, and the manufacture of Tanagra antiques has, for some time, been a flourishing branch of modern industry. One process of the

manufacture can hardly be described as illegitimate; this is the taking of modern casts from ancient moulds or figures. Another and less reputable enterprise is the sale as antiques of modern casts from modern moulds. Between the two methods there is a third, which consists of putting together scattered fragments, and, by dint of restorations and additions, making up what we may call semi-modern antiques. Many of the figurines turned out by the forgers are pretty enough, but they are not Greek originals, and the manufacturers often betray themselves by some irrelevance or incongruity. An interesting instance will be found in Mr. Huish's pages (p. 236). The detection of forgeries is, however, by no means easy to the untrained eye; and even among the experts acute differences of opinion exist with regard to the genuineness of particular examples. Even the British Museum collection contains specimens which have not escaped destructive criticism from other experts (see below, p. 709).

Having now formed some idea of the most attractive of the statuettes and of the methods employed in their manufacture, we may proceed to examine the collection historically, in the order of its arrangement. On the south side of the room, in Cases 1-37, are displayed terra-cottas found in Greece and in ancient Greek colonies; on the north side, in Cases 38-74, are terra-cottas found in Italy, but chiefly on sites where Greek influence had prevailed. We shall pass briefly over the archaic figures, which are of small artistic interest, dwelling upon them enough only to gain some idea of the way in which the exquisite little marvels we have been examining were gradually developed from primitive types. Among the later statuettes we shall linger longer, for many of them are of intrinsic value and artistic charm. We shall note also some of the different characteristics which distinguish the statuettes from different places, and shall find further points of interest in various mythological types, in methods of manufacture, and in the story of the discoveries whereby these fragile pieces of baked clay have found their way into the museums of the modern world.

The **history of statuettes** closely follows that of statues. We have seen already how the beautiful creations of the great Greek *sculptors were* gradually developed from the stiff and

formal figures of earlier ages, and how these in turn owed much to the influence of Eastern art. We shall now be able to trace the same process in the case of Greek statuettes. The origin of the whole art of statuary is to be found in the primitive worship of unhewn stones and stumps of wood. The stones were in time given a regular symmetrical form, which afterwards began to assume some rough resemblance to the human figure. Similarly, planks or trunks of leafless trees were, in course of time, carved into rude, coarse figures (*xoana*), and these served as the earliest images for worship in the temples of the gods. The earliest worship was of natural objects supposed to contain the divinity within them; the progress of art in the early ages consisted, we may say, in revealing this hidden divinity, in making the dead stock and stone into some kind of living image. The rude wooden statues, the *xoana* described above, were objects of public worship. Corresponding to these, in private devotion, were little terra-cotta figures of rude workmanship which accompanied the dead man to his grave. In these the workmanship is very rude; the figure is cut out of a piece of clay, generally in the form of a column, and the arms are represented by pieces added on. The workman has sometimes made no further attempt to represent the face than by pinching the moist clay in his fingers; in other instances the head has been added after the completion of the figure, and some crude resemblance to the human figure is helped out by means of paint.

Græco-Phœnician terra-cottas from Cyprus (Cases 1-3).—Of these primitive terra-cotta idols some examples may be seen at the bottom of the cases containing archaic statuettes from Cyprus (A 30, etc.). Many of these statuettes show very strongly the Egyptian and Assyrian influences introduced to the Greek world through the Phœnicians, who were great traders and art-workers for export:—

A curious statuette, which comes from a Phœnician workshop in Cyprus, well represents the admixture of styles. It shows a draped female figure in the pose of the *ushabtiu*, or "answerers," of Egyptian funeral ritual (see below, p. 689).

Assyrian influence is very marked in the fragments of pottery (A 107-113) here exhibited, brilliantly painted with figures and patterns imitating oriental embroidery. In some of them, figures of men, animals, and winged monsters are worked into a background of the "*scale*" *pattern*, derived probably from the scale armour of the period (*650-550 B.C.*). Cyprus, it may be remembered, was famous for its

textiles, and these paintings may be taken as representing, with vividness and accuracy, the celebrated oriental woven stuffs familiar in literature as Babylonian embroideries (see Pausanias, ii. 11. 6).

Special attention may be called also to the large painted statuette (A 106) of a man, whose right arm is slung across the chest in the upper garment, and whose beard is treated in Assyrian fashion. The whole impression of the figure, though very far from handsome, is not without a certain stiff grotesque dignity. "The type of figure, the attitude, the arms, the flowers carried in the hands, the dress and its decoration, down to the details of the embroidered patterns, all so strongly recall the art of Assyria that one is at first sight tempted to imagine that the figures have simply walked out of an Assyrian relief. There can, however, be no doubt that they were fashioned, close by where they were found, out of the river clay which still supplies excellent material to the potters of Varosia. . . . The likeness to Assyrian work is only in externals; the features are very far from Semitic, although equally far from the Greek ideal—are in fact thoroughly Cypriote. There is, I think, no reason to doubt that these figures represent native Cypriotes at a period when dress and manners, derived ultimately from Assyria, spreading perhaps from the upper grades of society, had become general among them" (J. A. R. Munro, in *J.H.S.* xii. 151).

The huge head-dresses are curious and characteristic of oriental types. Some of them (*e.g.* A 241) are very elaborate.

Of the other statuettes, the greater number are of female divinities, standing and holding one hand upon the breast. This is an oriental type, representing the goddess-mother who sustains life in the world and among human beings.

Later statuettes from Cyprus (Cases 4, 5).—The later specimens found in Cyprus are purely Greek in type, and some are very beautiful. The best belong to the fifth century, and all the figurines of this period, whether they be found in Athens, in Rhodes, or in Cyprus, have something of the grand style of the sculpture of the same period.

As types of simple beauty we may instance the two heads numbered A 360, 361 (Case 5); these came from a temple at Achna, in Eastern Cyprus, where statuettes were found "packed as close as sardines in a box, and in such quantities that they were used by the children in the village as playthings." There seem to have been basements or store-rooms attached to ancient temples where votive offerings were kept. From time to time the offerings were probably cleared out, and sometimes it is a temple rubbish-heap that has been excavated.

For an example of the grand style in the later terra-cottas from Cyprus, we may direct attention to the seated goddess numbered A 261 (Case 4). The general conception and pose of the figure belong to an *archaic type of seated* goddess, which we have seen already and

shall see again; but stiffness has passed into grace, stolid ty into majesty, and emptiness into decorative detail. This figurine was found at Kition (now the sea-port Larnaca), a town which has yielded an enormous number of terra-cottas, many of them of remarkable beauty.

Very graceful is the statuette numbered A 423—a representation of the virgin goddess, Pallas Athena (see *J.H.S.* ii. 326)—possibly a reminiscence in part of the celebrated Athena Lemnia of Phidias, in which statue the goddess is supposed to have carried her helmet in her hand. The statuette was found in a tomb at Salamis (Cyprus), with some twenty others, crowded without order or arrangement; and as if there were not room enough inside, many more were found in the earth outside, buried in disorder and profusion. For what cause were these bright and beautiful figurines buried thus indiscriminately? The question remains, as we have seen above (p. 680), enveloped in doubt and mystery.

Early Terra-cottas from Rhodes and other Greek Sites (Cases 6-13).—The burial-grounds of Rhodes have proved extremely rich in figurines of an archaic type. Excavations have been carried on there, and especially on the site of the ancient town of Camirus, for many years, and a large portion of the find is now in the British Museum. The collection here exhibited is therefore very complete and representative, and it may be useful to describe and distinguish the various types.

The visitor will already have noticed that among Greek figurines at large the female type is much commoner than the male. This predominance continued in the art of Tanagra, where it may have been due to considerations of technique as well as of taste. "A female figure, draped to the feet, provided," says Dr. Murray, "at once a broad base on which it could stand without the danger of being broken, which a nude figure resting only on its feet was always liable to. That this was one of the motives in question is further apparent from the fact that when male figures as of boys are represented, they are usually made to sit on a rock, so as to secure a broad and firm base" (*Handbook of Greek Archæology*, p. 314). Originally, however, the choice of the female type was decided by religious considerations. "Deep-seated in the mind of every primitive people there is an instinctive idea of the earth-mother, the principle of fertility, the type of continual birth and death; and, therefore, when they wish to express this idea in a concrete form they choose a woman for their type" (Hutton's *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, p. 27).

The first type is that of a **female bust.** Several examples may here be seen (on the lowest shelf). These masks are often pierced at the top with small holes, intended for hanging them up on a wall—apparently the wall of a tomb. In their origin they may have been derived from Egyptian coffins, the upper part of which is moulded in

the likeness of the head and shoulders of the dead. If so, the original idea was either misunderstood or abandoned, for the greater number of these busts represent a veiled woman of majestic expression, whose gentle gravity and rather severe grace evidently denote a divinity, probably Demeter. The figures cut off at the waist may be taken to symbolise the deities of the lower world leaving their subterranean home to ascend among the gods.

The second female type is that of a **standing woman**, with one foot advanced, one hand pressed to her bosom, the other drawing aside the skirt of the long tunic over which she wears a curiously pleated little mantle. Of this type there is here a row of statuettes (B 211-222). These may be called figures of Persephonè. Next come a series which may be called Aphroditè, in which the goddess holds a leveret or some other young animal in her hand. Some of these latter are brightly coloured, as, for instance, B 81. The general idea of these figures is the same as in those called Persephonè, for "Aphroditè is only another name for the earth-mother's reproductive power, of which the young leveret is a sign. . . . The angular lines of the lower part of the statuette (B 105), the stiff position of the left foot, the timid rendering of the transverse folds, recall the time when the sculptor was still struggling to disengage his figure from a block of wood or marble, and the figure has a curious reminiscence of the tree origin of the statue in the way in which the drapery spreads out at the feet like the roots of the tree" (Hutton, pp. 26, 28).

The third female type is a **seated woman**, dressed in a long robe, with a veil falling over her shoulders from a high head-dress, her feet resting on a footstool, her hands lying stiffly in her lap. Of this type there is an interesting series of examples from Rhodes (B 170-181), arranged in a row below those of the standing goddess. We have already seen the same type in early sculpture, in the Branchidæ statues (p. 94), though the earlier of the terra-cotta figures wear the high Eastern head-dress (*e.g.* B 174). The archaic type is gradually modified, and at last the statuette comes, as it were, to life (see B 83). This latter type of the seated goddess may be said to be half-way between the archaic type and the seated Demeter of later times.

With regard to all these statuettes of female divinities, the idea with which they were placed in the tomb was that of protecting the dead against the dangers of their mysterious journey.

"It was for this purpose that the Egyptians placed 'answerers' in the tombs to answer the summons of the departed, to aid him in the cultivation of the celestial fields, to form a devoted escort around him, and to secure him immortality. The Assyrians, from a similar motive, placed in the graves figurines designed to avert the hostility of the chthonic powers, and this, too, is the object of the sepulchral idols found in ancient burial-grounds at Rhodes which represented the guardian divinities of the tomb, and afforded escort and society for the departed" (Diehl, p. 383). A somewhat different idea may be traced in the strange type which we have next to examine.

This is the **grotesque** figurine, of which we may take B 281 as an example. The figure represents, it will be seen, a little nude man, unbearded, squatting on his haunches with his hands on an enormous paunch. Whence, it may well be asked, came the idea of burying this kind of grotesque with the dead? what purpose was the funny little fat man supposed to perform therein? The type seems to have been derived from the East, and has both Phœnician and Egyptian affinities. Herodotus (iii. 37) mentions certain Phœnician figures, called *pataicoi*, "and for him who has not seen these I will indicate its nature,—it is the likeness of a dwarfish man." The Egyptian god, Bes, was also an ugly little dwarf, with grotesque appearance. From Phœnician traders, therefore, bringing their own and Egyptian ideas, the type of this grotesque was derived. Another grotesque yet more commonly met with in Greek tombs, is in the form of a satyr (B 282). This bearded Silenus type appears sometimes as an old man with shaggy hair and beard, and sometimes as a little mask (*e.g.* B 538 in Case 67). The presence in the grave of such grotesques, always laughable and often obscene, may well cause astonishment at first sight. But as we have seen already, in noticing the gay and cheerful figurines which the people of Tanagra buried with their departed friends, it is a mistake to take too gloomy a view of antiquity, and to read back into the sepulchral customs of the Greeks the ideas of a more austere religion. Even buffoonery was believed to play a useful part in the grave. "It was a protection against the evil spirits and malevolent influence which surrounded the departed; it provoked a laugh in their gloomy subterranean prison, and laughter was believed by the ancients to have a beneficent effect; it diverted the dead, and lifted the inauspicious gloom of the grave. . . . We have an example in the myth of Baubo who succeeded by a broad joke in making even the dolorous Demeter laugh" (Diehl, p. 384; Huish, p. 82).

Another obviously Egyptian type is the figurine of the **negro**, of which also there are some examples here (*e.g.* B 269).

This type brings us to the class of **genre** subjects generally. Here, for instance, we may note the figures of a naked boy resting his head on his hand (B 273), and of a boy riding on a horse (B 257). The latter type was common in later times. In the art of Tanagra, nearly all the figurines may be described under the head of *genre*. We see from these earlier terra-cottas found at Rhodes that, even in the archaic period, the potter did not busy himself exclusively with those religious and symbolic types which we have described above. He also gave some play to his fancy in studies from common life.

Archaic Reliefs in Terra-cotta (Cases 6-11).—The activity of the potter was not confined to making statuettes. On "the line" here are a series of archaic reliefs in terra-cotta. Some of them are from early cemeteries at Camirus in Rhodes; others, from the island of Melos. From their fragile

character, the lowness of the relief, and the delicacy of the work, it is presumed that they were made to decorate some solid object like a box (see Murray's *Handbook of Greek Archæology*, pp. 337-338). With regard to the subjects of these reliefs, B 374 shows Scylla with the dogs' heads springing from her waist; for this subject, see p. 137. B 367 shows a man grasping a lyre on which a woman is playing—probably a representation of the loves of the poets Sappho and Alcæus :—

Alcæus.—I fain would speak, I fain would tell,
But shame and fear my utterance quell.

Sappho.—If aught of good, if aught of fair,
Thy tongue were labouring to declare,
Nor shame should dash thy glance, nor fear.
Forbid thy suit to reach my ear.

B 365 is Perseus riding away on horseback with the head of the Gorgon Medusa, whom he has just decapitated; from her neck issues Chrysaor, a monster who sprang from Medusa's body. B 364 is Bellerophon slaying the Lycian monster Chimæra. His winged horse Pegasus is here represented without wings, "partly because of the difficulty of adjusting them to the composition, and partly because of the close parallelism between this group and No. 365." B 363 is Thetis seized by Peleus. Notice the convention accepted in archaic art by which, as we have already pointed out (cf. p. 92), moments properly consecutive are shown as if simultaneous; thus, here, the lion represents one of the transformations by which the sea-goddess attempted to evade her suitor.

Terra-cottas of later date from Athens and other Greek sites (Cases 14 and 15).—We now leave the archaic period in the potter's art, and come to specimens of a later date, from the fourth century or a little earlier, to about the first century. The figures of divinities give place to those of creatures not too bright or good for human nature's daily food. Severity passes into grace; stiffness into elegance. The change was part of a general movement in the art of the fourth century. The maker of figurines at the period to which we have now come, consulted the taste of the time, and only very small alterations were necessary to convert the goddess of the age immediately preceding, into a reigning beauty of the day.

The first figure here which is likely to attract the visitor's attention is numbered C 7. It may be called, with reference to archaic types, a standing figure of a female divinity. The lady, who comes from Corinth, is certainly stately enough for a daughter of the gods, and fair as Aphroditè. But note the differences. The archaic head-dress has given place to the fashionable coiffure of the day. The lady poses also for effect—an impression which is strengthened by the high circular plinth (characteristic of Corinthian statuettes). She might serve, with her handsome figure and graceful pose, as a model in the art of wearing a Greek costume becomingly.

A beautiful example from Athens is the figure of a nude youth, numbered C 14—one of the gems of the British Museum, and a fine example of the technical skill of Athenian potters. "This nude youth, crowned with ivy, is one of those fifth-century conceptions which hover on the confines of the real and the ideal world. Owing to its beauty, the figure is known as Ganymede, the cup-bearer of Zeus, but it would be equally well adapted for the genius of a banquet, waiting with jug and cup to minister to the pleasure of the guests. The slender figure is so perfectly balanced, the feet sink so naturally into the little clay plinth, the still undeveloped body is modelled with such attention to anatomical detail (but no undue insistence on it), the watchful attitude of the willing cup-bearer is so well expressed, that we seem to have before us one of those proplasmata or sculptor's models of which Pliny speaks as commanding so high a price. The technical skill displayed in firing so fragile a figure is no less remarkable" (Hutton, pp. 34, 41, 67).

Another Athenian statuette of refined workmanship is C 15, a representation of Leda and the swan. On the whole, however, it is remarkable that Athens has not yet yielded any large number of terra-cottas.

In a lighter vein than the statuettes described above, is the figure of Marsyas from Melos, C 73.

Very interesting is the statuette C 406 (in Case 25, farther on), acquired in 1892, of Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus on his left arm, and holding up a bunch of grapes in his right hand. This is remarkable as being a sort of caricature of the statue of Hermes by Praxiteles (p. 145), and thus as confirming the generally received opinion that the missing right hand of Hermes has held up a bunch of grapes. Here, instead of the graceful figure in the prime of manly beauty, we see an ugly old satyr, whose ugliness is only intensified by his wreath. The contrast between the native ugliness of the satyr and the childish grace of the little god is well expressed (H. B. Walters in *Classical Review*, vi. 77 ; Hutton, pp. 39, 75).

Very charming as studies in children are the figures C 39 and 40.

Effective in its realistic *genre* is the group numbered C 41. "Come along, you dirty boy," we may call it.

Statuettes from Tanagra and from Eretria (Cases 16-24).—We now return to the figurines from Tanagra, which we

discussed at the beginning of this chapter. They are the most attractive series in the collection, and well deserve a second inspection. We have already dealt with many of their characteristics, and with the phase of Greek life which they bring before us. A few general remarks, however, may still be made, and we shall then call attention to some of the individual pieces, not hitherto described, which for one reason or another are of special interest. We have already noticed the surprise which was caused by the novelty of the Tanagra finds. Tanagra is in Bœotia, and Athenian writers spoke contemptuously of Bœotian, as we speak of Batavian, grace. The discovery of these wonders of taste and refinement in the cemeteries of Tanagra has, after many ages, amply avenged the Bœotians for the contempt of their supercilious neighbours. An interesting question, however, arises with regard to the sources from which the potters of Tanagra derived the models and conceptions of their statuettes. For the maker of such little images is seldom an originator; he is, more probably, a copyist and an adaptor. Three answers have been given to the question, and all of them may be true. According to some authorities, the motives of the Tanagra potters were due to the paintings of the time (Furtwängler). According to others, the source of inspiration is literary (see Murray's *Archæology*, p. 323). Miss Hutton, in her work on Greek terra-cottas, has given many felicitous and convincing illustrations of the resemblance in spirit between the Tanagra figures and the poetry of the age. But in some cases, as we have already indicated, there is an equally strong resemblance between the figurines and the new ideals in sculpture introduced by the School of Praxiteles.

We have spoken of all the pieces here before us as "Tanagra figurines," and indeed so great were the fame and abundance of the finds at Tanagra, that in popular usage this generic term has been applied to all terra-cotta statuettes. In fact, however, several of the figurines in these cases—including at least one of the most beautiful in the whole collection—come from **Eretria**, in the island of Eubœa. The figures from Eretria are said to be "distinguished by a taste for greater definiteness of subject, showing itself in the choice of legendary subjects and of character studies from real life" (see for further remarks on this point, Hutton, p. 37).

Let us first, then, look at some of the more interesting

statuettes of **legendary subjects** or of definitely recognisable divinities. Many of these are from Eretria, but we shall not rigidly adhere to a geographical classification :—

There is no more beautiful statuette in the whole collection than the **Flying Eros** (C 199, Case 18), which was acquired by the Museum in 1895, and was said to have come from a tomb in Eretria. "It is in perfect preservation, and the wings form an organic whole with the body. When first unearthed, it was brilliantly painted in front, but not at the back ; hence it is supposed that the figure was intended for hanging against a wall. It is a masterpiece alike in execution and in conception. It expresses, with complete success, the idea of rhythmical movement. In order to convey a sense of backward and forward motion the artist advances the leg and draws back the toes under the foot. At the same time, in order to avoid any appearance of excessive heaviness in the lower part of the body, the arms are pressed close to the chest in the style of Polyclitus, and serve as a point of support for the mantle, the pendent folds of which present the appearance of a second pair of wings, and assist the impression of easy movement. The expression of the god is equally remarkable. He is not sweetly smiling or mischievously laughing, as in later representations of Eros ; he is serious and reflective, and recalls rather a winged version of the Hermes of Praxiteles or the bronze Sleep associated with the same sculptor. Here, at any rate, an affinity between the potter and the sculptor seems complete. The date of the statuette may be placed as about 340 B.C., and its creator must have been an artist in full accordance with the traditions of Praxiteles" (P. Bienkowski, in *J.H.S.* xv. 211).

Floating figures were very popular with the makers of statuettes, and in this connection we may notice the figures of dancing-girls. The best is C 286 (Case 18). It represents one of the performers who were sometimes called in to amuse the guests at a banquet. She has balls in her hands, "and with these she falls to dancing" (as Xenophon describes), "and the while she dances, she flings them into the air ; overhead she sends them twirling, judging the time they must be thrown to catch them as they fall in perfect time."

Very different in conception from the Flying Eros above noticed are the Loves from Tanagra (C 192, etc., in Case 19)—coquettish cupids which became very popular in Hellenistic art. The god of love —under various forms—was very popular with the makers of figurines and their customers.

Another favourite was **Pan**, one of those familiar spirits who occupy the border-land of Greek mythology, filling a large place in popular fancy, and especially to the country folk being ever present and very real :—

"Homespun dream of simple people, and, like them, in the uneventful tenour of his existence, he has almost no story ; he is but a presence ; the spiritual form of Arcadia, and the ways of human life there : the

reflection, in sacred image or ideal, of its flocks and orchards and wild honey; the dangers of its hunters; its weariness in noonday heat; its children, agile as the goats they tend, who run, in their picturesque rags, across the solitary wanderer's path, to startle him, in the unfamiliar upper places; its one adornment and solace being the dance to the homely shepherd's pipe, cut by Pan first from the sedges of the brook" (Pater's *Greek Studies*, p. 8).

The figurine-makers, themselves perhaps having "been in Arcadia," have very well expressed the character of this spirit of the joy of wild country life, whose appearance so charmed the gods in Olympus, that, as the Homeric Hymn tells us, "they call the name of him *Pan*, because he delighted them *all*." The sense of remote and wild nature, which the Greeks personified in Pan, is very strong in the Homeric Hymn:— "Tell me, Muse, concerning the dear son of Hermes, the goat-footed, the twy-horned, the lover of the din and of revel, who haunts the wooded dells with dancing nymphs that head the crests of the steep cliffs, calling upon Pan, the pastoral god of the long wild hair. Lord he is of every snowy crest and mountain peak and rocky path. Hither and thither he goes through the thick copses, sometimes being drawn to the still waters, and sometimes faring through the lofty crags he climbs the highest peak whence the flocks are seen below; ever he ranges over the high white hills, and ever among the knolls he chases and slays the wild beasts, the God with keen eye, and at evening returns piping from the chase, breathing sweet strains on the reeds" (Andrew Lang's translation).

The statuette (C 283 in Case 16) is especially characteristic, representing Pan with goat and shepherd's crook, seated on some rocky knoll. This figure comes from Tanagra. On another (C 282, Case 22), from Eretria, much of the original colouring is preserved. Accessories are absent, but all the characteristics of the god are carefully worked out.

Another example of the fondness of the Eretrian potters for definite mythological subjects is C 335 (Case 21)—a Nereid bringing to Achilles, as Homer describes, "a weighty helmet for his head, fair, richly wrought, with crests of gold above." This terra-cotta is probably a copy of some piece of sculpture.

Many of the statuettes of pretty **ladies** have already been noticed. We may here call attention to a few more. How graceful is the girl numbered C 336 (Case 18)! She is very tall, and has a little head; the very type of a pretty English girl, no less than of a Greek. The lady numbered C 26 is more of a languisher, but at any rate she languishes daintily. The combination of a pretty girl with a comic mask —"Beauty and the Beast" it may be called—was much in favour with the Tanagra potters (C 316-318 in Case 24). It was precisely in accord with their piquant note.

Very interesting, however, if not entirely convincing, is the theory which Professor Furtwängler has propounded about some of these Tanagra figures. The masks, and other accessories, to which we shall

presently allude, were intended, he suggested, to identify the figures as **followers of Dionysus.** The statuettes were placed in the tomb as representatives of the happy state which it is hoped the deceased would enter. In Euripides, the Bacchantes proclaim as thrice happy him who has received the initiation—that is to say, whose soul is admitted to the company of the divinity. "The initiated follow the dancing Iacchus, who leads them, torch in hand, as they sport and play in the flowery meads. Women and girls take part in these mysteries, wherein, to the accompaniment of entrancing music, the white breast of a kindred spirit is unveiled." This is the phase of popular belief about the hereafter, to which, according to Furtwängler, the later Tanagra figurines were meant to minister. "These Dionysiac masks (*e.g.* C 253 in Case 20) are one of the very numerous attributes which the potters gave them, according to their fancy, in order to qualify them for admission to the number of those fortunate ones who were admitted to the company of the god. Another method, in the case of female figures, was to divest them of their upper garments, and thus to elevate them to the rank of the ideal (*e.g.* C 317 in Case 23). Other Dionysiac emblems which were added were the crown of ivy (C 254, Case 19), or the heavy round crown of flowers, and surrounded with bands, similar to those which were in vogue at banquets" (*La Collection Sabouroff*, par A. Furtwängler, vol. ii., Introduction, p. 18).

Sometimes the potter may have intended the figure to represent particular persons rather than ideal types. This is Miss Hutton's theory in the case of C 336—a lady seated on a rock, perhaps in one of the shady Theban gardens, of which Dicæarchus, the traveller, speaks as the loveliest in Greece. "Her gala costume, no less than her beauty, remind us of the beautiful Bœotian poetess, **Corinna,** who five times won a prize from Pindar, and who boasted that by her sweet-toned songs she had brought great honour to Tanagra's white-robed dames, though current gossip ascribed her victory, not to her poetry, but to her beauty! In one hand she poises an apple, the lover's token :—

> I throw an apple at my fair,
> And if she love me, love me truly,
> She'll guess aright the hidden prayer,
> Accept it, and reward me duly."

(From the *Greek Anthology*, cited by HUTTON, p. 49.)

We may now pass to statuettes which are of a purely **genre** character. One of the most remarkable of these comes from Eretria, and represents an old woman scratching her chin (C 216, Case 16). This is a remarkable piece of realism—as successful on a small scale as the life-size figures on the Sacro Monte at Varallo by Tabachetti. In the same category we may place the groups of mother and child (such as C 280, Case 16), and of the old nurse (C 279). Even here, however, the ingenuity of some scholars finds a symbolic reference. The figures of nurses are, it is argued, Greek varieties of Isis holding Horus on

her knees; and in the figures of women walking (*e.g.* C 299 in Case 21, C 263 in Case 22) we are taught to see Demeter.

Later Greek statuettes from Asia Minor (Cases 25, 26). —In this group the most interesting statuettes are those which come from the site of the ancient town of **Myrina**, some miles north of Smyrna. The finds of terra-cottas at Myrina are indeed only less important than those of Tanagra. The British Museum, however, has very few examples; the best collection is in the Louvre, for the excavations were carried on, under authority from the Turkish Government, by the French School at Athens. In one respect these excavations (1880-82) were more important even than those of Tanagra; because at Myrina they were systematically and intelligently carried out. One point established by the Myrina finds was the use of figurines as ornaments in the home. Some still bear upon their pedestals their owner's name; while others, like the group in the Louvre of thirteen figures of different heights arranged systematically and forming a descending series starting from a central subject, evidently formed a decorative *ensemble* in the dead man's house, to which he was particularly attached, and which, on that account, was laid in his tomb. The first Myrina statuettes found by peasants were sold by the Smyrna dealers as Tanagra ware, and, owing to the differences in style, were pronounced forgeries by the experts. When the evidence of systematic excavation showed them to be genuine, the differences were seen to be due to the later date of the Myrina statuettes and to the influence of a more decadent age and of Asiatic luxury. The Myrina figures lack the grace and simplicity of the best Greek work. They display an exaggerated love of ornament, and often exhibit somewhat strained postures. In method of manufacture and in general appearance at first sight the Myrina terra-cottas do not differ from those of Tanagra. But "in an artistic sense they are readily distinguishable by a degree of coarseness and voluptuousness which is wanting at Tanagra, by a greater love of nude forms, and by a strong desire for groups in which accuracy is sacrificed to picturesque effect" (W. M. Ramsay, in *Classical Review*, ii. 50; and Murray's *Archæology*, p. 312).

One of the best of the Myrina terra-cottas is here: the group of two ladies enjoying "a cosy chat," to which we have already referred

(C 529). It is as pretty as a Tanagra figurine, though perhaps a trifle more realistic in style.

A certain straining after effect in posture may be noticed in the Artemis from Myrina (C 530).

A large proportion of the Myrina figurines represent the god of Love; especially interesting are the two numbered C 535 and 536. These are obviously impressions from the same mould, and they illustrate very happily the importance of the process of retouching in the artistic result. Thus in the one (535) the details are barely distinguishable, and the whole effect is heavy; in the other (536), which has been retouched by the artist, the details are clear, and the whole scene is instinct with life and grace. The subject is "Eros and Psyche." Eros, tired of his playmate, destroys her. Eros, it will be seen, is burning the butterfly over the flame of an altar. The subject is a common one on gems (see p. 641), though the detail of the altar, in place of a simple torch, is new. (See Miss Hutton, in *J.H.S.* xv. 132; and *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, pp. 18, 40.)

Typical in another kind of figure is the ugly old man (C 456). It is remarkable that in all these terra-cottas there are no figures of old men which are not ugly and deformed, or in other ways grotesque. This affords another illustration from art of a Greek characteristic well known to us from literature—namely, the harsh treatment of old age. The ideal of the Greeks was beauteous youth; old age was sombre and abhorred. Thus in Euripides:—

> If the high gods would give me a guerdon,
> Be it youth ere its forces are fled;
> For age is a wearisome burden—
> An Ætna that lies on the head.

On Greek vases the artist drew the fight of Hercules against monstrous old age; in Greek terra-cottas old age is a subject only for ridicule and caricature.

Silenus holding out a bunch of grapes to the boy Dionysus (C 406, Case 25) has been already described (p. 692).

Among the statuettes from Asiatic sites other than Myrina, are several discovered by Sir Charles Newton in his excavations at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Calymnus. At the former site alone more than a thousand were discovered, but the varieties of type did not exceed thirty, of which the following were the most remarkable:—(1) a figure either of Persephonè or her priestess, holding in her arms the pig sacred to that deity; (2) Persephonè, draped to her feet, in her right hand a pomegranate fruit, her left resting against her hip; (3) a *Kanephoros*, bearing on her head the sacred basket used in the worship of Demeter; (4) a hydrophoros, or draped female

figure, carrying a water-pitcher on her head; (5) Demeter, holding in her left hand two ears of corn; (6) *Gaia Kourotrophos* "earth the nourisher of children," holding an infant in her arms; (7) Cybelè seated, in her lap a lion; (8) Aphroditè, draped to her feet, in her right hand a dove; (9) two varieties of the type of Dionysus, one bearded, the other youthful. Examples of most of these types may be seen among the statuettes here exhibited (C 478, 482, 489, 492, etc.). The types from Cnidus are much the same. In both cases they belong to clearly-defined religious types, and the statuettes had no doubt been placed as "ex votos" in temples consecrated to the deities of the under-world. At both places Newton found the terra-cottas in layers among ruins which apparently belonged to a vaulted basement. This basement probably served as a sort of treasury or magazine for the storage of votive offerings. Such vaults, called by the Romans *favissæ*, were, it is known, employed for such purposes in ancient temples (Newton's *Travels and Discoveries*, ii. 72, 184).

Among the other statuettes, we may notice a Diana with many breasts from Ephesus (C 452), and a head from Pergamum (C 441), representing the same heroic type that we have already seen in sculpture (p. 52).

Terra-cottas of a late Period from Sites in North Africa, (Cases 27-32).—We have already examined some statuettes in other materials from the Greek city of Naucratis (p. 97), and the votive types of terra-cottas here exhibited are in many cases the same. The figure of a goddess (C 612), seated in a hooded car drawn by two horses, is curious. Many of the terra-cottas from Naucratis are, however, grotesque; as, for instance, the armed figures (C 607, 608). The "Eros and Aphroditè" (C 596) is pretty. On the whole, the Naucratis terra-cottas are not very attractive. In better style are some of those (in Case 28) from Thapsos (the modern Mehedeah), presented to the British Museum by Sir A. W. Franks. The following are worthy of notice: "Ægipan and panther" (C 689), and "Bacchus and Ariadne" (C 688).

The Statuettes from the Cyrenaica (Cases 29-32) will at first sight strongly recall those from Tanagra. There is, indeed, no doubt that the Tanagra style and probably also actual Tanagra moulds were exported all over the Greek world, and thus reached the coasts of Africa. Many of these statuettes

were excavated by Mr. George Dennis, some years before the Tanagra discoveries were made. His account of his finds reads like a description by anticipation of those at Tanagra :—

"I must say a word on these terra-cottas which are so attractive, with the simple elegance of their attitudes, the graceful arrangement of their drapery and the exquisite beauty of their countenances, and which are yet generally so difficult to secure. They are often deposited in a tomb in pairs, *i.e.* duplicates from the same mould. In one of the tombs at Teucheira which I opened, I found three such statuettes arranged on one side and two on the other of the head of the corpse, standing erect against the wall of rock. The two on one side were different representations of Persephone, the goddess of Hades. Opposite to them stood their exact counterparts. But the fifth was a most singular figure, like nothing I have ever seen taken from a Greek tomb. It represented a female, but rather an Italian peasant woman of our own time, than a goddess of Grecian mythology, or one of the fair-cheeked daughters of ancient Hellas, for the head-dress was the *faldetta*, folded square on the top of the head, and hanging down the back exactly as it is worn by the women of Sonnino and other towns of Southern Italy at the present day" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1867, ix. 149).

Some of the figurines are graceful enough (*e.g.* C 767, 761); and some are quaint (*e.g.* the chariot drawn by two cocks, C 751). But "though the graceful draperies and playful motives of the terra-cottas of an earlier period still survive, the work is rougher, the colouring is more careless, and sometimes the heads and bodies (which were separately moulded and stuck together) are ludicrously disproportioned" (*Guide to the Department*). These terra-cottas from Cyrenè include, as a sort of speciality, a type of female figure having a modius on her head and an extraordinary ornament stretched across and covering her breast. The modius on the head was a symbol of the goddess Demeter, and possibly the curious breastplate was a suggestion of the fertility of the earth, comparable in a measure to the many breasts of the Ephesian Diana (Murray's *Archæology*, p. 312). It is interesting sometimes to remember the many changes and chances which the remains of antiquity, here neatly labelled and safely housed, have gone through on their way to the Museum. With regard to the terra-cottas from the Cyrenaica, Mr. Dennis says :—

"These figures are of the local red clay, often insufficiently baked or merely sun-dried, and, when found in tombs that are choked with this

clay, they are very difficult of extraction. The clay, which has washed in periodically through the crevices of the lid, has caked around them in a mass as hard as chalk, its contraction in the long droughts of summer, or possibly its pressure, has often broken them so that they fall to pieces when the earth is removed, and the fragments are so soft as to require the most careful handling, until they have hardened somewhat by exposure to the atmosphere. The excavation of these statuettes I have almost invariably taken upon myself, for I have learned by experience not to delegate delicate manipulations to men not animated by a due reverence for antiquity, or who have no soul for anything beyond their day's pay. In this tomb I lay for hours, clearing away the hard clay from around these terra-cottas, until the fifth figure, with the Italian head-dress, alone remained to be extracted. The sun had gone down, and I was working by the light of a lantern. Heartily weary, I sat up awhile to rest. The overseer of my gang, who had been watching my operations, with good-natured officiousness offered to relieve me. I refused, but ultimately yielded to his solicitations, cautioning him particularly about the head. Hardly, however, had he taken knife and trowel in hand than the head rolled off its shoulders to the loose earth at the bottom of the tomb. He handed it to me in triumph, but the lovely Greek features were obliterated for ever" (*ibid.* p. 151).

Statuettes from Centorbi in Sicily (Cases 33-37).—The examples, of a late period, here collected from Sicily, are truly described in the *Guide to the Department* as "florid and careless" in style. They present, nevertheless, some points of interest. Greek coins from Sicily are of great beauty; but in these late products of the potter's art the style is rather modern Italian than ancient Greek. A group such as that numbered D 19—"the Kiss"—might have been taken as a model for those plaster casts with which Italian street-vendors tempt the unwary to-day. "An exception may perhaps be made," says Mr. Huish, "in favour of the design of a winged Eros (D 3), which forms a kind of patera, and which would appear to be a precursor of many of the works in faience which the Renaissance gave us from Central Italy." Among the subjects in these Sicilian examples the most interesting is that of one girl carrying another on her back (D 21, 22). Singularly graceful versions of this subject have been found at Tanagra; the specimens before us are not so successful. The subject is invested with a sepulchral significance by some critics, who interpret it as Demeter carrying her daughter Persephonè from the under-world, and an attempt has been made to connect the group with a supposed statue, by Praxiteles, of Demeter

and Persephonè in this attitude. But more probably the idea was derived from the favourite game called *ephedrismos*—the Greek version of pick-a-back. It consisted in throwing stones or balls at a mark. Whoever succeeded in hitting it, mounted the back of the other, who, with eyes covered, had to try and deposit the rider at the mark. Amongst girls blindfolding was apparently dispensed with. The game is still played in modern Greece.

A peculiarity of technique remains to be noticed in these Sicilian statuettes. In many of them the nude portions are not merely dipped in lime-wash and then painted, but are enamelled in colour. Thus the figures numbered D 26 and 28 are enamelled in pink. The lurid purple of D 29 is less pleasing, but this method secured the preservation of the surface; it was occasionally employed elsewhere—*e.g.* C 15, C 217, C 324.

Mythological Figures from tombs at Canossa, period of decline, third–first century (Cases 38, 39).—The two most notable types here represented are Scylla with three dogs standing out from her as spikes (D 92)—for the subject, see p. 137—and a series (D 88-91) representing Aphroditè rising from the sea (Anadyomenè): she is here shown kneeling in a bivalve shell. The same subject has also been found at Tanagra, and must have been a favourite one with terra-cotta artists. In that case it may be cited as an instance in which, as suggested above (p. 693), they derived their inspiration from painting. For the most famous of all the works of the great Apelles was his picture of this same subject. In it the goddess was represented in the act of pressing the water from her wet hair, but its charm, we are told, was not so much in the attitude as in the beauty of form and colouring. It is interesting that many centuries later, in the new birth of classical learning, this same subject was painted by Botticelli. His "Birth of Venus" in the Uffizi at Florence, in which the goddess rises in a shell from the sea, affords us (says Pater) "a direct inlet into the Greek temper," and is fulfilled with the Greek spirit. We may here notice also the Aphroditè with a vase of perfume (D 88), one of the innumerable toilet scenes founded on the nude Aphroditè of Praxiteles.

Terra-cottas of the later Græco-Roman period, "often noticeable for their bright and extravagant decoration" (Cases 40-50).—The large vases (D 191, 192) from Calvi are promi-

nent examples of this over-charged style. The vases themselves are in the form of female heads, and they are surmounted by female statuettes. The general effect is heavy and florid; in this period of decadence, ornament is piled on ornament, and statuette on vase, but the grace alike of vase and of statuette disappears. The four figures in pink drapery (D 102-5, in Cases 43 and 44) are interesting as throwing light on the methods of producing statuettes. All these four have been taken from the same mould, but variants are produced by posing the heads and attaching the arms in different attitudes. Reverting to what we said above about the straining after effect in these later productions of the potter's art, we may notice how much larger in scale the figures have now become. We have traced the same process already in the Vase Rooms, where, in the period of decadence, the vases become ever larger and more florid. The statuettes here are large, and the straining after effect is obvious. The women have now become mourners (*e.g.* D 122, 124, 125)—the forerunners of a motive in the sepulchral art of later ages

> When Loves no more, but marble Angels moan,
> And little cherubs seem to sob in stone.

The attitudes here are over-strained and some of the figures are quite lumpy and ugly (*e.g.* D 130).

Græco-Roman terra-cottas from Capua, Rome, and other Italian sites (Cases 51-61).—Many of the large terra-cotta figures here exhibited were found so long ago as 1765 at Rome in a dry well near the Porta Latina. They were bought from the workmen, who were digging gravel, for a trifle by Nollekens, the sculptor, who, after his manner, restored them, and sold them upon his return to England to Mr. Townley. Nollekens was a wholesale and unrestrained restorer of antiques, so that it is difficult to say how much of their individuality survives in the figures before us. The figure of one of the Muses (D 435 in Case 56) is handsome, and may recall to some visitors a popular and beautiful actress of the day. In the treatment of drapery, however, we may notice in this Roman or Græco-Roman figure a decided contrast to the suppleness and grace of Greek work :—

"There is a stiffness, a want of beauty, and a lack of truth, which make it clear that no recourse has been had to Nature. The folds stand out in an impossible manner from shoulders, waist, and leg, and

in many places assume concave, instead of convex, forms, as they should if they followed the lines of the body. It is, in fact, a parody of a fine work, but it is only fair to say that it has been restored" (Huish, p. 219).

These terra-cottas from Rome formed part of Mr. Townley's collection, and were let in to the walls of his dining-room. The large figures appear to have been modelled by hand, instead of being made from moulds. The smaller terra-cottas of the Græco-Roman style do not call for any detailed examination. The old motives and attitudes are continued, but the charm of the Greek terra-cottas is not present. Note as an example the statuette numbered D 285. It is elaborately incised in the early manner, but in the very elaboration the elusive grace of the old style has gone.

Moulds (Cases 62-64).—A series of ancient moulds for terra-cotta figures, found at Tarentum, is of special interest, as showing us how the statuettes were made. We have treated of this subject above (p. 682). Plaster casts, taken from each mould, are exhibited beside the originals.

"Most of them," says Dr. Murray, "are of a comparatively late period, from the third to the first century B.C., and it is curious to find among those of them in the British Museum an instance of a mould which has been expressly made to imitate an archaic phase of art (E 15 in Case 64). It represents a draped female figure, and at first sight has the appearance of belonging to Greek art of the end of the sixth century B.C. But in fact it is not uncommon to find among terra-cottas of a distinctly late period others which, in general, would be taken to be archaic. In some cases the old moulds may have been handed on from age to age; but mostly it was the taste for a particular archaic type of figure that has survived, or been revived, new moulds being made to imitate the archaic type" (*Archæology*, p. 320).

We have seen instances of similar revivals in Græco-Roman sculpture (p. 61). In the present case the archaic elaboration in the folds of the drapery is carried to almost ludicrous excess.

Terra-cotta Antefixes (Cases 62-71, upper shelves).—The large terra-cotta ornaments, with Gorgons' heads and other subjects, were found at Capua, and served as "antefixes"—*i.e.* to mask the ends of tile ridges on a roof, in the manner shown on the restored terra-cotta roof in the Etruscan saloon (p. 484). Some of these cornice-ornaments are of conventional patterns, such as we are all familiar with in the cornices of buildings in

the classical style. Others are in the form of grotesque masks.

Masks (Cases 67-71, and Table-cases A and B).—Among other small objects in the Room of Terra-cottas a large number of masks will be noticed. They are (with one or two exceptions) very small; they could not, therefore, have been themselves worn as masks, but are only effigies of the real thing. What, then, was their purpose? The use of masks, as is well known, arose from the custom of appearing in disguise at the Dionysiac carnivals, where, at first, painting the face was resorted to. It was only in later times that they became a necessity in dramatic representations. The little masks here before us are, for the most part, of Silenus, and it is the mystic connection of Dionysus and his rout with the deities of the under-world that explains the choice of subject. For these little masks were worn during life as charms and amulets, and were buried with the dead in order to protect them from evil. We have seen already, in the case of the Tanagra statuettes, that the mask may have been employed by the potter as an accessory, marking the sepulchral significance of the figure. Certainly it is the fact that many of the terra-cotta masks, here separately shown, were found in tombs. It is possible also that, like the marble *oscilla* which we have already seen (p. 81), terra-cotta masks of Dionysus and his fellows were used as scarecrows in vineyards and orchards. These satyr masks are, it will be seen, brightly coloured in red and blue (B 479, etc.). The Medusa masks (B 470, etc.) were also favourite amulets for averting the evil eye and other dangers.

Statuettes from Sardinia (Cases 73, 74).—Here we come back to the point from which we started; for these statuettes from Sardinia are of the same Græco-Phœnician style as that shown, in the opposite cases, in the earlier terra-cottas from Cyprus. The Phœnicians, as everybody knows, traded in the Mediterranean as far as Spain; but, for some reason or other, Sardinia, on the way thither, is the farthest point westward at which statuettes of the mixed Græco-Phœnician type have been found. The Sardinian terra-cottas come from the site of the ancient Phœnician city of Tharros, where a cemetery, first unearthed by Lord Vernon in 1851, was afterwards ransacked by the peasants as eagerly "as if they were gold-miners in California or Australia" (see Albert de la Marmora's *Itinéraire*

de l Ile de Sardaigne, i. 582). The piece numbered B 442 is a good illustration of the genesis of the statuette from the primitive stone idol. The upper part only is shaped in human likeness; the body is shaped like a rounded pillar of stone.

DOLLS AND TOYS

(*Table-case A*)

One of the reflections which a visit to a museum inevitably suggests is that there is always a good deal of human nature in man, and that it is very much alike in all ages and countries. This is true of the greatest things and of the smallest—of children's toys as well as of men's religious beliefs. In one of the rooms may be seen dolls'-houses and toy-shops which amused little Egyptians thousands of years ago, and the like of which may be bought in London shops to-day. And here we have before us a collection of terra-cotta dolls and toys, which again are much the same as those with which our children play to-day, and which once amused the children of ancient Greece:—

"The amusements of a Greek boy did not differ materially from those of any other boy. We get a list of his favourite toys from a dedicatory epigram, which shows that boy tastes have not changed much in two thousand years.

> To Hermes, this fair ball of pleasant sound,
> This boxen rattle full of lively noise,
> These maddening bones, this top well spinning round,
> Philocles offers here, his boyhood's toys."
>
> (Quoted by HUTTON, p. 59.)

Greek girls, again, differed only from those of to-day in being a little less advanced. "Timareta," says another epigram in the *Anthology*, "consecrated to Artemis before her marriage her musical instruments, the ball she loved so much, the net which confined her hair, her dolls and their dresses. O goddess, it was natural that, a young girl herself, she should offer these little ones to a young girl." This offering of dolls, says M. Diehl truly enough (p. 396), "would seem very tardy to us, our young girls *fin de siècle* are more precocious, and their amusements less simple." The passages just quoted serve to explain the discovery of terra-cotta dolls and toys among the ruins of sanctuaries. They were deposited as offerings before marriage by girls, or on the attainment of

years of discretion by boys, who thus literally put away childish things. Toys also found a place in the tombs of children as being necessary for their happiness after death, and it is from this source that so many have found their way into our museums.

The collection of toys here exhibited consists largely of **dolls** (B 236, etc.). These are articulated figures, and differ very little from the "Dutch doll" of to-day. The trade in dolls seems to have been an extensive one in Greek towns. It is noticeable that the statuette-makers received the name of their craft from this branch of their business: they were called *koroplastai* or *koroplathai*, *i.e.* makers of dolls, representing girls. These articulated dolls have been found in all parts of the Greek world, and similar figures have also come from Assyria—thus testifying to the universal craving of juvenile humanity for its counterfeit presentment.

The other toys are also very much like those with which children of to-day are provided, although in different materials. We may notice, first, little groups representing **scenes from the kitchen or nursery**—such as a woman making bread (B 221, from Camirus): "All roughly but cleverly modelled and wonderfully true to nature: the suggestion of effort with which this little woman rolls out her paste is very well given, and her paste-board and rolling-pin might be the basis of a dissertation on ancient kitchen utensils" (Hutton, p. 31).

Still more popular, if we may judge from the number of examples found, were figures of **animals**. Greek children, it is clear, had their "Noah's arks" to play with, no less than our own. Among the toy animals here exhibited we may notice a kneeling camel, a clown riding on a swan (B 271, from Tanagra), and a boy on a mule (B 270, from Tanagra). These latter figures are very bright and spirited. A mule, carrying sacrificial objects, is of some mythological interest (B 280, from Tanagra). The ass plays an important part in the worship of Dionysus, as carrying corn and wine, and it was on an ass that Dionysus brought Hephæstus back to the company of the gods. Very cleverly executed are some of the toy-tortoises. On one of them a man is mounted.

There is also a collection of terra-cotta **boats**. These may also have been used as toys, but for that purpose their material was against them; they certainly would not have floated in the water. These boats were excavated at Amathus in

Cyprus. The largest of the fleet shows a considerable amount of detail, such as the socket for the mast and the arrangement of the thwarts; it has also the remains of an iron steering paddle :—

"Boats and fragments of both occur frequently in the tombs of Amathus, and it cannot be a mere coincidence that the tale of the clay fleet of Kinyras (the King of Amathus) is connected with that town. According to Eustathius, a fleet of fifty ships had been promised by Kinyras to Menelaus; but when the time came for fulfilling the promise only one real ship was sent, the remainder being a fleet of clay boats with clay crews. Such a story must have had its origin in a knowledge of the fact that the people of Amathus had a liking for such clay ships" (A. H. Smith in *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 113). In our collection there is also a war-galley from Corinth, with armed warriors seated in it.

On the top of this case is a very interesting **sepulchral urn** (C 12), ornamented with lion-headed gryphons, which was found in a tomb at Athens. Inside the urn was found the painted and gilded figure of a siren tearing her hair, and also a fragment of linen which had enveloped the ashes of the dead man. There is also a fragment of his jaw-bone, and to this is still attached the small silver coin which was placed in the mouth of every corpse previous to burial, to pay the fee of the ferryman Charon for conveying the soul of the dead over the waters of Acheron. Few beliefs have been so long held as this of the ferry across the stream of death. Up to very recent times the custom of placing Charon's coin between the lips of the dead still prevailed among the Greeks. Like so many other pieces of pagan ritual, it was adapted rather than abolished by Christianity. Sir Charles Newton records the measures which the Archbishop of Mytilene told him he had taken to put an end to it in Macedonia, by representing that a Turkish coin, inscribed with a quotation from the Koran, was no fit object for a Christian grave. But so tenacious is the belief, that ingenious methods of evading the ecclesiastical prohibition may still be found among the Orthodox peasantry (see Newton's *Travels in the Levant*, i. 289, and Rodd's *Customs and Lore of Ancient Greece*, pp. 116, 125). One may doubt whether even an inspection of the curious relic here before us would shake so firmly planted a superstition. The man whose ashes were buried in this urn made his passage many hundreds of years ago, and from that bourne no traveller

returns. But the ferryman's fee still adheres to his jawbone—an uncanny relic to the superstitious; for perhaps even now the disturbed soul, his passage money unpaid, haunts the deserted street of the tombs at Athens or the funereal gloom of museum corners in London.

GROTESQUE FIGURES

(*Table-case B*)

On the top of this case, at one end, are unusually important statuettes of Athena Promachos and of Poseidon, "both in the manner of the advanced archaic period, about 500 B.C., remarkable for their fine preservation, and the careful elaboration of the details. Athena must be completed with a spear raised in the right hand, and Poseidon with a trident or sceptre in his left." Thus the Official Guide; but some doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness of the figures. They were purchased in Athens, and were said to have come from Malesina on the coast of Locris. "It is stated that no discoveries at Malesina of any importance have ever come to the ears of the archæological societies at Athens. This is not of itself sufficient to cast a doubt on their genuineness, but causes them to be examined with suspicion, which is not lessened when we note that their numerous fractures in neither case extend to the faces" (Huish, p. 131).

The terra-cotta figures, illustrating the Greek comic drama, also exhibited on the top of this case, are curious. On one side is a series of four figures from Canino, representing apparently a glutton, a miser, a scribe, and a thief respectively:—

"The one holding a ham clearly denotes a glutton, and has been identified with the Macco of the ancient Italian farces, called Fabulæ Atellanæ. Two other figures have, in like manner, been compared—the first to the Pappus or pantaloon; the second to the Bucco or clown of the same farces. The fourth figure is evidently a thief trying to hide a purse under his cloak. There is a grotesque force and originality about these figures" (Newton, *Castellani Collection*, p. 5).

On the other side of the case are a series of actors, with the usual masks and artificial paunches of comic drama. There is also a comedian in a female part,—a clever and amusing study which may recall to some visitors certain impersonations by "lion comiques" on our own pantomime stage.

In this same case, below, is a further collection of comic and other masks. There are also a number of miscellaneous objects in terra-cotta. Among them we may mention a case of terra-cotta heads found by Sir Charles Newton on the site of the Mausoleum (C 509, etc.); ornaments with gilding which have decorated a sarcophagus, from Naucratis (C 568); masks of Medusa, from the same (C 561); some elaborately ornamented drinking-bottles; and covers of toilet-boxes. There is also a further collection of Greek and Roman terra-cotta moulds, with impressions taken from them (see above, p. 704).

TERRA-COTTA LAMPS

(Table-case C)

In every museum there are large numbers of terra-cotta lamps. These belong for the most part to Roman and later Greek times. Greek lamps, in a style resembling that of earlier times, are comparatively rare; and Athenæus tells us that the lamp was not an ancient Greek invention. The Greeks for some centuries relied upon wax and tallow candles (of a primitive kind) or upon pine torches for their domestic lighting. Gradually, however, the oil-lamp came into favour, and among the Romans its use was general. The British Museum possesses many hundreds of specimens, both in terra-cotta and in bronze. The terra-cotta specimens here exhibited present several varieties, but the general principle is the same in all. The lamp consists of the oil reservoir, either circular or elliptic in form; a round hole on the top to pour in the oil by; the nose through which the wick was pulled, and the handle. The commonest lamps have only one nozzle for the wick; others have two or more; and some of those discovered by Sir Charles Newton have as many as eight or ten. The forms of bronze lamps and lampstands was, as we have seen in the Etruscan and Bronze Rooms, often very elegant; but in other respects the lighting of ancient houses was not on a par with their other comforts and luxuries. The use of the glass chimney was unknown, and the soot of the oil-lamps, settling on furniture and wall-paintings, had to be carefully sponged off by the slaves every morning. The smell of the oil must also have been unpleasant, and one is not surprised to read that perfumed oil was sometimes burnt. The decoration of the terra-cotta lamp was confined to the front of the handle,

or more commonly to the circular space on the top. This decoration varies, as the visitor will see, very greatly in elaboration, in subject-matter, and in artistic merit. In one side of the case are lamps illustrating mythological and legendary subjects; in the other, scenes from daily life and from the contests of the amphitheatre and circus. Among the moulds in Case B, there is one for the relief on a lamp with a subject of two gladiators, which shows the rapid and easy way in which the Roman clay lamps were produced.

But even the rough relief on a small hand-lamp may sometimes suggest points of interest to archæologists. Thus there is a lamp here, acquired from Cyprus in 1884, which represents the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the soil of Attica, and which is sometimes referred to in connection with a vexed question:—

"The work is roughly moulded and slight, but the group has the interest which attaches to every fresh representation of the strife between Athene and Poseidon as suggesting possible interpretations of the action of the central group of the west pediment of the Parthenon. Athene steps quickly forward from the left with her shield raised on her right arm. Poseidon on the right appears to be slightly drawing back; his right hand raised and extended, as if deprecating the advance of Athene. The olive-tree occupies the middle of the field. The token of Poseidon is not represented. The moment represented appears to be that of the accomplished decision. Athene steps forward not so much as assaulting Poseidon, but rather as standing forth almost in the position of a Promachos to guard her second token, and at the same time the city she has won against all the world. It may be suggested that this is also a not impossible interpretation of the action of the central group of the pediment" (A. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* xiii. 93).

From the designs and inscriptions on other lamps we obtain a glimpse of social customs. A design frequently met with is that of two figures of Victory holding between them an inscribed disk. On one of the lamps here, the inscription on the disk is ANNV NOV FAUSTV FELIX—a wish for a Happy New Year. Several similar lamps have been found. It would appear that lamps were as much in favour among the Romans as New Year's gifts, as lamps and candlesticks are with us for wedding presents.

Like the statuettes, terra-cotta lamps had a religious and a sepulchral, as well as a domestic use. We know from Pausanias (ii. 22. 4) that lighted lamps were offered to Persephonè, and let down into trenches or chasms consecrated to the infernal deities—an offering which had special reference

of course to the torch carried by Demeter when she went forth to search for her daughter. At Cnidus Sir Charles Newton found a large number of terra-cotta lamps crowded in one place a little distance below the surface, and it was conjectured that there must have been some statue or altar at which it had been a custom to have lamps burning at night. Again, we know that lighted lamps were placed in the tombs of the dead. Thus, on a marble slab in the British Museum there is a Latin inscription describing the property which had been left by the deceased to provide, among other things, that a lighted lamp with incense should be placed at his tomb three times a month. The use of lights is one of the many ritual observances which Christianity adopted from Paganism. The lighted lamp in Roman Catholic churches continues the tradition of the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens, in which a gold lamp was kept burning day and night. To this day, when a Greek Archbishop is buried in his own diocese, he is placed in the grave seated, with a lamp burning; and the candles dedicated in churches by the devout Catholics of to-day are the modern survival of the terra-cotta lamps here collected from the tombs and temples of the ancient world.

SAMIAN OR ARRETINE WARE

(*Table-case D*)

Lastly in the Room of Terra-cottas there is a collection of vases in fine red clay with subjects in relief; many of them are of great beauty and of gem-like execution. This ware is known as Samian or Arretine. Most of it has been found on the site of the Etruscan city of Arretium (the modern Arezzo), celebrated in Roman times for its small red vases which, Pliny says, were equal to those of the Greek island of Samos. The style of art, as well as the makers' names inscribed at the bottom of the vases, show that it was of Roman manufacture of a date not earlier than the first or second century B.C. In laying the foundations of a new theatre at Arezzo some years ago, the workmen found a quantity of this Samian ware, together with moulds for casting the reliefs, and remains of vitrified earth—marking the site of a pottery. Several moulds are exhibited in this case, and we can thus learn the method of manufacture :—

A mould was first prepared, of hard, well-burnt clay, covered *inside* with incuse designs; these sunk patterns were made either by hand-modelling or, more usually, with the aid of stamps modelled in relief. Thus the *inside* of the bowl-mould corresponded to the *outside* of the future Samian bowl, which was first turned on the wheel quite plain, but of the right size to fit into the mould. Then, while it was still soft it was pressed into the mould, and afterwards both were put upon the wheel together. As the wheel revolved, the potter could at the same time press the clay into the sunk ornaments of the mould and finish neatly the inside of the vessel. In some cases he raised the walls of the bowl high above the mould by adding clay, and thus, with the same mould could produce a variety of forms, though the lower or decorated portion always remained the same. The vessel was then removed from the mould, and the reliefs touched up by hand (in the finer specimens) with bone or wooden modelling-tools. In addition to the moulded ware many vessels of the same class were made plain from the wheel. It was next covered with the materials (silica, soda, and oxide of iron) for the red enamel, and fired in the usual way.

We know from ancient writers that this "Samian" ware of Arezzo was much employed for ordinary domestic purposes, being used for dry meats as well as liquids. The better specimens are of great beauty, both in colour and in the delicacy of the reliefs; it is the most artistic sort of pottery that the Romans produced. We have seen that Pliny compared it to the red ware of Samos. It seems to have superseded in Italy the use of those vases of black ware with designs in relief, which we saw in the Fourth Vase Room (p. 414). Among the examples probably produced at Arezzo itself is a fine vase (from the Slade collection) with figures symbolical of the seasons, found at Capua. Among the bowl-moulds we may notice one with a design of a Bacchic procession: the potter's name is "Parides, slave of P. Cornelius"; and another with a scene of Alexander's lion-hunt:—

"By way of setting an example, Alexander exposed himself to greater fatigues and hardships than ever in his campaigns and hunting expeditions, so that old Lakon, who was with him when he slew a great lion, said, 'Alexander, you fought well with the lion for his kingdom.' This hunting-scene was afterwards represented by Krateras at Delphi. He had figures made in bronze of Alexander and the hounds fighting with the lion, and of himself running to help him" (Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, § 40).

"Samian" ware of Arezzo was sent, Pliny tells us, to various parts of the world; the discovery of a Samian bowl-mould at

York makes it appear probable that the ware was made even in distant Britain. A collection of Samian ware found in this country is shown in the Anglo-Roman Room (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., xix. 617; Dennis's *Etruria*, ii. 383).

Among other objects in this case we may notice a curious vase in the form of a laced boot, made in the style of a mountaineering or shooting boot of to-day; the nails are arranged to form the letters "Alpha" and "Omega." A large terra-cotta lamp, with decorative reliefs, in the form of a ship is also noticeable. It is inscribed on the front "Fair Voyage," and on the back, "Accept me, the *Helioserapis*" (name of the ship). This curious lamp was found in the sea at Pozzuoli, in the Bay of Naples; it was perhaps a present intended for use on board a friend's yacht.

On the top of the case is a vase in the form of a female figure seated on the prow of a trireme, and a large vase in the shape of a wine-skin (*askos*) decorated in florid profusion with statuettes—Victories, heads of Medusa, and horses. In a very different style is the group from Capua of two girls—a beautiful specimen of fourth-century work. The girls are kneeling and playing the game of knuckle-bones. The group is very graceful and, contrary to what is customary in terra-cottas, the back has been carefully modelled by hand. This graceful piece, which is now one of the ornaments of our Museum Gallery, must once have belonged to some Greek connoisseur of taste.

☞ *Leaving the Room of Terra-cottas, we find ourselves in the Central Saloon. In the central part of it, portions of the Anglo-Roman collection are exhibited. These are described in the next chapter. Other portions of the Collection are exhibited in the Roman Gallery, which the visitor can regain by descending the central staircase.*

CHAPTER XXVIII

ROMAN BRITAIN

I. Pavements and other antiquities in the Roman Gallery.
II. Various antiquities in the Central Saloon.

"I hold myself obliged to preserve as well as I can the memory of such things as I see, which, added to what future times will discover, will revive the Roman Glory among us, and may serve to incite noble minds to endeavour at that merit and public-spiritedness which shine through all their actions. This tribute, at least, we owe them, and they deserve it at our hands—to preserve their remains" (Dr. STUKELEY, 1687-1765).

"The Romans stamped the seal of history on the wonderful island, little dreaming that a time would come when, after the fusion of Celts, Latins and Germans, a commercial power would be developed more important than Carthage, and an empire greater in extent and population than that of Rome" (GREGOROVIUS).

THE antiquities described in this chapter illustrate the Roman occupation of Britain which commenced with the conquest under the Emperor Claudius in 43 A.D., and ended in 410 A.D., when the Roman officials and legions were withdrawn. These Anglo-Roman remains do not differ in general character from Roman remains found elsewhere. Roman civilisation was as uniform as were Roman institutions. In our National Museum the Roman remains found in Britain are, however, very properly brought together in a separate collection as illustrating a distinct chapter in the national history

There are two opposite errors with regard to that history which a careful study of a collection of Anglo-Roman antiquities is calculated to correct. One is a tendency to under-rate the civilisation in Britain existing before the Roman invasion. The other is a tendency to forget the extent of "the Roman glory." Pre-Roman Britain, though racked by incessant wars,

was the seat of considerable industries. The mines of tin and lead were already worked. There was a native gold coinage, imitated from the Macedonian "staters." Many of the British coins bear comparison, in design and execution, with the contemporary productions of the Roman mint. The art of enamelling on bronze, of which we shall presently see specimens, was practised by "the barbarians in the Ocean," and from them adopted by the Romans.

But Britain received from the Romans far more than she gave. Under the Roman peace established by the legions, arts and industries were developed, and the amenities of life found fuller scope. The Roman dominion, here as elsewhere, combined policy with force. The amount of force employed in Britain, after the first conquest, was not large. The regular number of legions which formed the army of occupation was four, and, after the time of Hadrian, three; and these were for the most part stationed on the extreme boundaries of Roman Britain. The legions were supplemented by auxiliary troops, drawn from other parts of the Roman dominions, and by a fleet. We shall point out a curious little relic (p. 745) which may refer to the Channel Squadron of Roman times. The colonies, planted in different parts of the country, such as Colchester and Lincoln, served also as fortified outposts, for the Romans were firm believers in the policy of military settlements. The roads which they made were also a form of military force; for these raised causeways were easily defensible and facilitated the speedy massing of troops. There may be seen in the Museum a milestone from one of the roads which the Romans drove into the wild country of Wales. It bears the name of Hadrian and was originally set up eight miles from the Roman station of Korovium in 121-122 A.D. It was found at Rhiwau, Llanfairfechan, Co. Carnarvon. Through all the systems of great roads which traversed the Roman Empire milestones of this kind were erected. After the Romans departed from Britain, most of the milestones were gradually taken for building material, so that few now survive. Of the Roman occupation in its military aspect, we shall see many relics—in the tombstones erected over Roman soldiers, in altars dedicated by them to their gods, in bronze armour, and in a very interesting series of documents releasing them from further military service.

Military force, however, was by no means the only basis

of Roman dominion. Rome succeeded also in securing her position by the attractions of commerce and a higher material civilisation. "The Roman trader was ubiquitous. He even preceded the Roman arms; thus we find him crossing the Great St. Bernard and paying toll to the barbarians before either end of the pass was secured by Roman troops; and wherever the Roman arms were carried, the merchants followed in crowds. The immense and permanent diffusion of Roman citizens over the world which Rome had conquered was one of the chief agencies at work in levelling differences and establishing a sort of unity between its heterogeneous parts. So, again, the higher civilisation of Rome exercised an immense attraction upon backward races. The Romans quite understood this; and an interesting and characteristic passage of Tacitus shows us Agricola (c. 21) of set purpose introducing the Britons to the pleasant luxuries of their conqueror. 'All this in their ignorance they called civilisation, when it was but a part of their servitude'" (W. T. Arnold: *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, p. 16). Before the end of the first century, Britain was already a settled Roman province, and participated in that general prosperity which a later writer described by saying that "the world is equipped with everything, everything is accessible, everywhere there is a dwelling, everywhere a people, everywhere government, everywhere life" (Tertullian). The poet Florus commiserated Hadrian, indeed, on his British journey: "Ego nolo Caesar esse, Ambulare per Britannos"; but this was an epigram upon the "reisende Kaiser" of that day, and Britain was no longer too remote or rude to be furnished with the comforts and luxuries of civilised life. The oysters of Richborough were favourites upon the dinner-tables of Rome, and all the appliances of Roman life were re-established in Britain. Martial could boast that his poetry was read in this country, and Juvenal flattered the Romans by assuring them that even Thule talked of inviting a rhetorician. "Already the warm and mineral springs had been discovered, which still draw our health-seekers to Bath and Clifton, to Cheltenham and Matlock," and the mineral and metallic resources of the country were worked with method and perseverance.[1] Before

[1] Certainly also there was no lack of money in Britain. The number of coins which have been discovered scattered about on Roman sites is very great; so much so, says one antiquary (Mr. Wright), that "any one

the Roman dominion had run its course, Britain was described as "glittering with a multitude of cities":—

"When the Roman legions were finally withdrawn, Britain possessed more than fifty walled towns,[1] united by roads upon which, at stated intervals, were stations for resting and relays of horses and carriages. Exclusive of the towns, there were numerous military walled stations, to which frequently, in process of time, had become attached extensive suburbs. The towns and stations possessed public buildings, baths and temples within and without their walls. Many of the towns were of large extent; and, even if we may judge only from the remains discovered in our own time, were adorned with edifices of considerable grandeur and of architectural importance; and their public places were often embellished with statues. One bronze equestrian statue, at least, decorated Lincoln; a bronze statue, of the tutelary deity of the place, stood in a temple at Bath; a statue in bronze of Hadrian, of heroic size, was one of the public ornaments of London; one of the temples at Colchester bore an inscription in large letters of bronze; and Verulam possessed a theatre for dramatic representations capable of holding some two to three thousand spectators" (C. R. Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 3). "The objects, however, which must have struck the traveller most forcibly as he passed along the road between one town and another, were the numerous country villas or mansions, many of them magnificent palaces, covering as much ground as a whole town. Modern discoveries have shown us how marvellously the country was covered, especially in some of the southern and midland districts, with these great rural residences"[2] (Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 227).

Of the Roman occupation in this, its civil side, the remains collected in museums, and even to be seen *in situ*, are apt at

would imagine that the Romans in Britain amused themselves with throwing their money away." From the bed of the Thames also many thousands of Roman coins have been dredged up. Many of them were still as sharp as when issued from the mint, and of those in bad condition the majority seemed to have been worn more by the friction of the gravel, owing to tidal action, than by circulation. In this case it seems probable that the coins had been deposited as commemorative memorials (as in our own day) on the occasion of repairs to the bridge of Londinium.

[1] Of the appearance of these walled towns, some idea may be formed from an illuminated Psalter in the Museum collection of manuscripts (MS. Harl., No. 603).

[2] This is one of many respects in which modern England resembles Roman Britain. "The splendour of the French nobles," says Gibbon in his *Memoirs*, "is confined to their own residences; that of the English is more usefully distributed in their country seats; and we should be astonished at our own riches, if the labours of architecture, the spoils of Italy and Greece, which are now scattered from Inveraray to Wilton, were accumulated in a few streets between Marylebone and Westminster."

first sight to seem meagre and disappointing. Countries with only a past are to the archæologist richer than those which have a present. In a countryside which has been continuously and highly cultivated, there is little room for extensive excavations; if they are made, they are soon covered up again. In the case of great commercial cities, on the site of Roman towns, the vestiges of antiquity which remain visible are necessarily few, nor in a city like London is there scope for any systematic digging for minor antiquities. There has not always, it must be added, been the taste. All the more honour, therefore, to those who have felt "obliged to preserve the memory of such things as they saw." Among such men, in our own generation, we are here especially bound to mention Charles Roach Smith (1807-1890), who may be called the founder of this portion of the Museum. In 1856 he sold his Anglo-Roman remains to the British Museum (for £2000), and it became the nucleus of this section of the national collection. He had small means, but inexhaustible zeal. His services in the protection and record of Roman remains were recognised both in this country and in France. A medal struck in his honour by the Society of Antiquaries is exhibited in the Museum (in Table-case B, Central Saloon).

The remains of Roman Britain here exhibited may appear insignificant, but closer study will prove them to be full of interest and instruction. Of the public buildings to which we have referred, we may find some trace in the pieces of colossal bronze sculpture which once adorned them. From the private houses, mosaic pavements bear witness to their rich adornment. The smaller bronze statuettes show us the household gods of the Anglo-Romans. These and many other remains introduce us to their religious rites and beliefs. The frequency of hunting scenes, in which the wild boar, the stag, or the hare is the quarry, upon the figured pottery shows that Roman Britain was no less addicted than "the islanders" of later times to the pleasures of the chase. The pottery gives us pictures also of the dogs for which Britain was famous and which it exported for hunting purposes to other parts of the Roman world. We pass to other compartments, and see specimens of the pewter-services, silver-plate, and rich bronze vessels which stood on the tables of the wealthier inhabitants. Their glass, too, was often elegant and artistic. Many of the antiquities here exhibited show us the utensils

and implements of domestic life. We may see the strigils which the men used after the bath, the pins with which the women adorned their hair, the writing-tablets and pens for their letters, the women's needle-work, the ornaments and conveniences for the home, the person, the pocket and the garden. The minute study of antiquarians consists largely in classification, and in the tabulation of differences. Perhaps what most interests the unlearned visitor to any museum of antiquities is the study of resemblances. He discovers, if he did not know before, what a large element of continuity and conservatism there is in human civilisation, in how many respects the appliances of life in the England of to-day are essentially the same as in Roman Britain eighteen hundred years ago.

We now proceed to examine more in detail the different classes of antiquities to which we have alluded in the foregoing sketch.

TESSELATED PAVEMENTS

(*In the Roman Gallery*)

Among the most enduring monuments of the Roman Empire are the mosaics which paved the halls or houses of its colonists. "Few countries are richer than England in these remains; the great pavements of York, Woodchester, Cirencester, and many other places are as elaborate in design and as skilfully executed as any that now exist even in Rome itself.[1] In whatever country these mosaics are found, their style and method of treatment are always much the same; the materials only of which the tesseræ are made vary according to the stone or marble supplied by each country. In England, for instance, limestone or chalk often takes the place of the white marble so common in Italian or North African mosaics; while, instead of red marble, a fine sort of burnt clay or red sandstone is generally used; other makeshifts had to be resorted to, and many of the Anglo-Roman mosaics are made entirely without marble" (Middleton in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xvi. 851).

[1] A list of all the Roman pavements discovered in London up to 1864 is given in *Archæologia*, xxxix. 501. On the substances employed, see *Archæological Journal*, vii. 347.

Among the mosaics in the Roman Gallery are two pieces of pavement which were discovered in 1841, in excavating the foundation of the former French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street, at a depth of about 14 feet. In one, the tesseræ are white, black, slate colour, and a dull green, formed from natural stones; red and yellow from artificial; the green apparently from a native marble is much worn by time and weather. In the other mosaic the centrepiece, fitted of a complicated and ingenious design, is pleasing. Fragments of wall-painting were also discovered showing that the villa had been decorated in a superior style (see C. Roach Smith's *Roman London*, p. 55). Another of the mosaics was discovered in 1805, under the south-west angle of the Bank of England, at a depth of 12 feet. Another was laid open in Fenchurch Street in digging the foundation of a house in 1858, at about the same depth. The increase of soil may be said roughly to be at the rate of a foot a century. The thickness of calcareous concrete on which these mosaic pavements were laid must have been an effective protection against damp, and Suetonius tells us that Julius Cæsar on his expeditions carried the materials for making such pavements as part of his military baggage (c. xlvii.). Sometimes the concrete rested on the native ground; but in rooms intended for winter use, it rested on pillars; the heating arrangements were under the floor, and the hot air passed up the walls through hollow tiles.

Some of the finest Roman pavements in Britain have been found elsewhere than in London. Three of the pieces before us here are from Abbots Ann, Hampshire; others were found in the ruins of a Roman villa at Withington, Gloucestershire, which was revealed by the plough in 1811. The subjects of the latter pavements included a figure of Neptune, amidst fishes and marine monsters, and Orpheus with his lyre, surrounded by the animals whom his music subdued. Both of these subjects were favourites with the Roman pavement artists. They occur on several of the pavements unearthed in Britain, and also on the Continent. "Perhaps the artists who made the pavements carried about with them a professional list of subjects which they offered for choice, if their employer had not a subject of his own to propose" (Wright). In Britain the subjects just mentioned might be considered especially appropriate, the one being an allusion to an insular position, the other to the progress of civilisation among us. The subject of

Orpheus was selected for dining-rooms. The Roman banquet, with its music, its recitations, and the bath which preceded it, was a type of the highest advance in social cultivation: as Horace says (*Ars Poet.* 392)—

> Orpheus, the priest and harper, pure and good,
> Weaned savage tribes from deeds and feasts of blood.

The Orpheus pavement from Withington is one of the best of its kind:—

"The animals were eight in number, of which the leopard, boar, and wolf were quite entire, and the bull and stag nearly so; the horse and lion were much mutilated, as was the figure of Orpheus in the centre. On each side of the circle containing these figures was a narrow oblong compartment; that on the south side was ornamented with a goblet in the centre, with the mutilated figure of a peacock, which most probably was answered by a similar one on the opposite side of the goblet. In the oblong compartment on the north side of the circle were figures of pheasants and other birds. This division of the pavement was infinitely better executed than the one which joined it, and which was probably the work of a much later age. The part where this inferior work began was very visible, the feet which formed the outward border of the large compartment being awkwardly cut off, with part of one of the birds, and a border formed of ornaments in a very inferior state having been substituted. This second compartment was an oblong, the sides of which were not parallel, containing various figures of dolphins and sea-monsters, and a large head of Neptune represented with bones apparently formed of crabs' or lobsters' claws, and two dolphins proceeding from his mouth" (*Archæologia*, xviii. 118. The pavements are figured in Lysons' *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, vol. ii. pl. 17 and 18).

This pavement in its original condition must have been an effective piece of decoration. "The spacious villas which were spread over Roman Britain are only known to us from their splendid pavements casually laid open under cornfields and meadows, from time to time deprived of the superstructures which would be indispensable in conveying a proper notion of the extensive and commodious edifices of which they once formed the flooring. These are among the most striking remains we possess of the domestic luxury of Roman Britain" (*Roman London*, p. 4).

SARCOPHAGI AND INSCRIBED STONES

(In the Roman Gallery)

In Roman Britain the practice of cremation and of burying the ashes in urns was the more frequent, but the older Roman practice of burial was also adopted. Examples of stone coffins are placed in the Roman Gallery, opposite the busts of Roman emperors. They present various points of interest, though the sculpture "exhibits, more or less, the rudeness of provincial art." Tombstones, with sepulchral inscriptions, were set up by relatives of the deceased, or by his heirs. Cemeteries were as a rule situated outside the town walls, generally by the side of roads (as on the Via Appia at Rome). A tombstone found in Britain bears the inscription "Buried by the roadside that they who pass by may say, Farewell, Lollius."

We begin our inspection of this wall of tombstones at the door nearest the Entrance Hall. In the corner is a massive sepulchral slab, with a panel inscribed to the memory of Lucius Sempronius Flavinius, a Spaniard, a soldier of the Ninth Legion, who died at the age of thirty, after seven years of military service. This monument was found in 1830 opposite the city gaol, Lincoln, in the foundations of the eastern wall of the lower Roman town (*Arch. Journal*, xvii. 6). The Ninth Legion came to Britain under Claudius. Almost annihilated in the insurrection of Boadicea, it was recruited from Germany, and again suffered from the Caledonians in the operations under Agricola. It was regularly stationed in the northern part of Roman Britain.

An altar dedicated to Fortuna Redux, Æsculapius and Salus, found in 1779 in Watergate Street, Chester (Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, ii. 283). The sides of the altar are ornamented with festoons; below, on one side, are a cornucopia and rudder, as emblems of good fortune; on the other side are the staff and serpent of Æsculapius, the god of healing. The altar was dedicated, as the inscription shows, by soldiers of the Second Legion, of which the usual headquarters were at Caerleon-on-Usk (Isca Silurum). The Cæsars had their Welsh marches as well as the Plantagenets. The Roman legionaries, drawn from distant lands, must often have longed for home; hence their pious offerings to Fortuna Redux, to

the goddess of fortune who grants men a happy return. The altars to various gods, of which we shall see other specimens, were probably placed in the temples consecrated to the greater divinities (just as in later times various saints had their shrines or chapels), or were placed by the roadsides (like the wayside chapels in Roman Catholic countries).

A sarcophagus, very heavy in workmanship, was discovered in 1801 at Southfleet, Kent.

Another sarcophagus, discovered in 1853 near Trinity Church, Haydon Square, E.C., contained a leaden coffin, within which were the skull and the disjointed and partly decomposed bones of a boy. The countenance of the youth figured on the sarcophagus is marked with an individuality of expression which suggests the notion of its having been intended for a portrait of the dead youth. The back is quite plain, as though it stood against a wall (*Roman London*, p. 45).

A sepulchral monument, found in Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars, had served as a building-stone. The monument of which this mutilated fragment formed a part was erected to the memory of Celsus, a *speculator* of the Second Legion, by birth a Dardanian. The names of those who erected the memorial, which contained a full-length figure of the deceased, are Valerius Pudeno and Probus, who were his comrades. The *speculatores* were scouts. Dardania is included in the southernmost part of Servia (*Roman London*, p. 27).

A sepulchral tablet, found in 1859, built into the foundations of the wall of the lower Roman town, Lincoln (*Arch. Journal*, xvii. 20), commemorates two women whose busts, sculptured in high relief, are on the top part of the stone. On our right is Claudia Catiola, who died at the age of sixty. On our left Volusia Faustina, of the colony of Lin*coln*, aged twenty-six years, one month, twenty-six days. Aurelius Senecio, a decurion (corporal or sergeant), erected this monument to his wife in memory of her merits: *ob merita conjugi posuit.* The family affections of the Romans in Britain sometimes speak yet more tenderly on these sepulchral stones: as, *e.g.*, on one found at York, where a father, of the Sixth Legion, erects a monument to an infant daughter, "a most innocent thing"; and on another, found at Penrith, "Limisius, to a wife and daughter most affectionate, placed this." The letters D.M. at the head of an inscription stand, of course, for Diis Manibus, "To the gods

of the shades." There is nothing to indicate the relationship of Catiola to the other woman or to her husband.

An altar to the Tyrian Hercules was found in the churchyard at Corbridge, Northumberland (Boeck's *C.I.G.* No. 6806). On one side, a sacrificial knife and a bull's head are sculptured in bas-relief; on the opposite side is a garland or wreath; and in front, an inscription in Greek recording the dedication of the altar to the Tyrian Hercules by Diodora, the high priestess. The Tyrians appear to have been one of the earliest people who paid divine honours to Hercules; a temple, of remote antiquity and great splendour, which was erected to him at Tyre was visited by Herodotus (ii. 44). Also at Corbridge was found an altar dedicated to the Syrian Astartè, queen of heaven. The Romans, with their wide tolerance and ready acceptance of new gods, diffused, it would seem, the worship of Eastern divinities, with their colonisation, even to the north of distant Britain. We shall come presently to a statuette of Hercules which may possibly have belonged to the priestess of our inscription (see p. 729).

Sepulchral tablet to A. Alfidius Rombo, aged seventy years, set up in compliance with his will by his heir. Discovered at Tower Hill in 1852 (*Roman London*, p. 27).

Sepulchral inscription, part of a monument to Fab. Alpinus Classicianus, or his son. A Roman of the name Classicianus was procurator in Britain in the reign of Nero (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 38). This stone was found in 1852 incorporated in a buttress which had been built against the Roman wall at Tower Hill (*Roman London*, p. 28).

Sepulchral tablet, found in 1849 in Monson Street, Lincoln, at a spot which seems to have been a cemetery (*Arch. Journal*, xi. 25, xvii. 17). It was found broken in pieces, probably intentionally, and thrown into a cavity in the soil, where it lay with other Roman remains 7 feet below the surface. The monument records T. Valerius Pudens, son of Julius, of the Claudian tribe; a native of Savia, a city in Spain; a soldier of the Second Legion, who lived thirty years, two of them as a pensioner. "It has been remarked that, to judge from the ages set forth in these sepulchral inscriptions, the Romans in Britain generally died young. The average age seems to be not much more than thirty" (Wright). As so large a proportion of them belonged to the army, this is natural

The present monument, as the inscription further tells us, was one which the deceased had erected for himself at his own cost. On the pediment is a trident between two dolphins; below, a pick-axe, alluding either to digging the grave or fashioning the memorial stone.

A large scroll was probably an ornament from the cover of a sarcophagus. It was found, with the fragment of a mill-stone now placed on it, at the foot of the old Roman wall of London.

Part of an inscription to a soldier of the Twentieth Legion (London). The Twentieth Legion constituted part of the forces under Claudius in his invasion, and appears to have been permanently established in Britain throughout its annexation. It was generally stationed at Chester.

A basin with bas-reliefs of Roman deities (Chesterford, Essex).

Ogham Inscriptions.—Against the pilasters are some upright slabs, of which four are from Ireland and one is from Fardell in Devonshire. The method of writing, which is called Ogham, consists of long and short strokes across the edges of the slabs. The inscriptions give the names of the persons commemorated, accompanied in one instance by the same names in Latin letters. The Ogham inscriptions were peculiar to the Celts. This method of writing dates back probably to pre-Christian times, and continued to be practised till the ninth and tenth centuries. In the other portion of the Anglo-Roman collection there is another Ogham slab. It was found upon the rough land of the farm of Pentre Poeth, in the hamlet of Capel Llanilid near Trecastle. A farmer who came upon it thought it admirably adapted for a gate-post, and had it removed and refixed upside down at the entrance to his farm, where it remained until it was secured for the British Museum. The Ogham inscription, as usual, runs along the edge of the stone, commencing from the bottom and reading upwards. The ornamentation on the face of the stone appears to include a rude attempt at a human figure (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, ix. 221).

[*The rest of the Anglo-Roman collection is exhibited in the Prehistoric Saloon (central portion), the separate room formerly devoted to it having now become the Waddesdon Room. A part of the collection is at present, owing to want of space, not exhibited to the public. The following descriptions include those objects only which are accessible.*]

LARGER BRONZES

(*In the centre of the room*)

The Anglo-Roman collection is appropriately dominated by a **head of Hadrian,** the emperor whose visit to our shores found a permanent record in the great wall which stretched between Carlisle and Newcastle, from sea to sea. Under the protection of Hadrian's Wall the civilisation of Rome was developed in Britain with growing success. Londinium, destroyed in 61 A.D., was restored. This bronze head of Hadrian was dredged up from the bed of the Thames, a little below the site of old London Bridge. It must have belonged to a colossal statue of the emperor, which was a principal ornament, perhaps, of some great public building. The modelling and execution show great artistic skill. (For other representations of the emperor, see pp. 11, 26, 29, 731.)

Another fine bronze is the figure generally described as that of **a Roman General** or some imperial personage. It was found in 1799, twelve feet below the surface of the earth, near Barking Hall, in Suffolk, on the estate of the Earl of Ashburnham. The dress and armour have patterns partly inlaid in silver and partly in niello (see p. 606). The dark tint of the bronze rather prevents the niello, of which work it is one of the earliest specimens, from showing out distinctly. To the traditional interpretation of this statue, Dr. Murray objects that the flat fillet or ribbon with which the hair is bound is not Roman but Greek. He believes the bronze to be the work of a Gaulish or British sculptor making a copy from a Greek original. The original, he suggests, is a statue of Alexander the Great by Lysippus, with his face looking towards the heavens, as he was wont to look (according to Plutarch's story, see p. 141 : *Greek Bronzes*, p. 87).

The fine **bronze helmet** was the result of one of the many accidental discoveries by which the British Museum has been enriched. In 1797 a boy was at play in a hollow at Ribchester when he came upon this helmet, together with other Roman remains, in a heap of red sandstone. Mr. Townley happened to hear of the find and bought the objects, which afterwards passed, with the rest of his collections, to the Museum. The helmet is in two pieces. The skull part is *ornamented with figures* of eleven combatants on foot and six

on horseback. These figures are principally of interest as giving illustrations of Roman armour about the time of the Antonines, when the Romans had adopted the oblong hexagonal shield in use among the Parthians in addition to their own original oval and oblong square shields. The workmanship of the headpiece is coarse and heavy. The mask, or vizor to cover the face, is of much superior workmanship, and the features are very refined. The ornamentation is curious and interesting :—

"A row of small detached locks of hair," says Mr. Townley, "surrounds the forehead a little above the eyes, reaching to the ears, which are well delineated. Upon these locks of hair rests the bottom of a diadem which is divided horizontally into two parts.[1] The lower part projects and represents a bastion wall, separated into seven divisions by projecting turrets. Three apertures for missile weapons of defence are marked in each of the turrets. Two arched doors appear in the middle divisions of this wall, and one arched door in each of the extreme divisions. The upper part of the diadem, which recedes a little so as to clear the top of the walls and of the turrets, was ornamented with seven embossed figures, placed under the seven arches, the abutments of which are heads of genii. The central arch, and the figure that was within it, are destroyed, but the other six arches are filled by a repetition of the following three groups :—A Venus, sitting upon a marine monster, before her a draped figure with wings bearing a wreath and a palm branch, and behind her a Triton whose lower parts terminate in tails of fish. Two serpents are represented on each side of the face, near the eyes, from whence the bodies of three reptiles surround each cheek and are joined under the chin" (*Vetusta Monumenta*, iv. 1).

Mr. Townley, in the account above quoted, suggested that the helmet was not designed for real combat, but for the enrichment of a trophy erected in celebration of some military festival. He connects the details of the ornamentation with the worship of the Magna Mater, under whose protection Roman camps were placed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that "the strength and energy of Demosthenes differ from the light and flowery style of Plato as much as arms made for war

[1] Sir Charles Newton saw in this ornamentation an instance of the personification of a city such as is given on some Greek coins, and more elaborately in late Greek and in Roman sculptures. "The hair on the forehead is so treated as to give the idea of waves washing the base of the turrets. The head is perhaps a figurative representation of a town girt with fortifications and a moat, near which some great battle was fought" (*Ruskin's Stones of Venice*, vol. i. app. 21).

do from those made for processions"; a remark which "proves that arms of the latter sort were of a lighter texture, and more ornamented than the former, precisely corresponding with the texture and quality of our Ribchester helmet, which is exceedingly ornamented, of too flimsy a substance for defence, and so ill-calculated for the admittance of air, that the wearer could with difficulty have breathed through it during any course of exertion."

The other objects found with this helmet are exhibited in Cases 86-88. They consist of remains of various vessels, pieces of armour, and military standards. In the same Cases are some **other Roman helmets.** One of these resembles a jockey-cap in form (cf. Nos. 2725-2728 in the Bronze Room); it was found in digging the Grand Junction Canal, near Northcote Hill, between Tring and Berkhampstead. Another bronze helmet of unusual form was found folded up in a water-course at Guisborough, Yorks. A third, found at Witcham Gravel, Cambs, is of bronze, lined with iron, and partly tinned.

BRONZE STATUETTES

(*Cases* 89, 93)

Another fine bronze is the statuette of an **archer**, found in 1842, at a depth of between twelve and thirteen feet, in the course of excavations for a sewer in Queen Street, Cheapside :—

"The bow and arrow were probably of richer metal than the figure itself, but no vestiges of them were discovered. The aperture for the bow is seen in the closed left hand which held it, and the bent fingers of the right appear in the act of drawing the arrow to its full extent previous to its evolation. The eyes are of silver, with the pupils open; the hair disposed in graceful curls on the head as well as on the chin and upper lip. The left hand, which grasped the bow and sustained the arrow, is so placed as to bring the latter to a level with the eye; and the steadfast look and determined expression of the whole face are much heightened by the silver eyes" (*Archæologia*, xxx. 543; *Roman London*, p. 71).

The bronze-gilt figure of **Hercules** (Case 89), acquired by Sir A. W. Franks for the Museum from Lord Carlisle, was found in the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall: the precise spot is unknown. It is the work of a Gaulish sculptor (such as was Zenodorus who was summoned to Rome by Nero: Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 45), and may have been imported by the *priestess of the* Tyrian Hercules at Corbridge (see p. 725).

The head is vigorous and expressive; in the attitude and other respects—such as the short body and long massive legs—the statuette recalls the archaic period of Greek art. "It shows how a phase of Greek art, which had been abandoned for centuries in Greece itself, had survived in specimens brought to Gaul or Britain, and had there appeared to native sculptors as a new light on their path, much as the archaic pre-Raphaelite painting of Italy appeared to our countrymen not so long ago" (A. S. Murray's *Greek Bronzes*, p. 93; *Archæologia*, lv. 199).

Among other articles in bronze here shown (Cases 86-88) are some plates from a votive offering to Mars and Vulcan (from Barkway, Herts); an ornament from some piece of furniture, with a head of Minerva (from High Wycombe), and a jug (from Carlisle). This last is a *præfericulum*, the vessel which contained the wine for sacrificial offerings, as is sometimes figured on sculptured altars. Notice also here the bronze, silver, and ivory mounts of a casket, conjecturally restored (from Icklingham, Suffolk).

Among the smaller bronzes (Case 93) are some statuettes of considerable beauty, which were discovered in 1837, during an excavation of the bed of the Thames near London Bridge, by men employed in ballast-heaving. One of these is a **youthful Apollo**, "a masterpiece of ideal grace and beauty." The countenance is pensive and full of gentleness and thought, and the repose of the body is in perfect harmony with the conception. A **Mercury**, found at the same time, is "of the best and chastest design, and most finished workmanship." The attitude is graceful and easy; the countenance, full of animated beauty. These statuettes were no doubt among the household gods of a Roman of some distinction residing in the metropolis of the province of Britain. It is clear that they were intentionally mutilated; it will be observed that the legs of the Apollo show marks of some sharp instrument just above the point where they were broken off. The destruction of the idols of the Pagans was, as we know from the Venerable Bede, a duty prescribed to the Early Christian converts. "Before their fanatical ignorance, every tangible representation, whether of gods or of human beings, fell indiscriminately, and the effigies of the soldier or of the peaceful civilian, upon his tomb, were as systematically cut and hammered to pieces as the statues and images of gods and goddesses." In the present case, the statuettes must have been purposely broken and then

thrown into the river. They were thus "consigned to what was intended to be an eternal grave; but water, faithful to science, has conserved them for the admiration of a posterity less intolerant and destructive" (*Archæologia*, xxviii. 38-46; *Roman London*, p. 68).

Several of the statuettes are of animals. Thus, there is a **boar**, of rude, though effective workmanship (found at Colchester). The boar was a Celtic emblem. A **goat**, of iron plated with silver, shows good workmanship (*Roman London*, p. 75). Very remarkable is a figure of a Roman **fighting-cock** in bronze, the surface with champlevé enamel (see p. 748 *n.*) in pale green and white, and traces of red on the comb (*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xli. 97). On the evidence of other work of a similar kind (see p. 748) this object may be ascribed to the time of Hadrian or later; it was found close to the Royal Exchange, London, and was acquired for the Museum in 1900 from the Mayhew collection.

Among the other small bronzes we may notice a bust of the Emperor **Hadrian**, found at Winchester (from the collection of Lord Hastings); a **lamp in the form of Silenus** on a wine-skin, found in Fenchurch Street (presented in 1901 by "The Friends of the British Museum," a body of subscribers formed to supplement the official grants); a curious figure of a **barbarian**, apparently seated across a stand which also supported the circular convex object held in front by a rivet of lead still remaining. This figure, which was dredged up from the Thames near London Bridge, may represent an artisan at work; but it would do equally well for an armourer making a shield, or a pieman. Notice the man's shoes: in the case of the left foot, which was intended to be seen, the sculptor has shown the open-work of the shoe on the instep (*Roman London*, p. 74). The **man ploughing** is curious as showing the mode introduced into Britain by the Romans. The oxen are heavily harnessed, and there is an appearance of bands round the inner horns of each. The right hand of the figure has probably held a long goad. The figure of the ploughman gives us a picture of the costume of the Romano-British peasant. This bronze was found at Pierce Bridge, Durham (W. B. Scott's *Antiquarian Gleanings*, p. 10). The vessel in the form of a **slave asleep** on a modius, or bushel measure, was found in 1735 at Aldborough, Yorks, *the Roman Isurium*. To the rings about the shoulders were

fastened the several chains by which, when conjoined, the vessel hung (H. E. Smith, *Reliquiae Isurianae*, p. 43, where an illustration is given, and the "mortifying fact," now happily disproved, is added that this valuable relic had disappeared). A statuette of **Mars** has an interesting inscription. It is dedicated "deo Marti et numinibus Augusti" by two donors, Colasuni Bruccius et Caratius, at their own cost. Particulars of the cost are supplied. "For one hundred sesterces, Celatus the coppersmith made this figure and delivered the pound of copper, when wrought, for three denarii." He charged, it seems, so much for the material, and so much for the making. This statuette was found in the eighteenth century in cleaning out the mud from the bottom of the Foss Dyke, a navigable canal, probably of Roman construction, from Lincoln to the Trent at Torksey (*Archæologia*, xiv. 273). The **base of an equestrian figure**, found in Suffolk, has a dedication to Mars by Simplicia; it was made by Glaucus. The statuette of an **Orator in a toga**, from Cricklade, reminds one of Juvenal's lines above referred to:—

> Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
> Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
> De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thyle (xv. 110).

An **ivory statuette** is of exceptional interest, representing a Roman gladiator in armour, with sword and shield, on the latter being a scene from a gladiatorial combat; found at Lexden, Colchester, in 1884, and given in 1899 by P. R. Papillon (*B. M. Report*, 1900, p. 73).

A small **silver figure of Harpocrates**, found in the Thames in 1825, is pretty and curious:—

"The attitude of this little figure is natural and full of grace, and the modelling well expresses the fleshy rotundity of early youth. A delicately-wrought gold chain crosses the figure in front and passes through a string loop at the back, together with a gold ring. The mechanism is a part of the original design, and indicates that the image was intended to be secured to some more solid and weighty object, probably to stand among the tutelary divinities in the house of some person of opulence. (Harpocrates, a younger son of Osiris and Isis, was one of the minor divinities introduced from Egypt. He was in later times regarded as a god of silence, and the Romans frequently wore a figure of him engraved on their finger-rings.) The representations of Harpocrates which have come down to us are by no means uniform, except the position of the finger towards the mouth, advising silence. In this instance he is winged, but chained, to restrain his

flight; upon his head he wears a crescent; and at his feet are two dogs and a tortoise, emblems of watchfulness and of a taciturnity. The tortoise was also symbolical of a good housewife who kept within her own door; and some such symbolism was probably here intended" (*Roman London*, p. 74).

SEPULCHRAL VESSELS

(*Cases* 79-85)

The Romans, as we have seen, practised both burial and cremation, and antiquities belonging to each method are exhibited in the Museum. We have seen already, in the Roman Gallery, examples of stone sarcophagi, some of which contained leaden coffins. Here we see a collection of vessels of glass, pottery, lead, and stone to contain the burnt bones of the dead, usually found in sarcophagi or in "cists," *i.e.* cavities underground lined with stone or tiles: specimens of such tiles are here shown. The smaller vessels were found with the burials. Among the ashes Charon's coin (see p. 708) is frequently found.

On one shelf is a specially interesting collection of objects of this kind, found in 1881 during extensive alterations on the premises of Messrs. J. Tylor and Sons, in Warwick Square, E.C., adjoining the last of the three successive Roman walls of London, and near one of the gates of that wall (Newgate). Fortunately for the interests of science, the owners of the property were men of antiquarian tastes and knowledge; the excavations were systematically made and recorded, and the objects deposited in the Museum. Mr. Alfred Tylor contributed to *Archæologia* (xlviii. 223) a most interesting account of the discoveries, from which the following particulars are taken:—

In one of the vases a coin of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 47-54) was found, and this approximately fixes the date of the interments. The coin was inside a stone vase, which is interesting as showing clear proofs of having been turned in a pole-lathe, a survival of the form of bow-drill. The material seems to be a porphyry or serpentine. As a similar rock occurs near St. David's, the vase may be of British origin and workmanship. Four leaden ossuaria were found in it. They are all made of lead, cast flat and bent round into cylinders, the edges being joined by the blow-pipe without solder. One of these vessels has a reel pattern. This pattern is found, says Mr. Tylor, on all "the coffins of this age that I have seen." It is of interest both technically and for its symbolism. It is so placed as to act as a

support or rib, and is cast hollow to save the metal. The position strengthens the flat top or sides of the coffin. In modern engineering, the lattice-bracing is placed diagonally in all cases, and is clearly a survival from Roman work; but even barbarous races design lattice-work of bamboo for bridges, etc., upon true mechanical principles. This ossuarium has a figure of Sol in the quadriga cast on the outside, and it contained a glass vase of the best workmanship with double handles. The vase was full of calcined bones. Symbolically, the reel pattern, as a rude representation of thread-reels, may be taken to have reference to the thread of life. Another decoration shows, it will be observed, the Sun in his chariot, referring to the race of life, with "perhaps also a suggestion of the solar myth of the sun making his journey from light to darkness, here signifying the passage from the light of life to the darkness of death." On the inside of the flat bottom of another is cast an eight-rayed star. This shows that the coffin contained the bones of a worshipper of the sun-god Mithras (see p. 14).

GLASS

(*Cases* 79-85, *Table-case E*)

"Some mariners, who had a cargo of nitrum (salt) on board, having landed on the banks of the river Belus, a small stream, at the base of Mount Carmel in Palestine, and finding no stones to rest their pots on, placed under them some masses of nitrum, which being fused by the heat, with the sand of the river, produced a liquid and transparent stream; such (says Pliny, *N.H.* xxvi. 26) was the origin of glass." The greater antiquity of the manufacture of glass is now established by many Egyptian specimens such as may be seen in our Museum. That its discovery was accidental in some such way as Pliny describes is most probable, for although glass is itself perfectly transparent, not one of the materials of which it is made partakes of that quality. Who, as Dr. Johnson asked, "would have imagined, when he saw the first sand by a casual intenseness of heat melted into a metallic form, that in this shapeless lump lay concealed so many conveniences of life as would in time constitute a great part of the happiness of the world?" The making of glass at Rome is said to have been introduced by Egyptian workmen. That it was much practised is clear from the abundance, beauty, and variety of Roman glass, such as may be seen in the Glass Collection of our Museum. Much of the Roman glass found in Britain seems to have been imported, though it is probable that much also, especially of the *commoner kinds*, was locally manufactured.

Glass was applied in the Roman world to a great number of uses, and even the specimens here before us are enough to show that the processes were quite as varied and as well understood as in later times. Among the vessels which have been found in Britain containing the burnt bones of the dead (Cases 79-85), many are of glass. "Most of the large **greenish glass cinerary vases** in the British Museum, found in Roman barrows which contained bones and bone ashes, are probably the production of extensive Egyptian or Roman works; they are large, and of excellent form and workmanship; but the glass is somewhat impure, of a greenish tint, has numerous globules, and is not unlike the modern common crown or sheet glass in quality" (Apsley Pellatt's *Curiosities of Glass-Making*, p. 5). The small glass vessels found interred with the remains of the dead have been called "*lachrymatories*," from the notion that they were filled with the tears of the mourners. Their real purpose was to hold the unguents and perfumes which it was customary to bury with the dead. Some of the larger glass vessels, not unlike our claret *decanters*, are very elegant and graceful.

Specially remarkable is a "Roman **tumbler** or cup of a very fine description of the crystallinum or colourless glass, probably such as was used for the manufacture of the costly table vessels so highly prized by the ancient Romans. In form and workmanship it is elegant and faultless. The body of the vessel has a very graceful sweep, and slightly projects beyond both the margin and the base; it has also lathe-cut rows of beautifully regular oblong hexagonal facets surrounding it, forming a kind of honeycomb pattern. This remarkable vessel, which is perfect excepting at one part of the foot, was found in an ancient Roman cemetery at Barnwell in Cambridge" (*Catalogue of the Slade Collection*, p. 29).

Another remarkable specimen is a goblet blown in a mould, and bearing a design and inscriptions in relief. A **chariot-race** is represented, and the inscription records the victory of Cresces over Hierax, Olympæ, and Autioloce ("Hierax va[le] Olympæ va Autioloce va Ave Cresces"). This goblet, found at Colchester, was presented to the Museum by Mr. Slade's executors.

A rare kind of Roman glass has projecting ribs or pillars outside, hence termed "**pillar-moulded**," while the interior is not indented but smooth. These pillars have been formed

"partly by moulding and partly by rapid rotation, increasing the projection on the principle of centrifugal force" (Pellatt, pp. 10, 105). Among the "curiosities" noticed in Mr. Pellatt's book is the fact that pillar-moulding, which is one of the greatest modern improvements, was supposed to be also a modern invention, and was introduced by the late Mr. James Green as such; but Roman specimens, exhumed in this country and now in the Museum, have since proved beyond doubt that these projecting pillars and the mode of their manipulation were well known to the ancients. Some of the specimens in this sort are of a deep semi-transparent blue.

Among the fragments here exhibited (Table-case E) other examples may be found of the skill of the Romans in the manufacture of glass. Some fragments formed parts of bowls or vases of a peculiar **compound glass** which was produced by mixing small coloured beads or particles of glass with masses of fused glass of various colours. "A far more difficult manipulatory process is indicated in one of the three fragments of a flat glass, one-sixth of an inch thick, which were obtained from among the ruins of a Roman house near Great Tower Street. The filaments of coloured glass, which are worked into the dark ground, are arranged so as to form a regular pattern. The whole was then fused and cut into plates at right angles, so that all the sections would present the design on both sides in proportion to the depth of the filaments and beads" (*Roman London*, p. 123). The work is very delicate, and the combination of colours very beautiful. This art was extensively used in the manufacture of glass beads.

Other fragments are bosses with heads in relief. While the vases themselves have perished, these bosses have been preserved owing to the extra thickness of the glass. "The vessels to which they belonged were of an oval shape, with a long neck and a protruding mouth. They had a single handle reaching from the centre either to the mouth or to the lower part of the neck; at the lower extremity of the handle was affixed the boss" (*Roman London*, p. 121).

Lastly, we may notice some fragments of Roman **window-glass** from the Roman villa at Brading, I.W., and similar fragments from London:—

"Among the Roman glass discovered in London are several fragments of a flat and semi-transparent kind, with a greenish hue, which have every appearance of having been used as window-glass. At first,"

says Mr. Roach Smith, "I was inclined to think that they may have belonged to the large square vessels which must have been commonly used for domestic purposes; but a close examination, and a comparison with the fragments of such vessels, proved them to have been fabricated for some other object, which there is now every reason to believe was that of window-glazing. These fragments were procured from among the débris of houses, which strengthens our conviction that there can be but little doubt of their being veritable pieces of window-glass" (*Roman London*, p. 120).

Discoveries at Pompeii have proved that the glazing of windows was not unknown. "Small panes of glass were found in the openings of the Baths near the Forum. Four panes were found in the villa of Diomedes; in the other houses a pane of glass is rarely seen, and these ordinarily set in masonry, movable frames like those in use to-day were not yet invented" (Mau's *Pompeii*, p. 273).

With the glass is exhibited a very curious group of objects, consisting of the **equipment of Roman coiners** (Table-case E). The coins, moulds, etc., were found at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield, and at Duston, Northants, respectively. With the moulds were found, at Lingwell, an earthen crucible; and at Duston fragments of a crucible partially vitrified by heat, a conical piece of metal like the top of a cone which had occupied the funnel-shaped mouth of the stack of moulds, and two portions of coins consisting of metal which had imperfectly run into the moulds. A diagram here exhibited helps us to follow the *modus operandi*:—

"A fine clay, found in the locality, was formed into small round tablets, of uniform size and thickness. A coin of one of the emperors was pressed between each two tablets, so as to leave a perfect impression, and the latter were then arranged upon one another in piles or columns, the upper and lower tablets being impressed only on one side. A notch was broken into the side all the way down, which admitted the metal into each impression. Two, or three, of these columns, as the case might be, were placed side by side, with the side notches joined together, and these were enclosed in a clay case, with a hole at the top, through which the melted metal ran down the opening left by the notches, by which it entered into all the impressions. It was only necessary that care should be taken to place the tablets on one another so that the reverse might correspond with the head belonging to it. Their misplacement would produce those wrong reverses which are sometimes found among ancient Roman coins, and which have often puzzled the numismatist" (T. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 433).

The moulds found at Duston were for coins of Diocletian, Maximianus Hercalius, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximianus (284-306 A.D.); some of the reverses have on the exergue the inscription of the mint at Trèves. They were discovered in an ancient well or cess-pool. This hiding away, added to the presence of the Trèves mint-marks, and the fact that the moulds themselves had evidently been produced by pressure from real coins, suggests the suspicion that we have here before us the stock-in-trade of forgers. Similar apparatus has been found at other sites in Britain and on the Continent, and in some cases the money may have been produced under authority of the Imperial Government by use of the readiest means at hand for remedying temporary deficiencies in the circulation, or for the purpose of raising revenue by the issue of debased coin (*Archæologia*, xliii. 130; *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, xi. 28).

BRONZE VASES

(*Case* 87)

One of the most remarkable vases hitherto unearthed from Roman graves in Britain is here exhibited in a copy, together with the charred and damaged remains of the original.[1] The vase was found in a Roman sepulchre in the barrows called Bartlow Hills, in the parish of Ashdon, Essex, 1835, on Lord Maynard's property. It was injured by the fire at Easton Lodge in 1847. A coloured reproduction of it had, however, been published in *Archæologia*, xxvi. 303, and from this a copy has been made. When first discovered, the vase was so much coated with green incrustation that the enamel was not perceptible. When cleaned, its pristine beauty was revealed, the colours of the green, red, and blue enamel retaining much of their original freshness. The vase was found in a wooden chest, with other sepulchral urns, etc., one of which contained the ashes of the dead. The evidence of coins shows what the history of our once beautiful vase must have been (*Archæologia*, xxxiii. 343). On Roman coins of Faustina the Elder

[1] A sad story attaches to this, which I tell in the words of the late Sir A. W. Franks:—"Lord Maynard was on the point of giving us the beautiful enamelled Roman original of that little vase when Lady —— dissuaded him. Very soon after, his house took fire, and the vase was *destroyed. There*, close to the copy, is all that remains of it" (Grant-*Duff's Notes from a Diary: 1889-1891*, i. 261).

(including two gold ones in the British Museum), the reverse shows a female figure in the act of offering a sacrifice of perfumes. In her left hand is a vessel—precisely similar in shape to the one before us—globular in form, and with a rectangular handle. From this vessel the woman is taking incense, which she drops with her right hand on to an altar. Perfumes were, according to Pliny (xiii. 1), at one time not used by the Romans in sacrifices, but they were adopted at a later period, and in his day were considered as proper offerings to the *manes* of the dead. We have, therefore, the best reasons for supposing that an enamelled vase had held the incense used at the funeral of the wealthy Roman whose ashes were discovered with it, and that having been thus used, it was deposited as a precious relic with the remains. A coin of Hadrian found in one of the tumuli shows that the interment cannot have been earlier than his time. Probably it was a good deal later. Close by is exhibited a very elegant vase, once enamelled in similar style, which was probably used as a sprinkler. This was found in 1838 in the sea, off the coast of Normandy, at Ambleteuse, in company with newly-struck coins of the Emperor Tacitus, which fix its date to about 276 A.D. (For other specimens of Anglo-Roman enamel, and remarks on the art, see p. 747.)

POTTERY

(*Cases* 86-92, 94-98, *and Table-case F*)

Of all the manufactures which must have been carried on in Roman Britain, none is so fully represented by remains as pottery. The quantity of pottery that is found whenever a Roman site is explored is very great; it is clear that it was used for many more purposes than in the present day. Extensive remains of factories and kilns of the Roman period have also been unearthed, and antiquarians have thus been enabled to distinguish and classify various kinds of pottery, and to localise the principal sites of the manufacture of them. A study of the fragments exhibited in Table-case F will enable the visitor readily to gain some acquaintance with these varieties.

First, however, we may notice some **plain red pottery,** chiefly domestic, found at Lincoln, and resembling the ordinary earthenware in use among us to-day (Cases 96-98).

Another kind of common pottery, usually known as **Upchurch** ware, is *ornamented only with circles, lines*, and *dots*. Extensive potteries which turned out this kind of ware have been found in the New Forest, and from these sites examples are exhibited (Cases 89-92). "The indentures in the sides of many of these vessels were evidently formed upon them, when unbaked, by the pressure of the thumb; in others, more neatly made, the indentations were probably formed by some instrument. A smooth, hard-polished stone which I found near one of the kilns, and which exactly fits some of the hollows in these vessels, was, I suspect, used for this purpose" (J. P. Bartlett in *Archæologia*, xxxv. 91). Another site where pottery of this kind is found is in Kent:—

"Any one who has sailed up the Medway will have observed that the left bank of the river, a little above Sheerness, consists of low flat ground, cut by the water into innumerable little creeks, and at high-water almost buried by the sea. In the time of the Romans the channel of the river appears to have been here much narrower, and the 'marshes' had not been encroached upon by the sea as they are now. If we go up these little creeks in the Upchurch Marshes at low water, and observe the sides of the banks, we shall soon discover, at the depth of about three feet, more or less, a stratum, often a foot thick, of broken pottery. This immense layer, mixed with plenty of vessels in a perfect, or nearly perfect state, has been traced at intervals through an extent of six or seven miles in length and two or three in breadth, and there cannot be the least doubt that it is the refuse of very extensive potteries, which existed probably during nearly the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain, and which not only supplied the whole island with a particular class of earthenware, but which perhaps also furnished an export trade; for we find urns and other vessels precisely similar to the Upchurch ware in considerable quantity among the Roman pottery dug up in the neighbourhood of Boulogne. The clay which constitutes the soil in the Upchurch Marshes is very tenacious, of a dark colour, and of fine quality, well calculated for the manufacture of pottery. The prevailing colour of the Upchurch pottery, which is of a fine and hard texture, is a blue-black, which was produced by baking it in the smoke of vegetable substances. The patterns with which it was ornamented, though generally of a simple character, are also extremely diversified. Some are ornamented with bands of half-circles made with compasses, and from these half-circles lines are in many instances drawn to the bottoms of the vessels with some instrument like a notched piece of wood. Some are ornamented with wavy intersections and ziz-zag lines; while on others the ornament is formed by raised points, encircling the vessels in bands, or grouped into circles, squares, and diamond patterns. It is evident from the

extent of the bed of pottery that a great number of workmen must have been employed here; and, as might be expected, we scarcely excavate a Roman site in any part of the island without finding samples of the Upchurch ware" (*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 259).

Vessels and fragments found on the sites of pottery kilns—chiefly in the New Forest at Lincoln, and in the Upchurch Marshes—are exhibited together (in Cases 89-92). The pear-shaped vases with vertical indentations are characteristic of the New Forest kilns.

The next kind of pottery—**Durobrivian**—which we have to examine is of superior quality and more elegantly ornamented. The decoration is in relief in "slip" (white liquid clay) or sprinkled mica. The site of the potteries where this ware was largely made was discovered at Castor (the Roman Durobrivæ), in Northamptonshire, by the late W. Artis, who gave an interesting account of the methods of manufacture as disclosed by his researches (see *Roman London*, pp. 81-89). He traced the potteries to an extent of twenty miles, and estimated that they employed 2000 hands. The blue-black and slate-coloured vessels were coloured in "smother-kilns," *i.e.* by suffocating the fire of the kiln:—

> The vessels, upon which are displayed a variety of hunting subjects, representations of fishes, scrolls, foliage, and human figures, were all glazed after the figures were laid on. When, however, the decorations are white, the vessels were glazed before the ornaments were added. Ornamenting with figures of men and animals was effected by means of sharp and of blunt skewer implements and a "slip" of suitable consistency. These implements seem to have been of two kinds: one thick enough to carry sufficient slip for the nose, neck, body, and front thigh; the other of a more delicate kind, for a thinner slip for the tongue, lower jaws, eye, fore and hind legs, and tail. There seems to have been no retouching after the slip trailed from the instrument. Field sports seem to have been favourite subjects with our Romano-British artists. The representations of deer and hare hunts are good and spirited; the courage and energy of the hounds, and the distress of the hunted animals are given with great skill and fidelity.

Of this Castor ware specimens may be seen in Wall-cases 89-92 and in Table-case F. Similar ware has also been found in Holland, Flanders, and Belgium. Pottery with a vitreous glaze is also exhibited (mostly found in London).

The most interesting kind of Romano-British pottery is, however, the so-called **Samian ware.** The finer specimens of

this are exhibited in Wall-cases 86-88 ; but its different varieties may best be examined in Table-case F. This ware is interesting for the variety and beauty of its forms, its superior material, and often classic design. It is found in various parts of Britain, but nowhere more plentifully than in London. As many as 300 different potters' stamps are enumerated by C. R. Smith in his *Roman London*. In general character it resembles the "Samian ware" of which we have already seen specimens in the Terra-cotta Room (Ch. XXVII. p. 712). Its characteristics are a fine red clay of a very compact texture, covered with a brighter or coral-colour glaze, and richly decorated. The forms are the dish, cup, or bowl ; narrow-mouthed vessels are not found. The makers' names are stamped across the bottom of the insides. The designs generally show freedom and taste ; especially some of those with scrolls and foliated patterns. In the designs of mythological subjects and of sports, the figures are usually well-drawn. The frailty of the genuine Samian ware was proverbial in classical times ; thus in Plautus (*Menæchmi* 98), when a person is desired to knock quietly, he exclaims, "You are afraid, I suppose, that the door is made of Samian ware." Many of the bowls here exhibited have been restored. Notice also a bowl which has been broken and mended in Roman days ; it was found in Cheapside with the original leaden rivets. The choicer specimens, found in London and elsewhere, were probably imported from France, the Rhine, and Italy. The designs on some Samian bowls found in Britain correspond with known specimens from Arezzo. The makers' stamps on others agree with those found abroad ; the names are often Gaulish. (Occasionally, it seems, the manufacture of Samian bowls was woman's work ; the names Tascilla and Vertecisa occur.)

Among known sites of "Samian" potteries is Rheinzabern, between Speyer and Lauterburg. This was the Roman Tabernæ, and here hundreds of "Samian" fragments, as well as entire vessels, have been exhumed, together with the moulds from which they were cast. Similar moulds have also been found at Mayence. Specimens of these moulds are exhibited (Table-case F.) But imitation Samian ware was also made in Britain. The presence of pieces spoilt in baking proves native *manufacture*. (Notice a curious lump of bowls and a ring-*stand fused* together in baking ; this comes from Lezoux, Puy

de Dôme.) The body of some of the imitation Samian ware made in Britain is orange, and the red glaze easily flakes off.

It is interesting to follow the different methods in which the Samian ware was decorated. (1) "The embossing was partly executed by moulds and partly by separate stamps, as may be perceived by a close examination of the designs, which occasionally show marks of a double impress where the first has not been sufficiently distinct or was stamped irregularly" (*Roman London*, p. 89). (2) The figures instead of forming part of the body of the ware, as cast in moulds or stamped upon the vessels, were attached to the surface while the clay was soft. These separate figures are often cut with great skill and effect. Notice especially (Table-case F) some fragments from Arezzo, found in London, with the designs in unusually high relief. (3) Sometimes "Samian" ware is painted with decoration in white. (4) Another kind of ornament is called "engine-turned." It consists of circular rows of indentations, like the patterns upon modern watch-cases. (5) A rarer kind of ornamentation consists of decorative patterns which were incised on the wheel.

PEWTER DISHES

(*Case* 99)

A Roman dinner-service, recently discovered and added to the Museum, should be of special interest in these days when there is something of a craze for old pewter. These vessels come from a hoard found by the Rev. C. H. Engleheart at Appleshaw, five miles from Andover, near the intersection of two Roman roads (from Old Sarum to Silchester, and Winchester to Cirencester respectively). Traces of the Romano-British period abound in the neighbourhood. A few years ago the plough grazed a level floor, which turned out to belong to a Roman house. The pewter service was found in a pit sunk through a floor of cement; the smaller vessels were carefully covered by the larger. They had, it would seem, been designedly hidden—not in sudden panic, but rather as a precaution against some pending danger. It is noticeable that the large dishes common to all the guests are more numerous than those appropriated to individuals. Similar finds of pewter dishes have been made; the geometrical patterns here are usual (see papers by Mr. Engleheart and Mr. C. H. Read in *Archæologia*, lvi.).

BRONZE AND SILVER ORNAMENTS

(Table-cases C and D)

Some of the choicer or more interesting vessels and ornaments in bronze are here brought together (Case C). A bronze **vessel for libations** is of good workmanship. The extremity of the handle is formed by two dolphins combined. Lengthwise upon the handle is a vine branch in enamel, and near the end, horizontally written, is the maker's name: Bodvogenus f(ecit). This vessel was discovered by a farmer while digging clay at Prickwillow, in the Isle of Ely (*Archæologia*, xxviii. 436). The **handle of a vase**, found in London, is elegant. It is studded with small silver knobs, and the eyes of the heads of birds, which are fixed to the rim of the vessel, are also of silver (*Roman London*, p. 76). A bronze **votive tablet** comes from Colchester; it is dedicated to Mars and the victory of Alexander (Severus: Emperor 222-235 A.D.). Records of the worship of Mars are very common in Britain, as might be expected from the military character of most of the settlers. A **singular instrument**, the use of which has not been satisfactorily explained, was found in the bed of the Thames, near old London Bridge, in 1840:—

It consists of two shanks, which, although they are now separated, were evidently joined by a hinge at the upper extremity. The inner sides are denticulated, doubtless for the purpose of squeezing or crushing. The manner in which it was used, and its purpose, are not clear; but the heads of the divinities which adorn it seem to stamp its sacred character, and indicate that it was employed in some religious rites or ceremonies. The deities represented are:—on the right Cybelè, crowned with towers; Mercury, wearing the emblematic wings; Jupiter, crowned with olive; Venus; and Ceres, wearing the modius. On the left are Juno, Mars, Diana, Apollo, and Saturn, all clearly indicated by their attributes. Upon the top, below the busts of Juno and Cybelè, are heads of horses; below the other busts, heads of bulls; and heads of lions terminate the handles. The busts are those of the deities who presided over the days of the week; and they have been arranged in regular order. Commencing from the bottom on the left side we have Saturday (Saturn), Sunday (Apollo), Monday (Diana), and Tuesday (Mars). Then, proceeding downwards, Wednesday (Mercury), Thursday (Jupiter), Friday (Venus); the remaining one, Ceres, making the number eight, equalises the number on each side, and at the same time represents the old Roman week of eight days, from which is derived the French form of *huit jours*. The busts of

Juno and Cybelè, which surmount the whole, were apparently selected for their prominence in the mythological system, Juno presiding also over the calends of the month, and Cybelè, the great mother, directing the regular return of the seasons, and guiding the revolution of the year. The symbols of the horse, the bull, and the lion have, all of them, a connection with the history and worship of the goddess (*Roman London*, p. 72; and *Archæologia*, xxx. 548).

The large **silver dish** was found in 1839 by a labourer while ploughing a field at Mileham in Norfolk (*Archæologia*, xxix. 389); it is ornamented with foliage patterns and a punched beaded border. The **colossal hand** was excavated in Thames Street, near the Tower (*Roman London*, p. 65). The statue from which this hand, 13 inches in length, was broken, must have been of about the same dimensions as the one which bore the large head of Hadrian. It may also have been of that emperor, as the posture of the hand resembles that of the marble statue of Hadrian downstairs.

An interesting object is the bronze model of the **prow of a Roman galley**, found in London. Owing to its oxidised condition, Roach Smith had not noticed the inscription, which was first deciphered a few years ago by Mr. C. H. Read. This inscription—Ammilla Aug(usta) Felix—records the name of the vessel represented by this prow. It was no doubt some famous ship, named the "Ammilla" (from the Greek ἄμιλλα, contest or rivalry); the epithet Felix refers to its happy fortune; "Augusta," which occurs elsewhere as an epithet, may denote that the vessel belonged to the Imperial Fleet, as we should say, H.M.S. Ammilla Felix. The ship may have belonged to the Classis Britannica, the Channel Squadron of the Romans. But more probably this memento was imported, and the ship belonged to one of the Mediterranean fleets. Representations of beaks of ships are often found, and were sometimes attached to the sides of columns, hence called *columnæ rostratæ*. This little model must have adorned some domestic ornament. That it was permanently fixed in some such position is shown by the fact that only one side is decorated; the inscription is written from right to left; probably, therefore, it was one of a pair, the other one, which would have been fixed on the other side, having its inscription from left to right. The ornament, whatever it was, may have belonged to some naval officer whose hard fate brought him to far-off Britain. (See articles by C. H. Read and F. Haverfield

in *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., xvi. 306.) The bronze figure of a sea-horse was found at Carlisle.

The remains of Roman **silver vessels** were discovered in 1747 in making a hedge on Sir J. E. Swinburne's property at Capheaton, Northumberland. A Roman road passed near the spot (*Archæologia*, xv. 393). The principal piece is the handle of a dish, enriched with sculpture in high relief, and of fine style, consisting originally of a head of Hercules covered with the lion's skin, the claws of which alone now remain, with the club on one side and the cap on the other; underneath are the objects and fruits of his labours, all accurately finished and well preserved. They were cast and wrought, each in a separate piece, and afterwards set as gems in the handle—like the *emblemata* which Cicero says that Verres stole off the plate of Sicilian gentlemen, and had set on his own.

A vessel **dedicated to the Deæ Matres** (Case D) is of special interest. It was found in the county of Durham (*Arch. Journal*, viii. 36) with some similar vessels which may be seen in the Room of Gold Ornaments (p. 668). This particular vessel was presumably used for religious rites. In shape it resembles the modern saucepan, and is of a type very frequently found. These vessels were manufactured with great neatness, and sometimes in nests; the handles were perforated so that several might be hung on one chain. The Deæ Matres were among the most popular of the deities worshipped by the Teutonic inhabitants of Britain, who were among the "auxiliaries" settled there by the Romans. These were especially numerous in the north, and it is in that part of the country that remains of the worship of the "Goddess Mothers" are most often found. An altar found at Brougham, Westmoreland, was dedicated "To the goddess mothers transmarine by a company (vexillatio) of Germans." In the Museum at Cologne there is a well-preserved altar; the three goddesses are figured sitting, with baskets of fruit on their knees, emblematical of the plenty which they were supposed to distribute to mankind. They were connected also in popular mythology with the three Fates, or Fairies, who arranged the fortunes of men. (For an interesting account of the survival of their worship in mediæval times in Britain, see Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, pp. 339-347.)

Some **leaden seals** (Case D) were picked up at Felixstowe, Suffolk (*C. R. Smith's Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 197). These

seals were fastened to merchandise by strings which passed through the centre in the same manner as the leaden seals (or bulls) were affixed to papal deeds; the string was laid across the molten metal, which was then stamped on one side or on both. Interesting examples of leaden seals, still attached to the strings which fastened the bandages of a Greek mummy, are preserved in the Egyptian department. Some designs on leaden seals were taken from engraved stones, the owners using them as trade-marks; others were made expressly for the purpose.

An interesting object is a Roman **money-box**, found at Lincoln. It has a slot for dropping in the coins; those found in it were of the years 307-340 A.D. Here also (Case D) are silver vessels, coins, and ingots from a hoard discovered, buried at a considerable depth, near Coleraine (*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, 1854, p. 182). One of the ingots is inscribed "ex of(ficina) patricii," "from the manufactory of Patricius." The hoard contained no gold or bronze. It is conjectured that it was a heap of old silver intended to supply material to a silversmith for the exercise of his art. The dates of the coins are 337-407 A.D. The find sho[illegible], the exercise of the silversmith's art in Ireland at that period, and the intercourse existing between that country and the Roman world.

ENAMELS

(*Table-cases A and C*)

Among the objects of personal adornment and luxurious service none are more interesting than those which display the art of enamel. We have seen a fine specimen of this art in the facsimile of a vase (p. 738). There is some reason for assigning the origin of the art to Britain. By an "enamel" is meant, it will be understood, a vitreous glaze fused to a metallic surface. Now, the first distinct reference to this art which has come down to us is in a work entitled *Icones*, written by Philostratus, about 240 A.D. He was a Greek sophist who was attracted from Athens to Rome, to the court of Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. He describes a series of paintings, one of them representing a boar-hunt, and after mentioning the variegated trappings of the horses, he says: "They say that the barbarians, who live in the ocean (τοὺς ἐν Ὠκεανῷ βαρβάρους), pour these colours on to heated brass,

and that they adhere, become as hard as stone, and preserve the designs which are made in them." "The barbarians in the ocean" have been understood as the maritime Gauls, but, as Sir Augustus Franks pointed out, the term would apply more appropriately to an insular people like the Britons; and it is precisely in Britain that enamelled bronze horse-trappings (of certainly Celtic design) have been found. The earlier Egyptian enamel work is a different thing, for it consists of hard stones or pieces of glass set into their places by cement. The Greeks appear to have had some slight knowledge of enamelling, for the exquisite gold necklaces found in tombs of the island of Melos are ornamented with minute flowers, the petals of which contain a vitreous substance (see Room of Gold Ornaments). The vitreous substance in these cases was probably fused with a blow-pipe, and at a low temperature. Such trifling productions can scarcely be called (says Franks) enamels. In any case, whatever knowledge of enamelling the Greeks may at one time have possessed, they appear to have lost it before the third century of our era:—

"The passage in Philostratus would seem to prove, that in his time the art of enamelling was not practised either in Italy or in Greece, for he was evidently well acquainted with the artistic processes of those countries; and had such a mode of decoration been adopted to any extent, would not have spoken of the barbarian performances of that nature. In later times the Romans, or the native populations under their dominion, cultivated the art of enamelling; but the designs of the ornaments which they made preserved throughout a trace of their origin, and had close analogies with Celtic patterns" (A. W. Franks, *Observations on Glass and Enamel*, p. 14).

It is not improbable that some of the finest specimens were made in Britain. In this connection, the **plate of champlevé**[1] **enamel** representing an altar is of special interest (Case C). It was found in the Thames, and as it has all the appearance of being unfinished, it suggests local manufacture.

The enamelled bronze bowls here (Case C) may be compared with the vase from Bartlow Hills (p. 738). Very neat and curious are the **little enamelled stands** here exhibited. They

[1] Our specimens here are all of this kind. In *cloisonné* enamels, the design is presented in coloured enamels which are separated from one another by means of ribs of metal bent so as to follow the outline of the subject: the famous "Alfred Jewel" is an example. In the *champlevé* process, the partitions between one colour and another are formed by *ridges of the base* and not by separate fillets of metal.

were presented by Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., from a collection of objects found in 1848 at Farley Heath, near Albury, in Surrey. Extensive entrenchments on the Heath had been pointed out by tradition as the site of an ancient town. Mr. Martin Tupper, who resided at Albury, suggested excavations to Mr. Drummond, the owner, which yielded rare coins, bronze weapons, and enamelled brooches, etc., besides these little stands (Martin Tupper, *Farley Heath, a Record of its Roman Remains*; and A. W. Franks in *Arch. Journal*, x. 166, xi. 27). The stands, resting on four legs and enamelled red, blue, and green, appear to have been intended to support the delicate little amphora-shaped vases which are sometimes found and are supposed to have contained precious unguents. (Several of these, mounted on modern stands, may be seen in the Glass Room.)

Among the enamelled **brooches** and other ornaments (Table-case A), some of the finest come from Pont-y-Saison, near Chepstow (purchased 1891). Another very elegant enamel is a brooch with a movable dolphin in the centre (from the collection of Lord Hastings). The pattern—yellow quatrefoils with blue centres on a red ground—has at first sight a very mediæval appearance, which is, however, removed by the dolphin in the centre (Franks). The ancient process, after it ceased to be cultivated in Britain, lingered in Ireland, but elsewhere it was swept away in Western Europe by the Teutonic invasion. The great seat of the industry for centuries was Byzantium. The nearest approach to a vitreous incrustation in Anglo-Saxon work is to be seen in some of the finger-rings; *e.g.* Ethelwulf's (see p. 666). But these are all in niello, which is an essentially different process, as the black material therein employed was applied at a much lower temperature and was a case rather of metallic amalgam than of vitrification (see p. 606). Of the mediæval enamels of Limoges, etc., some fine specimens may be seen in the Mediæval Room of the Museum.

TOILET AND DOMESTIC UTENSILS

(*Table-case B*)

That the Romano-Britons were well equipped with the conveniences of civilised life will be apparent to every one who *makes a careful* inspection of the examples here exhibited.

Among them are some **mirrors**. These consisted of plates of polished metal, set in a frame of the same shape, with a handle. Some of the plates are square; more commonly, they are round. One of them, remarkable for its extraordinary preservation and brilliancy, has on one side of the case a head of Nero; on the other, a representation of the emperor addressing the army. This example was found in 1823 on property belonging to Sir William Middleton, in the parish of Coddenham, Suffolk; it was brought to light by a labourer at work in an enclosure near the banks of the river Gypen (*Archæologia*, xxvii. 359). Another example was discovered in 1835 in excavations in Deveril Street, Southwark:—

"Almost every excavation for graves brought to light sepulchral urns and bottles of earthenware, fragments of vessels of the same substance very imperfectly baked, small glass phials, dissimilar to those commonly called lachrymatories, but I conceive genuine tear bottles, as their very form is imitative of the sacred drop of sorrow. Also portions of metallic mirrors of circular form. These are composed chiefly of antimony, have a highly polished surface, are exceedingly brittle, and their fragments very acute. They have without doubt been purposely broken at the time of being deposited with the ashes in the funeral urn" (*Archæologia*, xxvi. 467).

Several iron **knives** have been excavated in London, with bone handles, and rings for suspension from the person. From the number which have been found, they would seem to have been very commonly carried. Ivory was then, as now, used by the more wealthy for knife-handles. Juvenal, in contrasting the furniture of his own villa with that of the houses of the luxurious, mentions his bone-handled knives as a sign of poverty: "Have I not reason," he asks, "to be shy of a purse-proud guest who contrasts me with himself, and looks down upon my slender fortune? Not so much as a single ounce of ivory is mine—no dice or counters are made of that substance; nay, the very handles to my knives are of bone" (*Sat.* xi. 131)

The **spoons** are of two kinds. The long bronze spoons (ligulæ), with narrow bowls and oval or oblong heads, are supposed to have been designed for taking ointments or oils out of long-necked bottles. The other kind (cochleare) has a bowl at one end and is pointed at the other, so as to combine the uses of fork and spoon in eating eggs and shell-fish; the broad end serving as an egg-spoon, and the point for drawing the fish out of its shell—as Martial (xiv. 121) explains:—

Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis,
Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer?

Some long silver spoons, with fluted handles, are of the latest Roman period (from Dorchester, Oxon).

Connected with the cochleare an old superstition, which, like many others, has survived to our own times, may be mentioned :—

"Pliny (28. 2), in speaking of spells and incantations, and the remedies by which their evil influences were counteracted, states that the shells of eggs, as soon as the meat was swallowed, were broken by the bowls or pierced by the points of the spoons. At the present day it is a very general habit in many parts of England to break the bottom of the shell after the egg is eaten, in order that the witches might not have it to sail in, a popular belief alluded to by Beaumont and Fletcher in their play of 'Women Pleased' :—

"The devil should think of purchasing that egg-shell
To victual out a witch for the Burmoothes."
(*Roman London*, p. 139).

Among the **toilet articles** in bronze, bodkins, ear-picks, tooth-picks, nail-picks, pins and tweezers will be noticed. The latter were doubtless used by the ladies for removing superfluous hairs. Other examples of these objects may be seen in the Bronze Room (Nos. 2383-2419).

The **keys** found among Roman remains in Britain are numerous and of great variety. Some are large, some small. It is clear that there must have been money chests, coffers, and caskets (see, *e.g.*, the casket, p. 730) with locks, independently of the locks of doors. The Romans also used latch-keys, like ours. Indeed, the exceedingly modern look of many of these Roman keys will at once strike the visitor :—

"Modern ingenuity in the construction of locks and keys has achieved but little, if anything, beyond what the inventive genius of the ancients had accomplished, as one of our most eminent locksmiths admitted when he examined these keys, and found among them clear evidence that the principle of some of his patent keys was only a revival of what was perfectly understood by the Romans, and commonly used in London sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago. Unfortunately the locks have not come down to us except in a very mutilated state, from having been made chiefly in iron; but so far as their construction can be understood, they resemble the modern" (*Roman London*, p. 144).

Notice a bronze padlock in the form of a horse (from *Lymme), and a key* worn on a bronze armlet.

The **combs** here exhibited are of bone. The Romans also used box-wood, ivory, and bronze for this purpose.

The **steelyards** and **scales** of the Romans are similar to those now in use (with the exception that in old times art was combined with use). There are some good examples of them in the Roman collection (Ch. XXIV.).

Some specimens of **medicine stamps** are curious. They have been found in Germany, France, Italy, and also frequently in Britain. They are usually made of greenish schist or steatite, and consist of small, thin, square blocks, with an inscription on each of the four edges. These inscriptions are inverse and retrograde. Evidently, therefore, they were used as stamps. The names inscribed upon them appear to be those of medical practitioners in the principal towns who composed the medicines, and sold them in packages to minor practitioners or to dealers, just as patent medicines are now sold in England. One stamp of the kind has been unearthed at a village called Golden Bridge, County Tipperary. In nearly all the examples yet found, the diseases which the medicines are to alleviate are those of the eye, and hence the stamps are often referred to as "oculists' stamps." Diseases of the eye were peculiarly frequent in the ancient world; Greek medical writers mention 200 of them. For their treatment an immense number of ointments (collyria) were invented. Their use is referred to by Horace (*Sat.* i. 5. 50):—

> I seize on the occasion, and apply
> A touch of ointment to an ailing eye.

Sometimes the ointment was named after its inventor: "Dr. So-and-So's collyrium." Thus one of our stamps refers to the prescription of a certain Sextus Julius Sedatus. The medicines were also called after their ingredients. Thus, "crocodes" were so called from crocus or saffron. One of the stamps here (on a piece of Samian ware) is described, "The crocodes of L. Julius Senex for granulation of the eyes." Another fragmentary inscription should probably read, "A collyrium to be used after an attack of dimness of the eyes." These various preparations were presumably hardened with gum or some viscid substance, and sold in a solid state, to be liquefied by fluids when required for use, the stamps being *impressed just* before the medicament attained the last stage

of solidification. Or, possibly, the stamps may have been impressed on the wrappers: a near approach to printing (*Archæologia*, ix. 227; *Arch. Journal*, viii. 355; *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 299. For some other specimens, see the collection of "Miscellaneous Antiquities," Ch. XXIV.).

Among miscellaneous objects here collected we may notice potter's tool, hinges, and other objects in bone; among the latter is the figure of a gladiator. The carvings in bone seem to have been parts of caskets. A **denarius of Trajan**, struck in Lycia, and inscribed in Greek, was found with other Roman relics at Kirkby Thore, an old Roman station between Appleby and Penrith; it must have been the pocket-piece of some old campaigner in the East (*Archæologia*, xxxi. 283).

The bronze handle of a **saucepan** is elegantly ornamented in low relief with birds and foliage. It bears the stamp of its maker. It was found in a field near Colchester (*Archæologia*, xxxix. 509). A few saucepans may be seen in the Bronze Room (2461-2465).

A bronze plate (found in Moorfields) has a representation of Romulus and Remus. The subject is treated more than usually in detail by the introduction of the fig-tree and the woodpecker; the bird shared with the wolf the honour of feeding the infant heroes. The plate was first stamped, and afterwards finished by rude chasing and frosting with a punch (*Roman London*, p. 76). Other bronze articles include vase-handles, buckles, studs, hooks, and chains.

Another compartment shows various implements of **women's work**—such as spindles and spindle-whorls and bodkins:—

"Among the various objects found in the gravel pit, which in the earlier days of Roman London occupied the site of the New Royal Exchange, were a considerable number of small wooden implements which had evidently been cut and fashioned upon a certain principle for some purpose connected with the industrial arts. I suspected this might be for spinning or weaving; and the remains of wool still twisted round a few of them convinced me that my conjecture was correct. The lower extremity was inserted in a wheel or whorl, formed of stone, bone, or of baked clay. A great number of whorls have been found in all parts of Roman London. These traces of the domestic employment of the women in Londinium are the earliest evidence, from existing remains, of weaving in Britain, which in the course of time became one of the leading staple manufactures in England." (See, for further interesting particulars, *Roman London*, *p. 143.)*

We may here notice also a large number of bronze vase-handles and bronze buckles. Also, the bronze mouthpiece of a trumpet (from Colchester) and a bronze baluster. Very modern are the shears, compasses, fish-hooks. There are also a whetstone and a bronze pan with a split point. Notice also the butcher's or carver's steel (found in Princes Street, London); the handle is in the form of a horse's head springing from leaves of the lotus; a brass ring is attached, for hanging it from the girdle.

A bronze **strigil** (from Abingdon) is a good specimen. These implements of the bath are often found in Britain—another instance of the extent to which the manners of Rome were transplanted to this "northern island sundered once from all the human race." The strigil was applied to the body, after the bath or violent exercise, somewhat as a scraper to a horse. The blade was hollowed into a channel, down which the perspiration might flow as in a gutter.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

(*Table-case A*)

The personal ornaments found among Roman remains in Britain are comparatively rare, and of the less valuable materials. They were not so much buried with the dead as in Anglo-Saxon times. Brooches, as we have seen, are common, but they are of common kinds. They are mostly of bronze; though the Emperor Aurelian, we are told, ordered even common soldiers to wear golden fibulae. Of the Emperor Hadrian it is recorded as something exceptional that he wore neither gold in his belt nor gems in his fibulæ. A rare example of a fibula in gold, found at Odiham in Hampshire, is exhibited in the Room of Gold Ornaments (p. 668).

The ornaments which we have first to notice here are of **jet** and **shale**. Jet was an object of export from Britain from early times, the supply being obtained from the Yorkshire coast, near Whitby—a locality which still yields the finest varieties. The jet ornaments, which were doubtless of home manufacture (for they are found also in pre-Roman graves), include pins, rings, beads, buttons, bracelets, necklaces; notice the pendant engraved *with two cupids*; it was found on the breast of a skeleton at *Colchester.*

Another similar material was largely used in Britain for ornament. This is a bituminous shale, an extensive bed of which, at *Kimmeridge*, was worked by the Romans for the manufacture of beads, rings, armlets, etc. :—

"In the wildest and least frequented part of the isle of Purbeck, on the coast of Dorset, are two small secluded valleys, opening to the sea into what are termed the Kimmeridge and Worthbarrow bays. The soil of these valleys, laid out from time immemorial in uninclosed pastures, has never been disturbed by the ploughshare, and when for any accidental purpose it is dug, at a few inches under the surface are found great numbers of small, round, and flat pieces. . . . They are generally from a quarter to half an inch thick, and from an inch and a quarter to two inches and a half in diameter, with bevelled and moulded edges, and having on one side two, three, or four round holes, and on the other a small pivot hole. A single glance at these articles is sufficient to convince any one acquainted with the use of the lathe that they are simply the refuse pieces of the turner, the nuclei of rings and other articles formed by his art" (*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 289).

The "chucks," then, are pieces that have been cut out of armlets, etc., by the lathe and have been found on the sites of Roman factories. Ornaments of this Kimmeridge shale and jet were no doubt in peculiar favour as charms; for they were supposed, Pliny tells us, to possess the virtue of driving away serpents.

To the **brooches** of various patterns (many of them enamelled) we refer below (p. 762). Here also are **intaglios** on various stones: for this subject see Ch. XXVI. For **finger-rings**, of which there is here a collection in bronze, see p. 602. **Glass beads** and buttons are found in considerable numbers on Roman sites in Britain; pieces of glass of different colours are often fused into each other so as to form tasteful patterns.

A few ornaments are of **gold** and **silver**. There are, for instance, a silver collar and two finger-rings, found with coins of Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) on the Slay Hill Saltings, Medway Marshes. There are also some gold ear-rings. The pins, bracelets, armlets, and finger-rings of bronze are more numerous. Some of the bronze armlets have still the bones of a woman's arm within them (found at Water Newton, Hants, and at Colchester respectively). A curious object is the **bronze arm-purse**. This was obtained from a labourer in Farndale, Yorks, by whom it was found in 1849 when removing the stones of a cairn. *It was discovered* at the bottom of the cairn, where it

had been concealed in the cavity of a hollow stone which in its turn was covered by a flat stone. Obviously it had been hidden for security. A similar object, discovered in a stone quarry near Hexham, contained sixty-five Roman coins; no doubt, therefore, it was a purse. The Hexham example had a lid with a hinge at one end, and fastened with a spring at the other. In our specimen the spring or bolt is lost; but the attachment connected with it, and the hole, into which the fastenings may have closed, are to be seen (*Arch. Journal*, viii. 88).

Note also a collection of **bone pins** used in dressing the hair. Many of these are ornamented with busts or little figures at the top; one has a full figure of Fortune, standing as it were on a column.

Here, too, is a collection of safety pins: see below, p. 762.

WRITING IMPLEMENTS

(*Table-case B*)

A large number of **styli**—some in bronze, some in iron—have been found in London, as at other Roman settlements. The actual sight of the implements used by the ancients as pens helps the comprehension of many a passage in the classics, and brings vividly before one the history of the word *style*. Thus when Horace says (*Sat.* i. 10. 72)—

> Oh yes! believe me, you must draw your pen
> Not once nor twice, but o'er and o'er again
> Through what you've written, if you would entice
> The man that reads you once to read you twice,

the expression he uses is "saepe stilum vertas": "you must often turn your style." We understand the literal meaning at once when we look upon the *stilus* itself, with its sharp point for writing, and its flat end for smoothing the incised wax upon the tablet. We see also the derivation of the modern word "style," which was originally restricted to the character of a person's handwriting; as well as of the expression, to write with acumen or *point*. "With his graphium, or stilus, says Suetonius, Julius Cæsar wounded Cassius; and it will readily be seen that some of these stili in the hands of a desperate man, *could almost serve* for daggers; indeed they often were used as

weapons, and the name yet survives in the Italian *stiletto*" (*Roman London*, p. 136).

Rarer, because made of more perishable materials, are the **writing-tablets**. A leaf of one of these, from which however the wax has perished, was unearthed in London, and is here exhibited. The wax when melted was applied to thin tablets of wood called *tabellæ* or *pugillaria*. These were surrounded by a rim to shield the waxen surface and prevent friction. Two or more were joined together by wires or string, bound with a cord and sealed. A letter, thus done up, would be sent to the person to whom it was addressed, who could erase the marks on the wax, smooth it down, and write the answer on the same tablet. Hence when one of Plautus's characters wants to write a letter, he calls for a tablet, stylus, wax, and thread (*Bacchid.* iv. 4. 64). The system continued in use in the Middle Ages; hence Hamlet's exclamation—"My tables! Meet it is I set it down." And the expression survives in poetical figures to our own day—"Quick thy tablets, Memory!" In our specimen here exhibited the leaves had been threaded together by two holes running through one side, and the marks of the string which tied it are also distinctly visible.

Here are exhibited also some curious little boxes which are often called **seal-boxes**, though when first discovered they were thought to be perfume-boxes, and this earlier interpretation seems at least as probable as the other. The boxes in question, of which other specimens may be seen in the Bronze Room (Nos. 2225-2242), are of various shapes—square, oval, lozenge-shaped, heart-shaped or bellows-shaped, and circular. Most of them are pierced at the bottom with three circular holes, and in the side with two square openings. On the lid they are frequently enamelled. The lids of some in the Bronze Room are decorated in relief with heads. According to one theory, they were capsules made to contain and protect the impressions of Roman seals, the threads fastening the letter or document being passed through the various apertures. According to the other theory, they were used for perfumes, like the modern vinaigrette (*Archæologia*, xxxix. 508; *Num. Chron.* 3rd series, xvii. 293).

MILITARY ANTIQUITIES

(*Table-case D*)

Among the most interesting remains of Roman armour found in Britain is the bronze **boss of a shield** from the bed of the river Tyne near its mouth :—

"It belonged to a soldier of the eighth legion. The eighth legion was never in Britain. The owner of the shield must, therefore, have been an occasional visitor; or, perchance, he may have approached our shores with the view of taking the command of some auxiliary cohort. From the position in which the relic was found it may with probability be surmised that the unhappy man suffered shipwreck as he was approaching the termination of his voyage, and that he parted with life and shield together. How many have perished since in the same place! . . . On the centre is carved the Roman eagle, holding an olive branch in its mouth. The eagle is surmounted by the victor's wreath. In the corners we have representations of the four seasons. Spring, in the upper left-hand corner, is figured as a youth vainly striving, despite the winds of March, to gather his garments around him. A snake is seen at his feet, emerging from the ground, to indicate the renewal of energy in the lower creatures. Summer is represented in the opposite angle by a husbandman who grasps a scythe. Beneath the emblem of Spring we have the legend LEG. VIII., and beneath that of Summer AUG., the eighth legion having the surname of Augusta. Below we have Autumn as a winged genius holding a large bunch of grapes in the right hand and a basket of corn or other fruits in the left. Winter, in the remaining corner, is clad in fur; the robe which hangs upon his arms is, as in the case of spring, made the sport of the winds. In the upper central department of the boss is a warrior in the attitude of attack, probably intended to represent Mars. In the corresponding compartment below is a bull very spiritedly drawn. Above the bull is a crescent. The bull seems to have been the badge of the eighth legion; on the reverse of two coins of Gallienus and one of Carausius we have a bull, together with the legend—LEG. VIII. AUG., etc. In the side compartments are two legionary standards. On the left-hand margin of the plate the owner has punctured his name; he was Junius Dubitatus, of the century of Julius Magnus" (*Lapidarium Septentrionale*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 58).

Among the most interesting of the records which time has preserved of the Roman army of occupation are **certificates of discharge**. The Roman was a long-service army, and these discharges refer to service for twenty-five years or more. The Romans encouraged also the plan of military settlement; *soldiers, honourably* discharged from the army, were given the

rights of citizenship and settled as civilians in the provinces of the Empire. These grants of citizenship were registered in some public place at Rome, and copies of the entry, duly certified, were sent, on plates of copper or bronze, to the place where the recipients resided. Of these certificates which have been found in various parts of Britain (as well as in other parts of the Roman Empire), a collection is here exhibited. They were issued by the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. One of them (found in 1760 at Stannington, Yorkshire) states as follows :—

> The Emperor Hadrian, son of the deified Trajan, surnamed "of Parthia," grandson of the deified Nerva, head of the Sacred College, in the eighth year of his reign, three times consul, proconsul, has given to the cavalry and infantry [then specified; they include regiments drawn from Spain, Germany, Dalmatia, France, and Portugal] being in Britain and discharged honourably after twenty-five years or more on service, the Roman citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants; also the recognition of their marriage with those who are their wives at the date of granting this citizenship, or in the case of unmarried men, any wives they may subsequently marry, provided they only have one each.
>
> This is an authentic copy of a bronze tablet set up in Rome on the wall behind the temple built up by the deified Augustus to Minerva.

The date of this certificate is Sept. 16, 124. A similar one, dated Jan. 19, 103, found at Malpas in Cheshire, is addressed "to Reburrus, the Spaniard, son of Severus, inferior officer of the First Pannonian Squadron, called the Tampian, commanded by Caius Valerius Celsus."

Such inscriptions — whether relating to discharge from service, or to dedications of buildings, or to the execution of public works—are capable, when considered cumulatively, of furnishing valuable material to the historian. Thus from soldiers' tombstones :—

> "You can ascertain to what extent and till what date legionaries were raised in Italy; what contingents for various branches of the service were drawn from the provinces, and which provinces provided most; how far provincials garrisoned their own countries, and which of them, like the British recruits, were sent as a measure of precaution to serve elsewhere; or, finally, at what epoch the Empire grew weak enough to require the enlistment of barbarians from beyond its frontiers."

So too with the certificates of discharges such as those here before *us :*

"Each certificate mentions incidentally the whole number of regiments in the province from which men were discharged at the same time as the recipient of the individual certificate. The dedications and building-records equally mention the regiments of the dedicators or builders. Put them together; add the indications which can obviously be derived from soldiers' tombstones and similar sources, and it will be easy to arrive at the strength of each provincial army, the troops which composed it at various dates, the stations which it occupied, the system of frontier defence which it maintained, if in a frontier province, and in fact the whole organisation of the army. Comparisons have often been drawn between the Roman Empire and that which we hold in India. Should any one wish to compare the armies of the two colossal administrations, the inscriptions would tell him as much about many aspects of the Roman army as he would ever learn from books about the existing garrison of India" (F. Haverfield in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 315).

LAMPS

(*Table-case F*)

We have already seen a large collection of ancient lamps (Ch. XXVII. p. 710), and the Roman lamps found in Britain resemble those from other places. Most of them are in terra-cotta, and have only one nozzle for the wick. The subjects which exercised the fancy of designers for lamps are of great variety. Among those of interest in our collection may be noticed a Roman galley (from Colchester); a mill for grinding corn turned by an ass (London); the apotheosis of an emperor; the figure of a Bacchante (an unusually graceful design). Some of the ruder and the distorted specimens were probably of local make. Towards the end of the Roman Empire, the monogram of Christ and the figure of the Good Shepherd became frequent on lamps, but Britain—far removed from the central influences of the Empire—was late in accepting Christianity, and such lamps are not found in our country. Lamps, as we have seen (p. 712), were used among the ancients for funereal purposes; a great many of them were found in an ancient cemetery at Colchester which lay beside the high-road to London. Sepulchral inscriptions sometimes refer to the custom of offering lighted lamps at tombs; *e.g.* "Adieu Septima, may the earth lie lightly upon you. Whoever places *a burning* lamp on this tomb, may a golden soil cover his *ashes!*"

ARTICLES OF DRESS, ETC.

(*Table-case E*)

Shoes.—There is nothing like leather for lasting. We have here before us shoes, or sandals, very nearly in the same condition as when they covered feet which trod the streets of Roman London. Leather, though the least perishable part of human clothing, yields under ordinary circumstances to the destructive action of the atmosphere. Hence it is that remains of Roman leather have been found only in certain localities where air has been excluded. Of the shoes here, some come from Whitley Castle, Northumberland, where they were dug out of an ancient dung-hill (*Archæologia Æliana*, ii. 205); others, from various sites in London:—

"These were the neighbourhood of Lothbury and Princes Street, the site of the New Royal Exchange and the bed of the Thames. The first was in the course of the stream which flowed from Moorfields, by Walbrook to the Thames; the second was a pit of great depth; and both to a considerable extent were filled with a moist, tenacious soil, impervious to the air; the beds of rivers, from the same cause, are particularly favourable to the preservation of animal and vegetable as well as metallic substances. Oil having been applied to the sandals before the water with which they were saturated had evaporated, the leather is now preserved with much of its original pliability and general character" (*Roman London*, p. 132).

By the side of these shoes is exhibited an ancient bottle in the form of a foot to show how Roman footgear was worn. The shoes, having in some cases survived entire, need little explanation. The soles, usually formed of four layers of leather, were held together not by stitching, but by nails; several of these remain. Classical authors allude to the profusion of nails with which the sole of the caliga (or military shoe) was covered (Pliny, *H.N.* ix. 18; Juv. xvi. 22). The "uppers" in our examples are formed of reticulated leather, varying in fineness and elegance of design. The shoes were fastened by straps passing through the holes made in the side pieces for that purpose. Many of the shoes must have belonged, as will be seen from the sizes, to women and children.

The **Durden collection** of antiquities here exhibited is of interest as showing the successive occupation of a site by the British and by Roman troops. The site is Hod Hill,

in the neighbourhood of Blandford, Dorset. The ancient earthworks on this hill are Celtic fastnesses afterwards made subservient to the Roman system of castramentation. "The position of the hill is even now one of great natural strength, particularly on its western side, where it towers precipitously to the height of several hundred feet above the Stour. The powerful earthworks which encompass the whole of the plateau on the summit consist of double ramparts and corresponding ditches." Inside these the more scientific work of the Romans may still be examined (C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. 1-17). The excavations on this site yielded objects which, as shown by coins and other evidences, belong (1) to British occupation before the Roman Conquest, and (2) to an occupation by British troops. Iron was in use in Britain when Cæsar invaded the island; the Romans, however, turned our metallurgic resources to fuller account. The objects of military use include the cheek-piece of a helmet, bronze mounts, chapes, and pieces of scale armour. Other objects show very neat work in niello (see p. 606).

A series of **safety-pins** (fibulæ) shows successive changes in their form. These should be compared with the collection in the Bronze Room (Nos. 1929–2224); for the collection here "uniformly gives evidence to the fact that the civilisation of Britain, during the whole of this period, was purely Roman, and that whatever races settled here under the banner of Rome, they accepted unreservedly its dress and manners as well as its language and laws" (Wright). With the loose-fitting garments of antiquity, the brooch or pin was a very indispensable article of the toilet; it was indeed the only fastening; hence the large number of fibulæ or remains of them which is found in every collection of Roman antiquities. Of the Roman brooches in the form of safety-pins—

"three varieties may be readily distinguished, known as the La Tène type, the T-shape, and the cross-bow form. The La Tène fibulæ are distinguished by a doubly-curved bow and an elaborate foot often ending in a knob; sometimes the bow divides into two pieces, which between them enclose the foot. The La Tène civilisation, distinguished by the typical forms of its fibulæ and iron swords, and general use of iron in place of bronze, is of very wide extent, but appears to have had its home in south-eastern France. Of the cross-*bow form* there are two varieties: one with spiral hinge and arched *bow ending* in a catch for the pin; in the other variety, the bow is

arched in a semicircle and terminates in a long sheath-like foot, into which the pin is inserted, the other end of the pin working on a hinge. These fibulæ are often gilded, or ornamented with elaborated patterns. The ordinary T-shaped fibula has a long cylindrical head and wide flat bow, ornamented with grooves or patterns in gilding and enamel. . . . Roman taste seems to have run more in the direction of elaborate brooches than of fibulæ properly so called—that is, of any modification of the safety-pin type. The bow completely disappears, and is replaced by a disc or lozenge with ornamental patterns, or by a rosette or circle of open-work, or by the figure of an animal" (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. lxii.). Brooches of this latter kind ornamented with enamels have already been noticed (p. 749).

The **bells** of the ancients (tintinnabula) were made in similar shapes, and used for much the same purposes as in our own day. They were placed at the door of the house (Suet. *Aug.* 91) and for calling the servants. They were used at the sacrifices of the ancient religions, no less than in the sacrifice of the Mass. They were fastened round the necks of animals then as now. One of our examples, from the collection of Mr. C. R. Smith, found in London, is so well preserved that it still produces a clear and sharp sound (*Roman London*, p. 146).

Several bronze **steelyard weights** (see p. 752) are here shown. One of these, in the form of the head of a Bacchante, was found at Nursling, near Southampton, in 1842. Upon the crown of the head was fastened a chain ending in a ring, by which the weight or equipoise was made to slide upon or traverse the beam of the steelyard :—

"The best efforts of the artists of antiquity were often bestowed upon the most common implements and utensils. The appreciation of form and beauty was so general that whatever met the eye reflected a universal purity of taste; and usefulness was not considered, as in after and in modern times, incompatible with elegance. The prevalence of good taste on the one hand, and the absence of it on the other, form the chief distinction between ancient and modern works of art. Of this fact a good example is presented in our steelyard weight. It represents the bust of a Bacchante wearing a light vest, fastened over the left shoulder with fawns' legs. The hair is decorated with a vine branch and a bunch of grapes. The bust is in bronze; the legs and nipples are of copper; the eye is silver; and the pupils, now wanting, were probably of paste or stone" (*Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. 57).

Among other objects here exhibited are a bronze plummet, a bronze cock of a fountain (found in Philpot Lane, E.C.),

a foot in bronze (belonging to some piece of furniture), and some bronze lamps.

Three **cakes of pewter**, stamped with the name of Syagrius and the Christian monogram, were found in the Thames at Battersea, and are curious. One of the most distinguished men of the name was Afranius Syagrius, mentioned in 369 A.D. as secretary to the Emperor Valentinian, and as consul in 382. "The rarity of the discovery in England of any Christian remains[1] of the Roman period adds greatly to the interest of these specimens. It is not easy to conjecture for what purpose such rude lumps of metal were stamped. The oblong stamp of the smaller cake is not unlike those on leaden seals of Roman origin. The cakes may therefore have been the property of some officer employed in attaching seals to documents or bales, who may have stamped with his official seals the store of metal with which he was furnished for this purpose" (A. W. Franks in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd series, ii. 234. See also *Arch. Journ.* xvi. 38, xxiii. 283).

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES

(*Cases* 79-95)

A few other objects of interest remain to be noticed which do not fall under any of the foregoing heads. Some **stone tiles** from Roman villas (Wall-cases 94, 95) show the solid roofing sometimes employed. A mutilated Roman **bas-relief** (Case 93) was found near a villa at Wellow, Somerset: the figures are of two females draped, and an undraped male. The draperies are arranged in straight parallel rolls like those in the earlier Norman sculpture.

Two collections of miscellaneous objects in these wall-cases are of interest as having been found in **caves**. One collection comes from the caves of King's Scarr, near Settle, Yorks. The coins here found were barbarous imitations of the Roman. These caves may have been used by the Romanised Britons as places of refuge during the troublous times that followed the withdrawal of the Roman legions after the fourth century (C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i.). The other collection comes from Dowkerbottom Cave, near Arncliffe, Yorks.

[1] *But is it certain that* "the Christian monogram" necessarily connotes a *Christian meaning?* See on this subject *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii.

The objects here exhibited were found with human skulls and bones, and the remains of goats, dogs, and horses :—

"The objects bear a very striking resemblance to the relics discovered in the cave of Settle (and just described), and may without doubt be safely ascribed to the same period, viz. the last century of the Roman occupation. They comprise the utensils, implements, and ornaments of a people of primitive habits, and probably of the lowest class. Among these are a knife, which the antiquary will at once recognise as of Roman character; several bone implements, apparently used in knitting or the making of nets; a bronze needle; bronze fibulæ of two kinds, harp-shaped and penannular, the latter having an indigenous character, and certainly of the latest period of the Roman possession; spindle-whorls, one formed of bone, two of discs of Samian ware, a fourth of the bottom of a vase of rude fabric, and a fifth of lead. These latter objects, though rude, are extremely interesting, since they appear to indicate that these caves were once tenanted by women; but whether these instruments of female industry were once plied by the wives of the rude fishermen of this coast, the female companions of pirate crews, or fugitive slaves who here sought a refuge from a cruel death, must be left to conjecture" (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, iv. 111).

Of a different kind is a small collection of objects found in 1873 in a child's oak coffin at Moorfields. The gold coins also found in the coffin, which are here exhibited by reproductions, are of the reign of Gallienus (253-268 A.D.). There are jet bracelets and glass beads, and the child's gold ring. The number of very small gold rings found in excavations shows how commonly they were worn by children in the ancient World.



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